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OF THE

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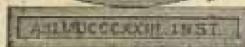
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- Page 345, line 9, *for* 146 years *read* 140 years.
Page 1029, line 12, *for* APTA□Y *read* APT□Y.

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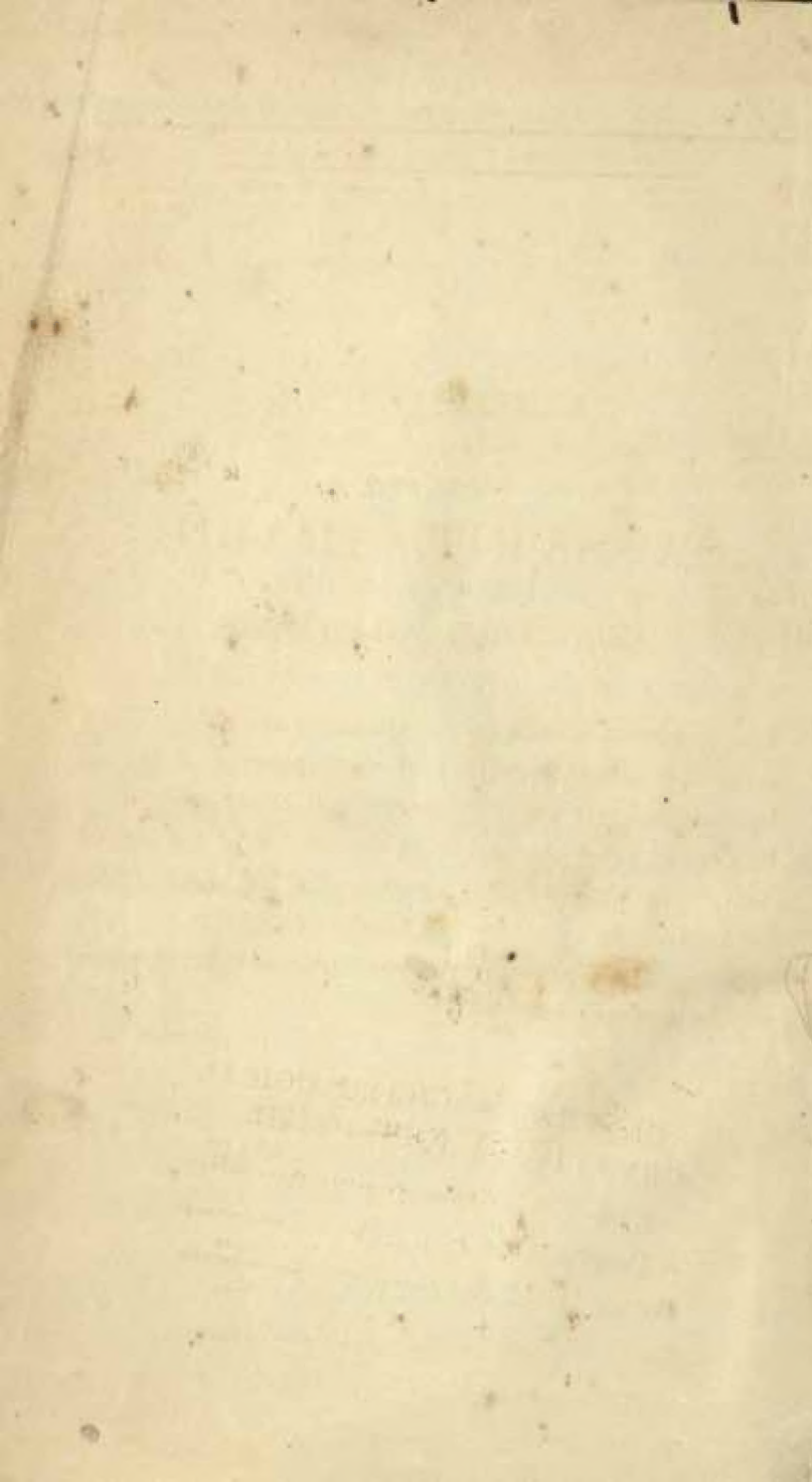
- Page 102, line 2 from the bottom, *for* *samugam* *read* *shamugam*.
Page 494, lines 5, 6, *cancel the words* Māgadha *and in* Magadha.
Page 914, line 17, *for* Yangandharāyana *read* Yaugandharāyana.
Page 914, last line, *for* confounded *read* compounded.

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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

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I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	व b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड d	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ dh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

˙ (Anusvāra) . . . m̐

˘ (Anunāsika) . . . ṁ

: (Visarga) . . . ḥ

x (Jihvāmūliya) . . ḥ

⌘ (Upadhmaniya) . . ḥ

§ (Avagraha) . . . ,

Udātta ˆ

Scarita ˜

Anudātta ˘

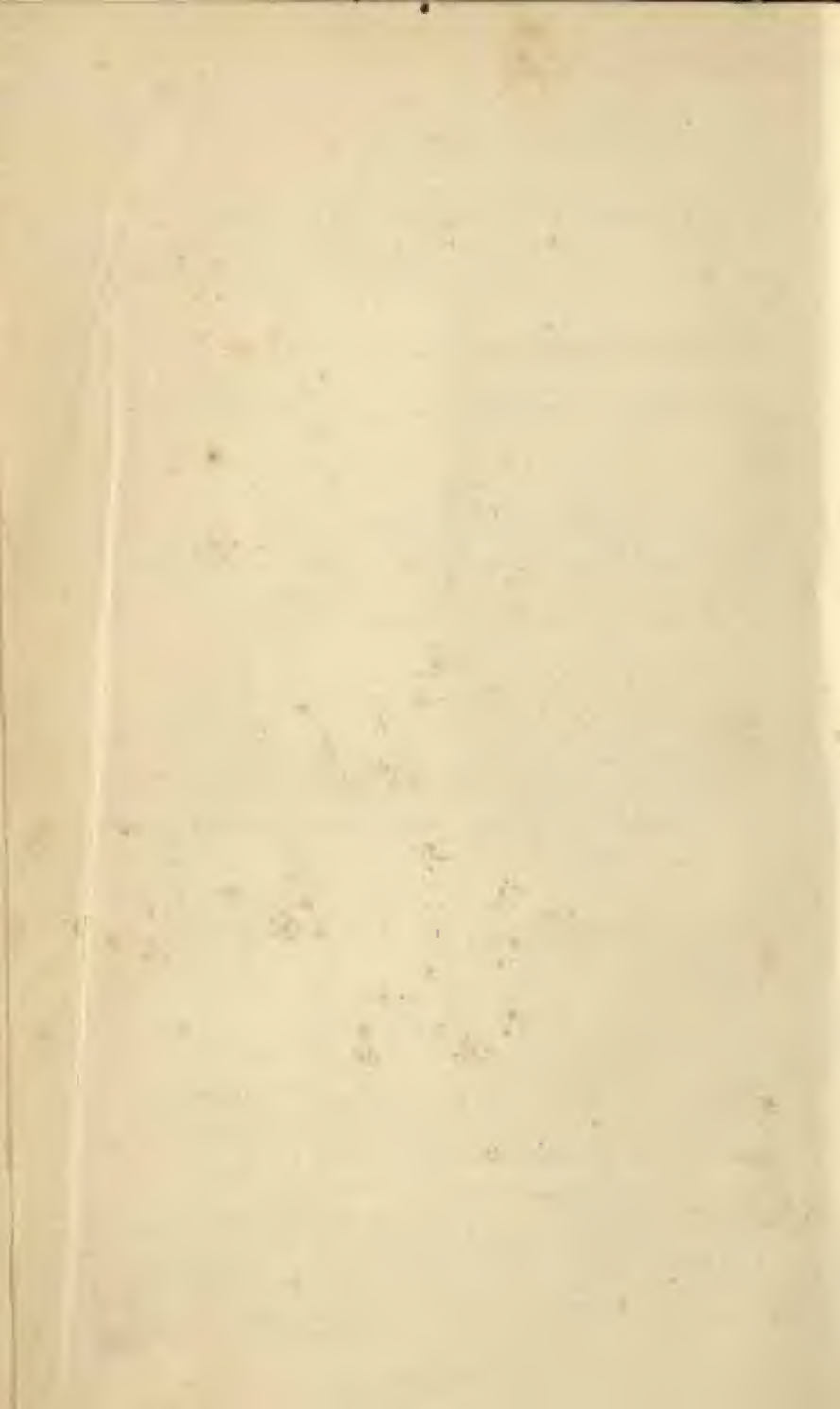
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit; elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ک k	آ a
ب b	ل l	ی i
ت t	م m	و u
ث <u>t</u> or <u>th</u>	ن n	
ج <u>j</u> or <u>dj</u>	و <u>w</u> or <u>v</u>	DIPHTHONGS.
ح h	ه h	آی ai
خ <u>h</u> or <u>kh</u>	ی y	آو au
د d		wasla ' .
ذ <u>d</u> or <u>dh</u>	VOWELS.	hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>
ر r	ا a	silent t h
ز z	آ i	letter not pro- nounced َ
	ک q	

ADDITIONAL. LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	ت or پ t	ٹ <u>ts</u>
چ <u>c</u> or <u>ch</u>		ڈ or د d	ڍ g
ژ <u>z</u> or <u>zh</u>		ر or ړ r	ن n
گ g	ځ ñ		ښ <u>ksh</u>



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I.

A DEFENCE OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE
SOUTHERN BUDDHISTS

FROM CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THEM BY CERTAIN
MODERN SCHOLARS, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE
EETZANA ERA.

By HARRY C. NORMAN.

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THE following short disquisition endeavours to show that, taking them all in all, the Chronicles of the 'Southern' Buddhists are, on the whole, sufficiently consistent to justify historical conclusions being deduced from

their evidence. It is, of course, quite palpable that the earlier part of the Chronicles is inserted to furnish an historical prelude to the appearance of Mahinda, the principal actor in the conversion of Ceylon; but in spite of the great temptation to exaggeration and overstatement, the ancient authors of the Chronicles have done their work conscientiously, if not critically. Putting aside the mythological elements, which are always easily detected and may be as easily discounted, it may be said that in matters of historical detail they are surprisingly accurate, and have shown a power of restraint which does them credit when we compare their sober statements with the hyperbolic annals of the Purānic school of mythologizing historians.

It seemed necessary to enter into a detailed examination of dates and figures to do this, as the statements of writers who are confessedly masters in the special departments of knowledge which they have taken for their province have been often but little favourable to the Sinhalese authorities. I may quote the statements of three writers on this subject.

Kern (German translation, ii, 283) says: "Es ist durchaus nicht unmöglich dass die Ceilonische noch die beste ist, nichtsdestoweniger darf man nicht darauf bauen, und das ist das einzige, was wir hier darüber auszusagen haben." He then seeks to transform various early kings into astronomical myths (p. 287, cf. Senart's analogous treatment of the Buddha legend). But in view of what has been said in the Buddhist sacred books (see Rhys Davids, "Buddhist India," *passim*) about the earlier kings, and of the fact that, as we shall try to show below, the Sinhalese dates of Candragupta and Asoka approximate closely to those discovered from Greek historians, such a process does not appear to be justified.

Professor Rhys Davids (Buddhist Suttas, xlvii) says that "The Theraparamparā gives the name of the member of the Buddhist Order of Mendicants, that is, the Thera who

ordained Mahinda (the son of Asoka), then the name of the Thera who ordained that Thera, and so on. There are only five of them from Upāli, who was ordained sixteen years after Buddha's death down to Mahinda inclusive. This would account, not for 236, but only for about 150 years." He then supports this by probable reasoning, and enforces his reasoning by a modern example. What he says is sufficiently refuted by the Table of Theras given below.

Mr. Vincent Smith is the principal offender; he professes the most absolute scepticism. He says (Asoka, pref., 6): "I reject absolutely the Ceylonese chronology prior to the reign of Dutthagāmini in about B.C. 160. The undeserved credit given to the statements of the monks of Ceylon has been a great hindrance to the right understanding of ancient Indian history." The way in which Mr. Smith examines his "monkish fictions" may be seen from the fact that he makes both Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa give Candragupta a reign of twenty-four years! It is a little hard upon the "silly fictions of mendacious monks" to condemn them before taking their whole testimony.

The present short treatise tries to give in a summary form such details as may show that the statements of the three celebrated scholars above mentioned require, if not correction, at least modification. Nothing new has been stated except the theory of the 'Eetzana' era, introduced with the purpose of trying to find if some such era, taken from the authorities discussed themselves, would not make the Chronicles fairly right if a method of adjustment be employed.¹

¹ Dr. Oldenberg (Vinaya, I. xxxviii) says in regard to the Sinhalese annalists: "I agree perfectly with the remarks made by Dr. Bühler respecting the Sinhalese chronology: 'the smallness of the period, sixty years of which are besides covered by the reigns of Candragupta and Bindusāra, where Brahmans and Buddhists agree in their figures, makes a considerable deviation from the truth improbable, and for practical purposes the number of years given by the Buddhists may be accepted as a fact.'"

The Councils have not been discussed, as this opens up a question too far-reaching to be treated of in the present thesis, with its limited sphere of discussion. But it must be kept in mind that the Sinhalese and Burmese authorities are unanimous on the Three Councils. Kern (ii, 314) asks why Sonaka is not mentioned in connection with the Second Council. Bigandet (ii, 120) names among the "principal members" present a 'Thanna,' who must correspond to Sona. He is made out to be a disciple of Ānanda, not of Dāsaka, but still his presence is recorded, even if he is not made to enter as a prominent figure into the recorded discussions.

The detailed lists of kings, Theras, and missionaries constitute the backbone of this disquisition. As far as the author knows, no such complete lists have as yet been drawn up. First of all is given the list of Theras, with as many details about them as can be drawn from the Chronicles, then a list of kings of India and Ceylon according to the Sinhalese annals. This is followed by an epitome of the Burmese dates, and a list of missionaries according to Sinhalese and Burmese evidence. Asoka's reign has been fixed as the limit of enquiry.

TABLE I.

THE GREAT THERAS (from *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*).

B.B. = before Buddha's death; A.B. = after Buddha's death.

Upālī. Ordained 44 B.B. He died in the 6th year of Udāyibhadda = 30 A.B. During this time he was Chief of the Vinaya. We are also told seventy-four years elapsed between Upasampadā and death. $44 + 30 = 74$.

Dāsaka. Ordained 16 A.B. (24th year of Ajātasattu, 16th of Vijaya). He died in the 8th year of Susunāga = 80 A.B. Dāsaka was Chief of the Vinaya fifty years. That is, he died in 80 A.B. Sixty-four years elapsed between Upasampadā and death, which again gives 80 A.B. The *Mahāvāṃsa* says that he was 12 when he met Upālī. Therefore he was born in 4 A.B.

Sonaka. Ordained 40 years after Dāsaka's ordination = 56 A.B. (20th year of Paṇḍuvāsa, so read for Pakuṇḍaka, = 10 of Nāga-dāsa = 59 or 58, not quite the same). He died in the 6th year of the Ten Brothers = 124 A.B. Sonaka was Chief of the Vinaya forty-four years. Therefore he died in 124 A.B. Between his Upasampadā and death sixty-six years had elapsed. This would give us on one reckoning 122 A.B., by the royal reckoning 124 A.B. The *Mahāvāṃsa* says he was 15 when he met Dāsaka. Therefore he was born in 41 A.B.

Siggava. Ordained forty years after Sonaka's ordination = 96 A.B. or 99 by the royal reckoning. This event is fixed in the 10th of Kālāsoka and the 11th of the Interregnum = 100 A.B. He died in the 14th year of Candragupta = 176 A.B. Siggava was Chief of the Vinaya fifty-five years. Therefore he died in 179 A.B. Between Upasampadā and death seventy-six years elapsed. This would make him die in 172 A.B. The *Mahāvāṃsa* says he was 18 when he met Sonaka. Therefore he was born in 78 A.B.

Moggaliputta Tissa. Ordained sixty-four years after Siggava's ordination = 160 A.B. (2nd of Candragupta = 58 of Pakuṇḍaka = 164). He died in the 26th year of Asoka = 244 A.B. He was Chief of the Vinaya sixty-eight years. This would make him die in 247 A.B. Between Upasampadā and death eighty-six years elapsed. This gives 246 A.B. He was 20 when he met Siggava. Therefore he was born in 140 A.B.

Mahinda. Ordained sixty-six years after Moggaliputta's ordination = 226 A.B. (6th of Asoka = 48th of Muṣasiva = 224). He was born in 204.

The above figures, though not all exactly congruent, show at any rate that Professor Rhys Davids has been too hasty in his generalisation.

TABLE II.
KINGS OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

	MV. ¹	B. ¹	DV. ¹
Ajātasattu, 8 B.B. to 24 A.B.	24 ..	24 ..	24
Udāyibhadda, 24-40 A.B.	16 ..	16 ..	16
Anuruddhaka } 40-48	8 ..	18 ..	—
Muṇḍa }			
Nāgadāsa, 48-72	24 ..	24 ..	—
Susunāga, 72-90	18 ..	18 ..	10
Kālāsoka, 90-118	28 ..	28 ..	—
Ten Sons, 118-140	22 ..	22 ..	—
Ten Nandas, 140-162	22 ..	22 ..	—
Candragupta, 162-196	34 ..	24 ..	24
Bindusāra, 196-224	28 ..	28 ..	—
	224	224	

Asoka's *abhisheka* said to be in 218 A.B., four years after his accession says the *Dīpavaṃsa*, while the *Mahāvāṃsa* says he came to the throne before consecration in 218 A.B. See *infra*.

KINGS OF CEYLON.

Vijaya, 1-38 A.B.	38
Interregnum, 38-39	1
Panduvāsadeva, 39-69	30
Abhaya, 69-89	20
Interregnum, 89-106	17
Pakundaka, 106-176	70
Muṣasiva, 176-236	60
	236

In 236 A.B., Devānampiya Tissa ascended the throne.

¹ MV. = Mahāvāṃsa; B. = Buddhaghosa (*Samantapāsādikā*, ap. Oldenberg, vol. iii, p. 292 ff.); DV. = *Dīpavaṃsa*.

TABLE III.

BURMESE LIST OF INDIAN KINGS.

Ajātasattu, 10 B.C. to 25 A.D.	..	..	..	25
Udāyibhadda, 25-40 .. ..	..	..	..	15
Two princes (A. and M.), 40-49 .. ..	..	..	..	9
Nāgudāsa, 49-53 .. ..	..	..	..	4
Susunāga, 53-81 .. ..	..	..	..	28
Kāḷāsoka, 81-109 .. ..	..	..	..	28
Nine Sons, 109-142 .. ..	..	..	..	33
Nine Nandas, 142-163 .. ..	..	..	..	21
Candragupta, 163-187 .. ..	..	..	..	24
Bindusāra, 187-214 .. ..	..	..	..	27

 214

Other events mentioned in Bigandet are :

- 214 Asoka's accession.
- 218 He "received the royal consecration."
- 222 He became favourable to Buddhists.
- 223 He consecrated the Caityas, and throughout his realm issued a proclamation that people should attend to the eight precepts.¹ Then Mahinda was ordained.

The Third Council began in 235 and ended in 236. At this time the Burmese version tells us that Moggaliputta was 72 years old, but this must mean "old as a member of the order," namely, 72 years must have passed since his Upasampadā. This would approximate to the account of the Sinhalese chronicles.

Bigandet quotes (ii, 149) the Tathāgata-Avadāna as saying that missionaries were not sent out till 236 A.D., that is to say, till after the Great Council.

¹ The Aṭṭhaṅgasīla.

TABLE IV.

LIST OF MISSIONARIES SENT OUT BY ASOKA.

- Majjhantika to the Gandhāras—so DV. MV. and Bigandet:
Kāsmīra and Gandhāra.
- Mahādeva to Mahisa—DV., MV. Bigandet says: Revati to
Mahithakanpantala (= Mahisamanḍala?).
- Rakkhita to Vanavāsī. DV. gives the Thera, MV. gives Thera
and country, Bigandet does not mention either.
- Yonadhammarakkhita to Aparantaka—DV., MV., Bigandet.
- Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāratt̥ha—DV., MV., Bigandet.
- Mahārakkhita to the Yavana region—DV., MV. Bigandet says:
Damma Reekita to Yaunaka.
- Majjhima, Kassapagotta, Durabhisara, Sahadeva, Mūlakadeva to
the Himavat. MV. mentions only Majjhima. Bigandet:
Mitzi and several brethren.
- Sona and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi—DV., MV., Bigandet.
- Mahinda and four companions (MV. gives the names as Ittiya,
Uttiya, Sambala, Bhuddasāla) to Lankā. Bigandet also gives
the names. (Bigandet, ii, 141; Oldenberg's *Dipavamsa*,
ch. viii; Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, ch. xii.)

The Chronicles speak of each principal missionary as having four companions.

THE 'EETZANA' ERA.

Rhys Davids ("Buddhist India," p. 18) says in respect of Devadaha: "It was at the last-mentioned place that the mother of the Buddha was born. And the name of her father is expressly given as Añjana the Sākiyan." And he adds, as his authority, the *Apadāna*, quoted in the *Commentary on the Therīgāthā*, p. 152. Añjana is the Eetzana of Bigandet.

Bigandet (i, 13) has an interesting remark: "When Eetzana became king of Dewaha, a considerable error had crept into the calendar. A correction was deemed necessary. There lived a celebrated hermit or Rathee, named Deweela,

well versed in the science of calculation. After several consultations on this important subject in the presence of the king, it was agreed that the Kaudza era of 8,640 years should be done away with on a Saturday, the first of the moon of Tabaong, and that the new era should be made to begin on a Sunday, on the first day of the waxing moon of the month Tagoo. This was called the Eetzana era." The following important events are dated by it in Bigandet :

Suddhodana, born at Kapilavastu	10
Māyā, born at Devaha	12
Marriage of Suddhodana and Māyā	28
Gautama born	68
Marriage of Gautama and Yasodharā	86
Gautama leaves Kapilavastu	97
Gautama becomes the Buddha	103
Suddhodana dies, aged 97	107
" It was in the 37th year of Buddha's public mission that Adzatathat ascended the throne of Magatha "	= 140
The Buddha died	148

" It was at the conclusion of the (first) council that King Adzatathat, with the concurrence of the Buddhist patriarch (Kassapa), did away with the Eetzana era, and substituted the religious era beginning in the year 148 of the said era; that is to say, on the year of Gaudama's death, on a Monday, the first of the waxing moon of Tabaong."

Añjana is not mentioned in the Dīpavamsa, but the Mahāvamsa in the second chapter tells us that the last of the descendants of Sihassara was Jayasena. His son was Sihabānu the Sakya. In Devadaha was a Sakya ruler, Devadaha. He had two children, Añjana and Kaccānā. Añjana married Yasodharā, daughter of Jayasena. Añjana had two daughters—Māyā and Pajāpati, and two sons—Daṇḍapāṇi and Suppabuddha.

Now, if Añjana was relatively so unimportant a person in Indian history, why date an era from him? Except from the Buddhist point of view his historical importance is not great. Is it possible that a confusion may have arisen between Ujjeni and Añjana? We are told in the *Bhāgavatāmr̥ita* (v. Turnour, introd., xv), in the midst of much 'Faselei,' that Parañjaya, son of the twentieth Magadha king, was put to death by his minister 'Sunaca,' who placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of his master. This is said to have happened two years before the Buddha's appearance on the earth. "Now" (says Sir William Jones, loc. cit.) "a regular chronology according to the number of years in each dynasty has been established from the accession of Pradyota, to the subversion of the genuine Hindu government."

Let us take the orthodox date of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, 543 B.C. His birth will then be 623 B.C., it being universally agreed in all the chronicles that he died in his 80th year. Now, can there possibly have been a confusion between the two eras secular and religious, the old kingly era reasserting itself in spite of the pious efforts of Buddhist chronologists? Suppose we infer 623 (date of the birth as traditionally given) + 2, then we get 625 for the starting-point of the era. This will put the Buddha's birth at 557 B.C., the departure at 528, the attainment of Sambodhi at 522, and the date of the Parinibbāna will be 477. This comes very close to the date arrived at from the other end by chronologists taking their departure from the facts given us by Greek historians.

Let us now consider some facts in connection with Asoka. The regal consecration constitutes a point of difference between the two chronicles. The *Dipavaṃsa* dates his accession at 214 A.R.; his coronation at 218. So does the Burmese account. The *Mahāvaṃsa* dates his accession at 218; his coronation at 222. Where the *Mahāvaṃsa* seems to have gone wrong is over the reign of Candragupta,

which it says lasted 34 years. The other authorities say 24 years. If we subtract the difference of 10 from the Mahāvamsa's 224, we get 214. All the chronicles agree in the order of the early Indian kings; the only difference is in the respective durations of their reigns. We cannot tell how the Dipavamsa list would have worked out, as it only gives some of the kings. But the advantage of the Burmese list is that not only does it give the kings in their proper order, but also that the sum of their reigns (in years A.B.) works out correctly according to the statement of 214 years in Bigandet. It may therefore be assumed that Asoka came to the throne 214 A.B., and was consecrated in 218 A.B. The Dipavamsa is quite explicit. Speaking of Mahinda, it tells us that he was born in 204; when Mahinda was 10 years old, Asoka killed his brothers; he then passed four years reigning over Jambudipa. Asoka was anointed king in Mahinda's fourteenth year.

In this connection the author ventures with some diffidence to suggest that Dr. Oldenberg does not seem to have given quite a right translation of a line on p. 43:

Paripunnavisavassumbi Piyadass' ābhisīṇcayun.

He translates: "They crowned Piyadassi after full twenty years (?)." Now, as the chronicle is calculating on the basis of Mahinda, the expression must surely mean "in Mahinda's twentieth year." We learn afterwards that Mahinda received his Upasampadā six years after Asoka's coronation, when we are told "paripunnavisativasso Mahindo Asokatrajo." This would give us 224, the date, namely, when Asoka became a "relation of the Faith." Did he then receive a second consecration on becoming a real Buddhist? A parallel would be the case of the king Devānampiya Tissa, Asoka's contemporary, who received two consecrations, one as a non-Buddhist and one as a Buddhist. And there seems to have been some point in using the name Piyadassi here instead of the Asoka of two

lines above. It is his new name as a Buddhist emperor. This interpretation may seem fanciful, but it is the only one which seems to make the line translatable. Otherwise it seems necessary to regard the line as an interpolation.

Both chronicles tell us that Asoka supported non-Buddhists for three years.¹ Then he became favourable to the Buddhists. This nearly agrees with the Burmese account. The story of the conversion by Nigrodha is also practically the same in all three versions, as is also that of the erection of the monuments in honour of the Buddha. This brings us to the point where Asoka desires to become a "relation of the Faith" (*dāyādo sāsane*). In the *Dipavaṃsa*, vii, verse 13, Asoka, after showing great liberality to the Order, is made to say :

*Aṇṇo koci pariccāgo bhiyyo mayhaṃ na vijjati,
Saddhā mayhaṃ dajhatarā, tasmā dāyādo sāsane.*

The cunning Moggaliputta Tissa tells him that a still greater sacrifice must be made by one who intends to merit the title of "Relation of the Faith." "The man who gives up his son or daughter, the issue of his body, and causes them to receive the Pabbajjā ordination, becomes really a relation of the Faith." Hence both Mahinda and Saṅghamittā are initiated. The year of this event was 224 A.B. We are told that this took place in the 64th year of Moggaliputta's Upasampadā, which works out correctly if we go by the royal record and not by Theras ($164 + 60 = 224$).

This brings us now to the Third Council, convened by universal testimony 235-6 A.B. by Moggaliputta Tissa, who, as it were, set a seal upon the successful proceedings of the body by proclaiming the Kathāvatthu (Kathāvatthum pakāsayi), and afterwards sending forth missionaries, among them Mahinda.

¹ Bigandet, "four."

As to the sending of the missionaries we have conclusive proof. Firstly, we have the urns found by Cunningham with the inscriptions discussed by Rhys Davids ("Buddhist India," 299-300).¹ Secondly, we have the statement of the Chronicles (Dīpavaṃsa, viii, and Mahāvāṃsa, xii) and Bigandet (ii, 141). The names and directions differ somewhat, but there is a great harmony between all three accounts.

There remain the edicts of Saḥasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt (Senart, "Inscr. de Piyaḍassi," ii, 165 foll.). Piecing these together, we gather first that Asoka was a lukewarm Buddhist for a little more than two and a half years (so we must take *sātīlekāni adhitiyāni* with Oldenberg and grammar). This would correspond to the "three years" of the Chronicles, and bring us to 221. "But a little more than six years has passed since I entered the order (and in this 'little more than six' include the 'little more than two and a half'), and great zeal has been shown by me." This would bring us to 224. This interpretation seems to harmonize best with all three accounts, in the Chronicles and Bigandet. This is the time when he became a "relation of the Faith." As to the mysterious figures 256, it is impossible as yet to say definitely what they mean, until we get more information from literature (Pāli or Prākṛit) or from another inscription. In the limited extent of our present knowledge, all we can say is that neither Bühler's idea of 256 meaning years from the Parinibbāna, nor Senart's 'mission' and 'missionnaire,' nor Fleet's 'wanderer,' can be regarded as anything but conjectural till we have some evidence of a definite accredited meaning for *vi-vas*. The Sārnāth inscription certainly favours the meaning 'illuminate.' But more is needed, namely, an unmistakable use of *vivuttha*. *Vivasana* occurs

¹ [See also Fleet, JRAS, 1905, 681.—Ed.]

at least three times in the sixth volume of the *Jātaka*, ed. Fausbøll, and always with *ratyā*, e.g., vi, 491 :

Tato ratyā vivasane suriyass' uggamanam pati.¹

If a conjecture may be hazarded as to the meaning of these enigmatical figures, let us take the date 224, the occasion of Mahinda's admission into the Order. What analogous event in Buddhistic annals can we point to? I think, to the admission of Rāhula. Now this took place in the year 31 (or say 32) before the Buddha's demise. Add 224 to 32, and the result is 256. It seems quite probable that the king should date the admission of his own son from the date of the admission of the Buddha's son Rāhula. This seems reasonable enough, and would, if correct, go still more to prove the accuracy of the early annalists.

Applying the dates of the Sinhalese and Burmese Chronicles to the date of the Parinibbāna as determined from the discussion of the Ectzana era, we get fairly reasonable dates, if not so correct as might be, perhaps, for periods determined by other evidence, namely, 315 B.C. for Candragupta and 259 B.C. for Asoka. These, even if termed 'floruits,' are still sufficiently close to justify the ancient worthies from the charge of 'mendacity.'

NOTE.—In Oldenberg's *Dipavamsa*, p. 40, verse 95, read *chāsītī* for *asītī*. In Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 22, l. 1, read *sātttharasam* for *atthārasam*; p. 35, l. 12, for *esāsoko ti* read *caṇḍāsoko*. Both these readings are given in the Sinhalese edition of the commentary, and compare *Caṇḍapajjoto* and *Caṇḍakaūsika* as names of kings.

NOTE ON BIGANDET.—As it would seem at first sight unhistorical to a degree to put a modern authority like the Bishop on the same plane with the old Chronicles

¹ Cf. Skt. *आरात्रिविवसम्*, 'till night's passing.'

composed in Pāli, I transcribe the note on the work made by Professor Rhys Davids in his "Buddhism" (S.P.C.K.), pp. 12-13, in his enumeration of the authorities: "IV. A translation into English of a translation into *Burmese* of a Pāli work called by Bigandet 'Mallalinkara Wouttoo.' Neither date nor author is known of the Pāli work. The Burmese translation was made in 1773 A.D. . . . This life agrees not only throughout in its main features, but even word for word in many passages with the Jātaka commentary, to be mentioned below, written in Ceylon in the fifth century. It follows that its original author usually adhered very closely to the orthodox books and traditions of early Indian Buddhism, which were introduced into Burma from Ceylon in the fifth century." The same authority, on p. 87 of his "American Lectures," also says: "The only work so far known to us, that can be called a biography in our Western sense, is a quite modern book called the *Mālālakāra Watthu*, of unknown date, but almost certainly quite two thousand years later than the Buddha himself." That is to say, the Burmese translation, as noted by Professor Rhys Davids, is quite two thousand years later, but the age of the Pāli original may be quite venerable. What we want is that some Burmese scholar, who is skilled both in Burmese and in Pāli literature, should give us an historical account of this life of the Buddha, showing its sources, if possible, and giving a summary of the systems of chronology to be found in Burmese authorities. I do not think that to use Bigandet as I have done could be called any more uncritical than the procedure of some modern Assyriologist or Egyptologist who should use the records of Berosus and Manetho to check and supplement the accounts of the cuneiform or hieroglyphic inscriptions.

The Edicts, like the Councils, have not been discussed in detail, as opening up so wide a field. But the author is

convinced that, in spite of the labours of many eminent Orientalists, there is still much room for fresh theory and new adjustment. Until unanimity of interpretation has been arrived at in regard to the edicts, we cannot afford to look slightly upon the ancient Chronicles. If Mr. Vincent Smith's book be taken as the latest pronouncement on the subject of Asoka which speaks with authority, a little examination will show that his confidence is not justified by the data at his command.

II.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPLETE EDITION OF THE
JAMI'U'T-TAWARIKH OF RASHIDU'D-DIN
FADLU'LLAH.

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THE Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh is unquestionably one of the most important historical works in the Persian language, not only by reason of the singularly full and authentic account of the history and antiquities of the Mongols for which it is chiefly celebrated, but also by virtue of the general history, especially the history of the independent or semi-independent post-Muhammadian dynasties which held sway in Persia immediately before the rise of the Mongol dominion (i.e. between the ninth or tenth and the thirteenth centuries of the Christian era), wherewith the author, Rashidu'd-Dīn Faḍlu'llāh, or 'Rashīd the physician' (رشید طبیب), as he sometimes calls himself, supplemented his original work. Unhappily the book is not only extremely bulky and very rare, but the arrangement which the author has seen fit to adopt is confusing, while the foreign proper names with which its pages abound are in most manuscripts sadly corrupted. The publication of a complete text, should the available materials ultimately prove adequate, would be an achievement in the field of Persian literature comparable to the publication of the Arabian Annals of Ṭabarī, and now that M. Blochet, under the auspices of the Gibb Memorial Trust, has made a beginning with the Mongol portion of this great history, it is earnestly to be hoped that the Trustees will steadily keep in view the extreme importance

and desirability of carrying out this project in its entirety, as opportunity may arise, and as scholars willing and able to deal with the different portions may offer themselves for the accomplishment of this task.

In the present article I propose to enumerate the available manuscripts of this work, and to give a brief analysis of its contents, which may serve as a guide to future editors, and may suggest the best method of parcelling out the numerous volumes which a complete text would necessarily comprise. In doing this I have not been able to avail myself continuously or directly of the best MS. of the entire work with which I am acquainted, namely, the British Museum MS. Add. 7628, since my other duties rarely permit me to be in London for any length of time, and, as all Orientalists know to their cost, no manuscript is under any circumstances permitted to leave the too hospitable walls of that great and otherwise admirable institution. On the other hand, the noble liberality of the India Office Library has enabled me to use in my own house their MS., No. 3524 (= No. 2828 of Ethé's Catalogue), which, though neither so old, nor so good, nor so complete as the Museum Codex, is nevertheless sufficiently full to render some sort of analysis of the whole work possible. In what follows, then, I refer, unless otherwise stated, to this manuscript, a large volume containing ff. 599 of 36.8×23.7 c. and 25 lines, each line containing, as a rule, at least twenty words. In spite of the lacunæ which exist in the volume, it cannot contain much less than 600,000 words, notwithstanding the fact that several important sections (such as the history of the Isma'ili sect, which in the British Museum Codex occupies ff. 272^b-307^a, and contains about 46,550 words) are entirely omitted.

Broadly speaking, the work originally comprised (or was intended to comprise, for it is not certain that vol. iii was ever written) three separate parts or volumes,

of which the *first* dealt with the history and antiquities of the various tribes of Turks and Mongols, and the history of the ancestors and successors of Chingiz Khán down to the author's own time (A.H. 706 = A.D. 1306-7); the *second* contained the history of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Caliphs, and Kings from the time of Adam down to A.H. 700 (= A.D. 1300-1), as well as a general history of all the peoples and nations inhabiting the world, compiled from their own traditions; while the *third* dealt exclusively with Geography. This last, however (if it was ever written), is, apparently, no longer extant, so that, so far as we are concerned, the work may be regarded as consisting of but two parts—(1) a special history of the Mongols, Turks, and kindred peoples, and (2) a general history of the world, especially the world of Islám. For editorial purposes these two parts may be regarded as quite distinct. The Mongol part (vol. i) is about one-third, and the general history (vol. ii) about two-thirds, of the whole. In the India Office MS., which I now proceed to describe, the two parts are transposed, vol. ii extending from f. 1^b to f. 402^a and vol. i from f. 403^b to f. 599^a; and the same transposition has been made in the British Museum MS. In the following description of contents the references are to the India Office MS. (LO.) unless otherwise specified. References to the British Museum MS. Add. 7628 are in all cases marked 'B.M.'

DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS.

In the preface to the first volume (ff. 403^b–406^a) the author states that his work, undertaken by command of Gházán Khán (A.H. 694–704 = A.D. 1295–1305), was originally intended to be a history of Chingiz Khán and his ancestors and successors. Gházán Khán, however, died before it was completed, on Shawwál 11th, A.H. 704 (= May 17th,

A.D. 1305), and was succeeded by his brother Úljáytú, also called Khudá-banda, who bade the author complete the history of the Mongols, dedicate it, as originally intended, to the deceased monarch Gházán Khán, and supplement it with another volume on general history, which should be dedicated to himself. The homogeneity of this second volume is somewhat marred by the author's strange idea of beginning it with an account of Úljáytú's life down to the time of his writing it (A.H. 706 = A.D. 1306-7), and ending it with the continuation of his biography from this date "to infinity" (الى ما لا نهاية له). In the India Office Codex, however, these two heterogeneous sections of vol. i are wanting.

The author then speaks of the concourse of learned men of all nations at the Mongol Court, "of whom each one is a volume of the history, legends, and beliefs of his own people." From these he collected the materials for the new portion of his history, namely, vols. ii and iii, and named the whole *Jāmi'* (or, as in certain passages of the India Office MS., *Jawāmi'*)-*ut-Tawārikh*.

The contents of the book are summarily stated on ff. 406^a-407^a, as follows:—

VOL. I (dedicated by command of Sultán Uljáytú Khudá-banda to the memory of his predecessor, Gházán Khán; B.M., f. 404^b) contains two chapters, namely:—

Chapter 1 (B.M., f. 414^a). On the different Turkish and Mongol races, their tribal divisions and subdivisions, genealogy, pedigrees, legends, etc.

Preface (I.O., ff. 411^b-413^a). On the tribes of the Turks, and the lands inhabited by them.

Section i (I.O., ff. 413^a-417^a). The legendary history of Oghúz, supposed to be the descendant of Japhet, son of Noah, and the ancestor of the Turks.

Section ii (I.O., ff. 417^a-425^a). On that branch of the Turkish race now called Mongol, but of which each subdivision had formerly its own proper name.

Section iii (I.O., ff. 425^a–431^a). Other tribes of independent Turks who were at enmity with those enumerated above.

Section iv (I.O., ff. 431^a–443^a). Turkish tribes whose original language was Mongol, in two *Qisṣas*, or sub-sections, of which the *first* (ff. 431^b–438^a) treats of the Mongols of درلکین, and the *second* of the Mongols of نیرون (ff. 438^a–443^a).

Chapter 2. Anecdotes and legends of the kings and rulers of the Mongols and Turks.

Section i (I.O., ff. 443^a–456^a = B.M., f. 456^a). Ancestors of Chingiz Khán, in ten *Dásitāns*, or 'stories,' treating of (1) Dúbán-báyán and Alán-quwá (ff. 443^b–444^a); (2) Alán-quwá and her three sons (ff. 444^b–445^a); (3) Búzkhār or Búdanjar, son of Alán-quwá (ff. 445^a–445^b); (4) Dátúm Manan, son of Búqa, son of Búzkhār (ff. 445^b–446^b); (5) Qaydú, son of Dátúm Manan (ff. 446^b–447^b); (6) Báy-sangqúr, son of Qaydú (ff. 447^b–448^a); (7) Túmna, son of Báy-sangqúr (ff. 448^a–449^a); (8) Qábúl, son of Báy-sangqúr (ff. 449^a–451^b); (9) Bartán, son of Qábúl (ff. 451^b–452^b); (10) Yísúká Bahádúr, son of Bartán (ff. 452^b–456^a).

Section ii (I.O., ff. 456^b–599^a = B.M., f. 469^a). History of Chingiz Khán and his successors, in twelve *Dásitāns*,¹ or 'stories,' treating of (1) Chingiz Khán, son of Yísúká (I.O., ff. 457^a–520^b); (B.M., f. 539^a); (2) Ogotáy,² son of Chingiz (ff. 521^a–532^b); (3) Jájí, son of Chingiz (ff. 533^a–537^a); (4) Chaghatáy, son of Chingiz (ff. 537^a–541^b); (5) Táláy, son of Chingiz (ff. 541^b–544^b); (6) Kuyúk, son of Ogotáy (ff. 544^b–547^b); (7) Mangú, son of Táláy (ff. 547^b–555^a); (8) Qúbíláy Khán, son of Táláy (ff. 555^a–574^b); (9) Timúr (Uljáytá), grandson of Qúbíláy

¹ Only eleven *Dásitāns* are actually given in the text of this codex. The table of contents on ff. 406^b–407^a gives the titles of twelve, but it omits those on Kuyúk (No. 6) and Abáqá (No. 11), and adds articles (not found in the text) on Ahmad Takúdar, Gházán, and Uljáytá or Khudá-banda.

² The portion of the text which M. Blochet is now editing for the Gibb Memorial begins with Ogotáy, and the printing has at present gone as far as the death of Mangú or Mungghá. It is, I believe, contemplated that this volume should end with the death of Timúr, and that the second volume should begin with the accession of Húlágú.

(ff. 574^b-577^b); ((10) Hūlāgū, son of Tūlūy, the first of the Il-Khāns of Persia (ff. 577^b-590^a)); (11) Abāqā, son of Hūlāgū (ff. 590^a-599^a); ends with the death of Abāqā or Dhu'l-Qāda 3, A.H. 680 (= Feb. 13, A.D. 1282). Here should follow, as in Add. 7628, (12) Aḥmad Takūdār, f. 642^b; (13) Arghūn, f. 648^a (Guykhātū is missing in Add. 7628 also); and (14) Ghāzān Khān (ff. 655^a-728).

VOL. II (dedicated to the reigning monarch, Uljāytū Khudā-banda) (ff. 1^b-402^a) contains two chapters, viz. :—

Chapter 1. (Omitted in I.O. Codex and in B.M.) History of Sulṭān Uljāytū Khudā-banda, from his birth till A.H. 706 (= A.D. 1306-7), the time of writing.

Chapter 2, in two *Qism*s.

Qism 1, in two *Faṣṣ*s.

Faṣṣ 1. Compendium of the history of all the Prophets, Caliphs, Kings, etc., from the time of Adam until the date of writing.

Faṣṣ 2. Detailed history of all the people inhabiting the world, compiled from their own traditions.

Qism 2. (Omitted in I.O. and B.M., and possibly, as Rieu suggests, never written.) History of the reigning Sulṭān Uljāytū Khudā-banda, which may be continued and completed by succeeding court historians when the author shall be no more.

VOL. III. *Geography* of the world. This volume, as already stated, appears never to have been written, or, if written, to have disappeared.

Hitherto the first volume of the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*—that dealing with Mongol history—has attracted more attention than the second, and that probably for two reasons; that while Vol. II is only one of the best general histories in Persian, Vol. I is undoubtedly the best and most authoritative history of the Mongols; and secondly, that MSS. of Vol. I are much commoner than those of Vol. II. So far as I know, nothing has been published of Vol. II, while of Vol. I the whole of the section dealing

with Húlágú was published, with a French translation, by Quatremère in 1836 (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, vol. i), and M. Blochet, taking up his illustrious compatriot's unfinished task, is now publishing in the Gibb Memorial Series a further instalment, beginning with the section on Ogotáy.¹

Of Vol. II the first Chapter and the second *Qism* of the second Chapter, both of which are described as dealing with the reign of Úljáytú, are wanting in the India Office MS., and, moreover, really belong to the Mongol portion of the history. We are therefore only concerned here with Chapter 2, *Qism* 1. The actual divisions of this found in the text do not exactly correspond with those given in the table of contents, for in the text Vol. II is composed as follows :—

- (1) A brief doxology and explanation of the plan of this volume (ff. 1^b, lines 1-13).
- (2) An Introduction (*Muqaddama*) on Adam and Noah, and their descendants (ff. 1^b-4^b).
- (3) *Qism* i. History of the world from Kayúmarth, the first legendary king of Persia, to the Prophet Muḥammad, in four *Tabaqa*s, viz. :—

Tabaqa 1. The ancient legendary kings of Persia known as Pishdádíyán (ff. 4^b-16^b), including such contemporary history as that of Abraham, Ishmael and his sons, Isaac and his sons, Jacob and his sons, Joseph, Job, Shu'ayb, Moses and Aaron, Og, Qárún (Korah), Khidr, Joshua the son of Nun, and the Tubba's of Yaman.

Tabaqa 2. The Kayání Kings of Persia, from Kay-Qubád to Alexander of Macedon (ff. 16^b-28^a), including the contemporary history of Israel (Samuel, David, Solomon, Elisha, Isaiah, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Dhu'l Kafíl, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Ezra) and the contemporary history of the Arabs.

¹ See the preceding footnote. At the present date (Nov. 2nd, 1907) 336 pages of M. Blochet's text are in type. These correspond with ff. 521^a-553^b of the India Office MS.

Tabaqa 3. The Ashkáníyán (Parthians) or 'Tribal Kings' (Mulúku't-Tawá'if) (ff. 28^a-35^b), including the Ptolemies, the contemporary history of Rome, Arabia, and Israel (Zechariah, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, the 'Seven Sleepers,' or 'People of the Cave,' Jirjis, etc.).

Tabaqa 4. The Sásánians (ff. 36^a-55^a), including such contemporary history as that of Constantine and his successors, the Tubba's of Yaman down to the Abyssinian invasion, the story of the Christian Martyrs of Najrán (*Ashábu'l-Ukhúd*), Abrahá and the 'People of the Elephant' (*Ashábu'l-Fil*), Sayf b. Dhá Yazan and the Persian conquest of Yaman, the Battle of Dhá'l-Qár, the Triumph of Islám and the downfall of the Persian Empire.

- (4) *Qism ii* (= B.M., f. 58^a). History of the Prophet Muḥammad and of the Caliphate, down to the sack of Baghdad and murder of the last 'Abbáside Caliph al-Musta'ṣim by Hálágú Khán's Mongols on Šafar 10, A.H. 655 (= Feb. 27, A.D. 1257). This section of the work occupies ff. 55^a-183^a, is described as "*Qism ii* of the *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh*," and is divided into four *Maqálas*, or Discourses, as follows:—

Maqála 1. The Genealogy and Life of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 55^a-99^a).

Maqála 2 (B.M., f. 104^b). The history of the Four Orthodox Caliphs, Abú Bakr (ff. 99^a-101^a), 'Umar (ff. 101^a-104^a), 'Uthmán (ff. 104^a-108^b), and 'Alí (ff. 108^b-118^a).

Maqála 3 (B.M., f. 126^b). The Umayyad Caliphs (ff. 118^a-140^b).

Maqála 4 (B.M., f. 151^a). The 'Abbásid Caliphs (ff. 140^b-183^a). On f. 183^a is a colophon giving Shawwál, A.H. 1081 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1671), as the date when the transcription of this part of the work was finished.

Up to this point the General History, though full and seemingly accurate, follows in the main the usual lines, and probably does not contain much matter which cannot be better derived from the older Arabic historians, such as Tabarí and Ibnu'l-Athír. We now come, however, after two blank pages (ff. 183^b-184^a), to that portion of it which

deals with the independent dynasties which arose in Persia as the power of the 'Abbásid Caliphs began to wane, down to the time of the Mongol Invasion in the thirteenth century of our era, from which period onwards until the author's time the continuation must be sought in Vol. I, Chapter 2, Section 2. The portion of the work which we are now considering occupies in the India Office Codex ff. 184^b-216^b, is not, apparently, included in the elaborate scheme of subdivision elsewhere observed by the author, and falls roughly into three portions, viz. :—

- (1) History of the Kings of Ghazna, beginning with Násiru'd-Dín Subuktigin (A.H. 366-387 = A.D. 976-997), and ending with Abú'l-Fath Mawdúd b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Subuktigin (A.H. 432-440 = A.D. 1040-1048). This section occupies ff. 184^b-212^a (B.M., f. 204^a), ends with a colophon dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1081 (= April-May, A.D. 1671), and is again followed by two blank pages (ff. 212^b-213^a).
- (2) History of the Seljúqs down to A.H. 589 (= A.D. 1193), comprising ff. 213^b-234^a (B.M., f. 237^a), followed by an Appendix, ff. 234^b-236^a (B.M., ff. 260^b-261^b), ascribed to Abú Hámid Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, giving the conclusion of the reign of Tughril II, the last Seljúq of 'Irâq, ending on the last day of Rabî' i, A.H. 599 (= December 17, A.D. 1202).
- (3) History of the Khwárazmsháhs, ff. 236^a-246^b (B.M., f. 263^b), breaking off abruptly in the middle of the account of Jaldû'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh's campaign against 'Ala'u'd-Dín Kay-Qubád I, the Seljúq Sultan of Rûm. In the description of the British Museum MS. Rieu says (p. 75): "This section is imperfect at the end; it comes abruptly to a close in the account of the occupation of Ghûr by Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, after the death of Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sâm (A.H. 602)."

The following sections, lacking in the India Office MS., are found in Add. 7628 of the British Museum :—

- (4) "History of the Salghurî Atábeks of Fârs, from the beginning to the end of the dynasty (B.M., f. 268^a). This section also comes to an abrupt termination; the last lines relate to the

march of a Mongol army against Seljûq Shâh in Shîrâz (A.H. 663)."

- (5) History of the Isma'îlîs (B.M., f. 273^b). This section has a preface in which the author states that he wrote it after completing his history of the nations of the world, and as a supplement to it. It comprises the following two parts (*Qism*):—(1) History of the 'Alawî Khalîfas of the Maghrib and Egypt, with an introduction treating of their tenets (B.M., ff. 273^b–290^a); (2) History of the Nizârî *dawâ* of Quhistân, with an introduction on the career of Hasan-i-Sabbâh, called Sayyid-nâ; f. 290^a. This latter part contains a very full account of the Isma'îlîs of Alamût, and is brought down to their extermination by Hûlâgû in A.H. 654.

We now come to the account of other nations than the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Mongols, to wit, the ancient Turks, the Chinese, the Israelites, the Franks, and the Indians. This is the second section (*Faṣl* ii) of *Qism* I of Chapter 2 of the second volume, according to the Table of Contents, though in the text these divisions are ignored. It extends in this MS. from f. 247^b to f. 402^a, and comprises:—

- (1) The history of Oghûz, the legendary ancestor of the Turks, and his descendants (ff. 247^b–258^a).
- (2) The history of the kings and rulers of China, Manchuria, and Cathay (ff. 259^b–282^a).
- (3) The history of the Israelites (ff. 283^b–307^a) in six Sections (*Faṣl*), viz.: (i) from Adam to Noah (ff. 283^b–286^b); (ii) Noah and his sons (ff. 286^b–288^a); (iii) from Abraham to Moses (ff. 288^a–292^b); (iv) from Moses to David (ff. 292^b–299^b); (v) from the birth of David to the time of Alexander of Macedon (ff. 299^b–306^a); (vi) from Alexander to Ezra, the last of the Hebrew prophets, who died 40 years after the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. This portion ends with a colophon dated A.H. 1082 (= A.D. 1671–2).
- (4) The history of the Franks and Cæsars (ff. 307^b–368^a), divided into two *Qimsa*, each of which comprises four chapters, as follows:—

Qism 1. Scripture history from Adam to Jesus Christ (ff. 307^b–310^b).

Qism 2. From the birth of Christ until the date of composition, A.H. 705 (= A.D. 1305–6).

These Sections, of which the subdivision is rather complicated, treat of Scripture history according to the belief of the Christians, the Christian belief concerning Christ, the geography of the lands of Christendom and their kings, the Popes and Christian Emperors, etc.

- (5) Account of the kings of India and the Hindoos (ff. 368^b–402^a), in two *Qisms*, of which the first, comprising ten sections (ff. 369^a–385^b), treats of Indian chronology, geography, and history, including the kings of Kashmir and Delhi down to the author's own time; while the second, comprising twenty sections (ff. 385^b–396^a), and followed by a refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis, composed by the author at an earlier period of his life (ff. 396^b–402^a), gives a very full account of Buddha (Sakyamuni) and the Buddhist religion.

SCHEME OF A COMPLETE EDITION.

Having now stated in outline the contents of this great history, I propose to consider how, in projecting an edition of the whole, it should be divided up into volumes of a convenient size. I do not think that any one volume should contain more matter than my edition of Dawlatshāh's *Lives of the Poets*, published by Messrs. Brill in 1901. A full page of the text of this contains about 300 words, and the text in one volume (excluding indices and prefatory matter) should not exceed 550 pages, which would be equivalent to 165,000 words. Probably it would be safer to allow only 150,000 words to each volume, and proportionately less if variants or notes are to be placed at

the foot of each page. M. Blochet, for example, in the portion of the text which he is publishing, gives such copious footnotes that one leaf of the India Office MS. extends over about ten pages of his edition, of which, to be more precise, the first 256 pages correspond with 26 leaves (ff. 521^a-547) of the India Office MS., or 38 leaves (ff. 539-578) of the British Museum Codex Add. 7628. In the computation which follows it will be convenient to take this British Museum MS. as the basis of calculation, since it is the best and most complete MS. with which I am acquainted. Each leaf of it (i.e. each two pages) contains, so far as I can calculate, 1,100 words, so that we may reckon about 135 ff. (= 148,500 words) of the British Museum MS. to the ideal volume; and as the MS. in question comprises 728 ff., it would make between five and six volumes of the size indicated at the lower computation.

Let us first consider Rashidu'd-Din's first volume, containing the special history of the Turks and Mongols. Here the division is more or less fixed by the fact that a portion in the middle is being published by M. Blochet, while another portion a little further on was published in 1836 in the *Collection Orientale* by Étienne Quatremère. Essentially, as we have seen, this Mongol portion of the *Jami'u't-Tawárikh* consists of the following parts:—

VOL. I. SPECIAL HISTORY OF MONGOLS AND TURKS.

		<i>Equivalent Folios in India Office MS. (I.O.) and British Museum MS. (B.M.).</i>			
		FOLIOS IN I.O.	NO. OF FOLIOS	FOLIOS IN B.M.	NO. OF FOLIOS
<i>Chapter 1. Consisting of a Preface and four Sections on the legendary history, antiquities, and genealogies of the Turks and Mongols.</i>		411-443	32	414-455	41
<i>Chapter 2, Section i. Ancestors of Chingiz Khán in ten <i>Dalaitins</i>.</i>		443-456	13	456-469	13
<i>Chapter 2, Section ii. Chingiz Khán and his successors, as follows:—</i>					
First instalment of Blochet's edition in the Gibb series.	(1) Chingiz Khán	457-520	63	469-538	69
	(2) Ogotáy (= Blochet, pp. 1-86).	521-532	11	539-555	16
	(3) Jújī (= Blochet, pp. 86-152).	533-537	4	556-564	8
	(4) Chaghatáy (= Blochet, pp. 153-197).	537-541	4	564-570	6
	(5) Tálay (= Blochet, pp. 198-226).	541-544	3	570-574	4
	(6) Kuyúk (= Blochet, pp. 227-262).	544-547	3	574-578	4
	(7) Mangú (= Blochet, pp. 263-336).	547-555	8	578-588	10
	(8) Qábíláy	555-574	19	588-603	15
	(9) Tímúr	574-577	3	603-610	7
	(10) Húlágú (= Quantremère, <i>Hist. des Mongols</i> , vol. i, 1836).	577-590	13	610-620	10
	(11) Abaqá	590-599	9	629-642	13
	(12) Takúdar Ahmad ...	(Omitted)	0	642-648	6
	(13) Arghán	(Omitted)	0	648-655	7
	(14) Gaykhátú	(Omitted)	in both	MSS.	
	(15) Gházán	(Omitted)	0	655-728	73

Although this volume, as projected and executed by the author, ends with Gházán, it is obviously desirable to add to it what he wrote about Úljáytú (Khudá-banda), and, inappropriately enough, prefixed to the second volume of his work; and it would be desirable to add also the notices of the later years of Úljáytú's reign, and of the reign of his successor Abú Sa'íd compiled by Háfidh Abrú, or some other later writer, by command of Shábrukh, and found in some MSS. of the *Jamí'u't-Tawárikh*.

VOL. II. GENERAL HISTORY.

	<i>Equivalent Folios in India Office MS. (I.O.) and British Museum MS. (B.M.).</i>			
	FOLS. IN I.O.	NO. OF FOLS.	FOLS. IN B.M.	NO. OF FOLS.
<i>Preface</i> (Muqaddama). On Adam and his progeny.	1 ^b -4 ^b	4		
<i>Qism 1.</i> On the history of Ancient Persia, in four <i>Tabaqas</i> —				
(1) Pishdādiyān	4 ^b -16 ^b	12	5 ^a -	
(2) Kayāniyān	16 ^b -28 ^a	12		
(3) Mulūku't-Tawā'if	28 ^a -36 ^a	8		
(4) Sāsāniyān	36 ^a -55 ^a	19		
<i>Qism 2.</i> On the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the Caliphate, in four <i>Maqálas</i> —				
(1) Life of the Prophet ...	55 ^a -99 ^a	44	58 ^a -104 ^a	46
(2) The Four Orthodox Caliphs.	99 ^a -118 ^a	19	104 ^b -	
(3) The Umayyad Caliphs ...	118 ^a -140 ^b	22	126 ^b -	
(4) The 'Abbásid Caliphs ...	140 ^b -183 ^a	43	151 ^a -	
History of the House of Ghazna	184 ^b -212 ^a	28	204	

	<i>Equivalent Folios in India Office MS. (I.O.) and British Museum MS. (B.M.).</i>			
	FOLS. IN I.O.	NO. OF FOLS.	FOLS. IN B.M.	NO. OF FOLS.
History of the House of Seljûq ...	213 ^b -234 ^b	21	237 ^a -261 ^b	24
History of the Khwârazmshâhs (incomplete).	236 ^a -246 ^b	10	263 ^b -	
History of the Salghûris of Fârs	(Omitted)	—	268 ^a -	
History of the Isma'îlîs—				
(a) Of the Maghrib	(Omitted)	—	273 ^b -290 ^a	17
(b) Of Persia	(Omitted)	—	290 ^a -307 ^a	17
History of Oghîz and his descendants, the Turks.	247 ^b -258 ^a	11		
History of China and Manchuria	259-282 ^a	23		
History of the Israelites	283 ^b -307 ^a	24		
History of the Franks, and their Emperors and Popes.	307 ^b -368 ^a	61		
History of the Indians, with very full account of Buddhism and its founder Sakyamuni.	368 ^b -402 ^b	34		

The whole of this great and important history would, I think, be most conveniently published in seven volumes, none of which should exceed in size my edition of Dawlatshâh. Of these, three volumes should contain Rashîdu'd-Dîn's first volume, i.e. the special history of the Mongols, and four volumes his second volume, on general history. The contents of these seven volumes I should apportion as follows:—

PLAN OF EDITION OF JAMI'U'T-TAWARIKH IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

I. SPECIAL HISTORY OF MONGOLS AND TURKS.

- VOL. I.** From the beginning of the book to the end of Chingiz Khán's biography (I.O., ff. 411-520 = ff. 109; B.M., ff. 414-538 = ff. 124).
- VOL. II.** From the accession of Ogotáy to the end of Timúr (I.O., ff. 521-577 = ff. 56; B.M., ff. 539-610 = ff. 71). This is the portion on which M. Blochet is now engaged, but owing to the copious and learned notes which he has added, it may possibly have to be divided into two parts for publication, which procedure may, of course, prove necessary in the case of other volumes.
- VOL. III.** From the accession of Húlágú to the death of Gházán (B.M., ff. 610-728 = ff. 118; part only of this is found in I.O., ff. 577-599 = ff. 22). Húlágú's life, as already noted, was published by Quatremère in 1836, but since this edition is rare, costly, and very bulky, it would be desirable to reprint it with the succeeding portion of the Mongol history, including the later supplement on the reigns of Uljáyú and Abú Sa'id.

II. GENERAL HISTORY OF OTHER NATIONS.

- VOL. IV.** The Introduction to Vol. II, with the history of Persia down to the end of the Sásánian dynasty, followed by the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (I.O., ff. 1^b-99^a; B.M., ff. 1-104^a).
- VOL. V.** The entire history of the Caliphate, from Abú Bakr to al-Musta'sim (I.O., ff. 99^a-183^a = ff. 84; B.M., ff. 104^b-204 = ff. 100).
- VOL. VI.** History of the post-Muhammadan dynasties of Persia, i.e., the Ghaznawís, Seljúqs, Khwárazmsháhs, Salghúris, and Isma'ílís (B.M., ff. 204-307 = ff. 103; part only of this is found in I.O., ff. 184^b-246^b = ff. 62). I already possess a complete transcript of the history of the Isma'ílís made from the B.M. MS.
- VOL. VII.** The remainder of the work, comprising the history of the Turks, Chinese, Israelites, Franks, and Indians (I.O., ff. 247^b-402^a = ff. 155; B.M., ff. 307^a-413 = ff. 106).

THE MSS. OF THE JAMI'UT-TAWARIKH.

I propose now briefly to enumerate the MSS. of the whole or portions of this work with which I am acquainted, or of which I have found any record.

1. BRITISH MUSEUM.

- (1) *Add. 7628* (dated A.D. 1433), one of the best and most complete MSS.
- (2) *Add. 16,688* (fourteenth century), containing the latter half of Vol. I (= ff. 561-728 of the previous MS.), viz., the reigns of Jūjī and his successors to Ghāzān, followed by a brief account of Uljāytū (Khudā-banda). Rien describes this text as much more correct than the preceding one.
- (3) *Add. 18,878* (A.D. 1828-9), containing part of Vol. II, viz., the history of the Chinese, the Franks, and the Indians. Rien describes it as incorrect and defective.
- (4) *Or. 1684* (A.D. 1850), transcribed from the Lucknow copy. Part of Vol. II (= ff. 206-302 of *Add. 7628*), containing the history of the Ghaznawis, the Seljūqs (with the appendix of Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm), the Khwārazmshāhs (fuller than in the older MS.), the Salghūris of Fārs (also fuller than usual), and the Isma'īlis.
- (5) *Or. 2007* (A.D. 1851), copied for Elliot from the Calcutta MS., containing the history of India and the refutation of Metempsychosis.
- (6) *Or. 1786* (nineteenth century), containing the history of the Chinese, Franks, and Indians.
- (7) *Or. 1958* (A.D. 1850) contains only the headings of sections and chapters, copied from the MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (8) *Or. 2062* (Elliot's MS.). ff. 24-59 contain the section on India.
- (9) *Or. 2927* (A.H. 994 = A.D. 1586) contains the whole of Vol. I, including the history of Gaykhātū (missing in some MSS.) and Ghāzān.
- (10) *Or. 2885* (A.H. 1030 = A.D. 1621) contains Vol. I down to the reign of Ghāzān, with the supplement on Uljāytū and Abū Sa'īd.

2. INDIA OFFICE.

- (11) No. 3524 (= Ethé, 2828), a fairly complete copy, the one which I have used in writing this article, and of which the contents have already been fully indicated (A.D. 1671).
 (12) No. 1784 (= Ethé, 17), containing Vol. I only.

3. BODLEIAN.

- (13) No. 23 (Ethé = Elliot, 377), dated A.H. 944 (= A.D. 1537), containing Vol. I in its entirety, including, apparently, the reign of Uljāytū.

4. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

- (14) The MS. described by Morley on pp. 8-11 of his *Descriptive Catalogue*, containing (in the Arabic version) fragments of the history of the Prophet and his followers; the concluding portion of the history of Khitā, the history of India, with the account of Buddha and the refutation of the doctrine of Metempsychosis; and part of the history of the Jews. The MS. is dated A.H. 714 (= A.D. 1314).

5. RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

In the *Hand-list* of Lord Crawford's Oriental MSS. (which have now, unhappily for scholars, passed into the less liberal control of Mrs. Rylands), two manuscripts, Nos. 364^b and 406, are mentioned on p. 166, opposite the entry *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*. No particulars are there given, but Mr. H. W. Hogg has kindly supplied me with a copy of the notes on these MSS. made by Mr. Michael Kerney, with some further annotations of his own. From these the following brief notices are compiled:—

- (15) No. 364^b (Persian), ff. 27-65. The account of Buddha (Sakyamuni), re-translated (as appears from inscriptions in Persian and English) from the Arabic version of the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh*.

- (16) *No. 406*, ff. 190 of 27.5 x 16.2 c. and 17 lines, incomplete at end, modern (about 100 years old). It is described as being, apparently, a compendium of Universal History from the *Jāmi' u'l-Tawārikh*, and contains the history of Ancient Persia down to the Arab Invasion and death of Yazdigird, the pre-Islāmic history of the Arabs, and the histories of the Jews, of the Greeks, of the Roman Empire down to A.H. 717 (= A.D. 1317), including the Popes, and of the Chinese.

6. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(For further particulars see Blochet's *Catalogue* of the Persian MSS. in this Library, vol. i, pp. 201-204, Nos. 254-258.)

- (17) *No. 254* (= *Suppl. Pers.*, 1113). Vol. i (Mongol History), defective at the beginning, many lacunæ, fourteenth century of our era.
- (18) *No. 255* (= *Suppl. Pers.*, 209). Vol. i, with the Appendix on the reigns of Uljāytú and Abú Sa'id, dated A.H. 837 (= A.D. 1433-4). This was one of the MSS. used by Quatremère for his edition.
- (19) *No. 256* (= *Ancien fonds Pers.*, 68). The Mongol history (vol. i) down to the end of Chingiz Khān: fourteenth century of our era.
- (20) *Nos. 257-258* (= *Suppl. Pers.*, 1264-1265). Vol. ii (the part dealing with general history), part ii, comprising the history of the Isma'īlīs, Turks, Chinese, Indians, Ghaznawīs, Seljūqs, Khwārazmshāhs, and Salghūrids.

7. VIENNA.

(See Flügel's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 179-181, Nos. 957 and 958.)

- (21) *No. 957*. Part of vol. i (Mongol history), described as containing only about one-third more than the portion published by Quatremère (the life of Hūlāgū), and thence onwards to the death of Ghāzān Khān, i.e. the second half of vol. i, ch. ii, section 2 (on Chingiz Khān and his successors).

- (22) *No. 958.* The supplement to the portion described immediately above, viz., from the accession of Uljáyú (Khudá-banda) to A.H. 820 (= A.D. 1417). This supplement does not, of course, form part of the original work, but was composed for Sháhrúkh (A.H. 807-850 = A.D. 1404-1447).

8. MÜNICH.

(See Aumer's *Catalogue*, pp. 69-72, Nos. 207 and 208.)

- (23) *No. 207.* This contains, apparently, the greater part of vol. i, on the history of the Mongols, including that of Gházán Khán. It is dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6), and is described as being very well written.
- (24) *No. 208.* Various portions of vol. ii (General History).

9. CONSTANTINOPLE.

- (25) In the Catalogue of the Mosque Library of St. Sophia, No. 3034, mention is made of a volume of the *Jámí'u't-Tawárikh*, which appears to contain the history of Chingíz Khán, i.e. in all probability the whole or the greater part of vol. i of the *Jámí'u't-Tawárikh*. It is not clear whether the date A.H. 785 (= A.D. 1383-4) mentioned by the catalogue is intended to represent the date of transcription or not.

10. RAVERY MS. (copied from MS. 14 of Bengal As. Soc.).

- (26) A quite modern but clearly written copy, containing a large portion of Vol. II (the General History), viz. :—
- (1) History of the Turks (ff. 1-23^a).
 - (2) History of the Kháns of Ohín u Máchin (ff. 23^b-44^a).
 - (3) History of the Ghaznawís (ff. 49^b-118^b).
 - (4) History of the Seljúqs, with the Appendix (ff. 120^b-184^a).
 - (5) History of the Khwárazmsháhs (ff. 184^a-211^a).

This manuscript has now been acquired by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund.

The list of MSS. here given is not complete, since other MSS. exist in India, Russia, and probably elsewhere, but it is sufficient to show that, *primâ facie*, ample materials exist for the complete edition of this work, which is so much needed, and which, as clearly appears from the minutes of meetings held on July 20th, 1903, and October 16th, 1903, was from the first contemplated by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund.

III.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA LXX (Sp. LXIX),
FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TREATED.*

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

TO those¹ (Supreme Persons) do I sacrifice; to them²
do I come on for friendly aid, who are the Ameša-
spentas, who rule aright, who establish (all things) well;
(2) and to³ that Chief would I⁴ take up (or 'celebrate'
my song), to that God and ritual Chief do I sacrifice
who is Aūharmazd,⁵ (3) the Creator, the Rejoicer, the
Producer of every benefit.⁶ (4) And I sacrifice to the
Chief who is Zartušt, the Spitāmān.

The Holy Statutes are proclaimed.

(5) And I would proclaim our institutes, or 'statutes,'
those,—(even) ours,—which are the flawless (ones) (lit.

* Translations into Parsi-Persian and Gujarātī, from texts uncollated and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. The Pahlavi text of this section has been carefully prepared with all the MSS. collated, and will appear in due course.

¹ Correctly conjecturing a *tān*, for the *tām* of some MSS.

² Here, however, in error, as 'tem' refers anticipatively to *Ahurem*.

³ *At* is an error, as *ašša* is nom.

⁴ A 1st singular was erroneously seen here, perhaps to carry on the thoughts of *yafūi* and of *yasdi*. As *gereūte* was mistaken, it was probably thought to mean 'take,' to a 'gir'; so, rather than 'make,' *vebedauam-ē*; we had better read *vaxdāuam-ē*, same characters; the Pers., however, has *avar kūnam*.

⁵ Did the translator fail to see that Ahura was one of the Amešaspentas? The original passage is particularly interesting as to this point.

⁶ The Pers. has *nigmat* for *āzādih* (or *avādh*) = *vōhu*; *ašša* should properly be read for *aša* throughout.

'the purity'), [that is to say, in the matter of their (administration) I would act as blameless (lit. 'pure')];—(6) those do I proclaim and inculcate upon persons (7) which are the institutes (of) *Aharmazd*, and (of) *Vah'man*, (of) *Ašavahišt*, (8) and (of) *Šatraver*, and of *Spendarmat*, and (of) *Haurvadat*, and (of) *Amervdat*, (9) which are (established for) the Herd's body, and (for) the Herd's soul, and (for) *Aharmazd's* Fire,—(10) which are the statutes (of) *Srōš*, the Holy,¹ and (of) *Rašn'*, the most just, and (of) *Miθra* of the wide pastures, (11) and (of) the Holy Wind, and (of) the good *Dēn* of the *Mazdayasnians*, (12) and which are also the statutes of the āfrin blessing of the pious and of the good (ones), and of the genuine fidelity (lit. 'absence of deceit'), of the pious and good (ones), and of the (non-infidel (*sic*)) non-offensiveness (of 'the absence of the outlandish unbelief,' 'of the non-Iranianism')² of the good and pious ones, (13) that we may with invitations³ make known (possibly 'that we may gain'; see *nāšīma*) what is sacred (or 'bounteous'⁴) in (these) communications (lit. 'in speech'); that is to say, (the writer meant) 'at will let it so be,' (that is, 'let him

¹ *Alīm* was not mistaken for an acc. of *ašō* = *ašīm*, possibly of another accent. The Pers. also renders *ašō*; though I do not think this quite decisive. The 𐬨 is the Pahlavi sign for 'y,' here again occurring in the middle of an Av. word, as having also its inherent vowel 'a.' There is no such word as *ašīm* here present; the form is *ašyām*, an acc. sg. masc.; see Z.D.M.G., Oct., 1898.

² I can only suggest an *an-avar-uxti* here, the 'u' in *-avar* being the result of epenthetic anticipation of the following 'a' in *uxti*, 'the most non-irreligious' (*sic*), 'a' *pric*: before *var*—'the one having no irreligious speech'; 'who does not express himself in an unorthodox manner.' The Persian reads *arānagi*, translating *bi-dār-?* + *bi-ranšīdah* (so); while the gloss to Visp. x, 10, would suggest the further idea of a 'not un-Iranianism' (?); *anarānākih* to be read here?

³ The Persian has *da'wat kunam* = 'I make invitation,' 'I invite.'

⁴ I cannot always accede to the meaning 'holy' for *spešda* = *ašyānti*, but 'bounteous' alone hardly conveys the idea; 'beatifying with prosperity,' 'sacred good fortune,' seem to be the ideas involved. 'Holy,' with the most, has, on the other hand, seemed to me to be too credulous.

so bestow these advantages ("these blessings") as the Prince-benefactors of Thy¹ Province").

Prayers for Participations in the Cause.

(14) A profitable communication ('useful voice,' not seeing a nom. pl. in *suyamnat*) let them bear (seeing a 'bareñtu' for 'bareñtō')²;—promoters of the general prosperity (*Saošyants*) and may we be³ (profit-bearers) and successful; and may we be Aûharmazd's friends, as (His) assisting person(s);⁴ (15) yea, may we be like one who, as a man, has been (active) in the thinking of the good thoughts, in the speaking of the good words, and in the doing of the good deeds of the holy man.⁵

Prayers for Spiritual Approaches.

(16) (Inform us then) how,⁶ as (being) of good thought, he [*Vah'man*] may approach us,⁷ also how may he approach us as endowed with the mental cheerfulness ('with a confident estimate') as regards the two interests, [when I would effectually maintain (literally 'I would well work,' 'when

¹ Is it 'of the XXX? provinces'; hardly; see the *l-k* or *r-k* recurring; see also the Persian *tâ*. Was this 'lak,' however, accidentally occasioned by the foregoing letters -tâ, -tû? *Lak* seems to render the *Avesta* *vâ* as 'vâ.'

² Recalling Y. XXXIII, 9.

³ Recalling Y. XXX, 9.

⁴ Referring to the *vîziñtō* *gatiñ* of XXXI, 22.

⁵ Here I suggest as alternative reconstruction of the original: 'who (read *gōi*) with the good thoughts of the holy man thinking, with the good words of the holy man speaking, and with the good deeds of the holy man acting' Or, otherwise again, putting *mainimna* (*mainyamana*) in the sg.; read -nō, to smooth the sense.

Nothing is more erroneous than to refrain from restoring texts, which is the chief business of reproduction; no texts of any kind exist which are perfect. Our incipient confidence is illusive; approximation only is to be expected.

⁶ So, as the original in *gatiñ*, *gōiñ* is better rendered in this sense, here avoiding the interrogative.

⁷ Recalling Y. XLIV, 1, and Y. XLIV, 8, so mistaking only the immediate subject.

I would carefully further and adjust') the interests of Heaven and those of the world]. (17) How¹ may my soul approach that which is the good mental joyfulness (or 'the one endowed with it')?

Sacrificial to the Waters, etc.

(18) And I sacrifice to the forth-flow² of all the good waters [and with joyfulness of mind³] and to their counter-flow⁴ [ebb and flow]⁵ and to their taking-up?⁶ (the return, or counter-flow, of the flood-tides(?), or freshets); (or 'to their absorption' (into the atmosphere(?) for further rainfalls)). (19) And to *Berejya*, the sovereign of ladies⁷ (so,— here, however, with great error for *berезантем* = 'exalted,' which is properly rendered '*buland*' as it occurs

¹ Here interrogative; see Y. XLIV, 8c.

² It is interesting to notice that *fravimešn'*, rather than *frandimešn'*, is here indicated by the sense of *friditim*; so also the Persian Pahl. text writes *fravimešn*, but it has a curious Persian transl. *pah mathâr* (so), as if the utterances of vocal doctrinal expressions were seen; *mathâr* renders *afrišnagšn*, etc., at times.

³ A repetition from 16 and 17.

⁴ The Pers. transl. has *pasirah raftan*.

⁵ One might suppose that the 'tides' were referred to, but the localities were inland.

⁶ *Jareitim* is here referred to a *jar* = 'gar,' 'to seize'; so the Pers. translates *girišni*; I still prefer 'their roar,' as in S.B.E. xxxi, 1887; 'their "taking-up" in vapour' would be too advanced.

⁷ This translation may indeed possibly be correct in essence, as the word may in fact refer to 'ladies,' but the form of its translation was probably, if not evidently, an error owing to the same common mistake, which I have so often endeavoured to rectify. The long 'i' of *xšathrim* is one of those relics of the original Pahlavi-Avesta signs, which I find to be so frequent in the Avesta-writing; in the original Pahl.-Avesta it equals *y*, as well as *i*, *d*, *g*, etc.; and it has here its inherent vowel 'a' (or 'e'), as so often. The word is *xšathriyam* (or '*-yem*'), of course agreeing with '*ahuren*,' acc. sg. masc., though this last word shows an interesting case where '*ahura*' does not refer to '*Ahura Mazda*'; *xšathrim* as acc. sg. masc. is as impossible as an *ashm* of that force, or as a *hatim*, etc.; see again Z.D.M.G., Oct., 1898, etc., and the previous article.

xšathriyam may, however, exactly mean 'appertaining to the protection of ladies.' I preferred, however, in S.B.E. to avoid this opportunity to follow tradition.

below), and to the brilliant¹ one *Apām Napāt*, of the swift horses (the Lightning); (20) and there is,² (meaning 'let there be'), this hearing³⁻⁵ for the sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and afrin-service of (or 'for') the (entire) sacred world. (21) And I sacrifice to *Srōk*, the Holy (the 'Ear of God,' so elsewhere as the 'Hearing of our sacrifice'), and to the lofty Chief who is the *Aūharmazd* (Himself), (22) who is the (one) eminent above *Aša*⁴; [that is to say, of the *Yazats* whose body is *Aša*, He is the great One], who is the most (closely) approaching above *Aša* (meaning (?) 'more closely approaching than *Aša*'), [that is to say, the business which it is necessary to attend to with sagacity is attended to in advance⁵ (or 'more fully so') by Him].

(23) And to all the reported words⁶ of⁷ *Zartušt* do I sacrifice [to the *Avesta* and the *Zand*⁸], and to all performance of good deeds,⁹ which have been done up to the present, and to those also which are (to be) done [from the present forth].

¹ The 'brilliant' one postulates a meaning 'to lighten' in the root of *xšaēntes*; this I can hardly accept, though 'brilliant' is well enough adapted to the context here.

² *Srōka* understood in this sense; see also 21, not as mere 'hearing,' however, but as accepted 'hearing'; the 'heeding' on the part of God regarded as the object of the sacrifice, while *sraoka* also elsewhere undoubtedly means 'the heeding on the part of man,' and even 'toward man'; see the *Gāthas*, Y. XLV, 5.

³ The *ait* = 'is' shows a failure to notice the imperative in *astu*; 'let this heeding be'. Was *asti* read, as in some MSS., for *astu*? In one 'good' MS., K. 4 (?), I think, all the *ā*'s are written as *ē*'s.

⁴ So, far better than 'eminent from His Holiness'; if we can avoid this last; see also *zag. i maa*, 'even more closely attentive than *Aša*'; 'the most (fully) arrived from *Aša*' would invert the relation; *Ahura* is the subject; God would not so naturally be so referred to.

⁵ The idea of 'anticipated information' is elsewhere prominent.

⁶ The traditional sayings.

⁷ So the most MSS. with the original; but B. om. the *i*.

⁸ As if the whole *Avesta*, together with its commentaries, were from *Zartušt*, whereas we should have correctly 'O *Zartušt*'; see the original.

⁹ Hardly 'his' deeds here; see the future referred to.

IV.

MSS. CECIL BENDALL.

EDITED BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S.

II. FRAGMENTS EN ÉCRITURE GUPTA DU NORD.

C'est à l'ingénieuse patience d'un ami désintéressé que je dois de pouvoir présenter ici une transcription complète de ces fragments; les notes aussi, dans l'ensemble, lui appartiennent.

Le premier morceau (A), quatre feuillets numérotés 26-29, met en scène les Bouddhas de tout le cosmos, avec leurs Bodhisattvas et leurs Śrāvakas. Ces saints personnages vont se rendre dans notre univers (Sahā) où Śākyamuni leur révélera la dhāraṇī Dharmahṛdayasamucchrayaṇī. "Ne craignez pas de ne pas trouver place dans la Sahā," expliquent les Bouddhas à leurs auditeurs, "car Śākyamuni possède le pouvoir de faire tenir sur un grain de poussière tout l'élément 'terre' de tous les univers," etc. Nous ne sommes pas, que je sache, renseignés ailleurs sur ce pouvoir magique de *praveśa*.

Il n'est pas certain que le deuxième fragment (B), une feuille incomplète, fasse partie du même ouvrage. C'est un specimen de la littérature d'exorcisme et qui présente avec l'Ātānāṭīyasutta des ressemblances assez étroites.

MS. A.

26 (r^o).

[Pl. I. A. 1a. (= x. b. 2.).

- [p]rav[e]śavyākaraṇ[īp] bhāṣa[m]t[e]¹ adh[i]ṣṭh[i]tā
cāny[o]nyam anu[n[o]dītā [ye] [p]y [e]v[e]ha daśasu
dikṣu buddhā bhagavantaḥ tiṣṭhanti yāpayanti
dharma[ṇ] ca deśayanti ~ s[arve]

¹ On attend une forme du passé: 'ont dit,' correspondant à *adhīṣṭhita*, *anumodita*. [L. V. P.]

2. te buddhā bhagavantas tām vajradharmasamatā[m]
pratitya dharmahrdayasamucchrayaavidhvaṃsanīm
nāma dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedapraveśavyākara-
ṇīm bhāṣam-
3. te dhitiṣṭhanty anyonyam cānumodante ~ ye py
anāgate dhvani daśasu dikṣv anyonyāsu loka-
dhātuṣu tathāgatārhanṭaḥ samyaksambuddhā
bhaviṣyanti ~ te pīmām
4. vajradharmasamatām pratitya dharmahrdayasamu-
cchrayaavidhvaṃsanīm nāma dhāraṇīmudrāpada-
prabhedapraveśavyākaraṇīm bhāṣisyante dhiṣṭhā-
syanty anyonyam cā-
5. numodiṣyante || atha khalu teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ye
bodhisatvās te tām prati prati buddhān bhagavataḥ
pariprakṣuḥ katamāsan bhagavaṃn asmābhir aśruta-
6. (~¹) p[ū]rvā vajradhar[m]a[sama]tām pratitya
dharmahrdayasam[u]c[ch]raya[v]i[dhv]am[sa]-

26 (v°).

(Pl. 2. A. 1b. (=x. a. 2.).

1. [ni] dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedaprav[e]śavyākaraṇī²
²yayam [e]va bahugunaḥkar[ī] ~ evam ac[in]tya-
dha[r]maguṇasamanvāgatā[m] sarvadharmānāva-
raṇa
2. vad upaśamakarīm deśayatu bhagavāṃs tām vajra-
dharmasamatā[m] pratitya dharmahrdayasamu-
cchrayaavidhvaṃsanīm dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedapra-
veśavyākaraṇī[m]
3. sarvamārabalapramardanakarīm yāvad anupadhiṣeṣe
nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāpaṇīm bahujanahitāya
bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato

¹ ~ est un trait indiquant que, sur la ligne, aucun caractère ne précède ou ne suit.

² i me paraît assuré par les traces visible.

³ Lire *evayam*. [Peut-être : *yā evam bahū*?—L. V. P.]

4. janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanuṣyāṇāṃ
atha te buddhā bhagavantaḥ tām bodhisatvān
evam āhuḥ vayam api kulaputrās tāṃ sahāṃ lo-
5. kadhātum gamiṣyāmo yatra sa śākyamunis tathāgato
viharaty arhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ ye pi daśasu
dikṣu buddhā bhagavanta etarhi tiṣṭhanti yāpa-
6. [yanti] ¹ [ny]o[ny]ās[u] [l]okadhātuṣu
[t]e sa[rv]e sabodhisatvagaṇaparivṛtāḥ śāśvaka-
saṃghapuraskṛtāḥ tāṃ sahāṃ lo-

27 (v^c).

[Pl. 1. A. 2a. (= x. b. 3.).

1. [ka]dhātu[m] gam[i]ṣyanti ~ yatra sa śākyamunis
tathāgat[o] v[i]haraty a[r]han samyaksa[m]buddhaḥ
tena śākyamuninā tathāgatena sārddham imāṃ
vajradharmasamatā[m] pra-
2. tītya dharmahrdayasamuechrayavidhvaṃsani[m]
nāma dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedapreveśavyākara-
ṇiṃ bhāṣiṣyante dhiṣṭhāsyanti ~ anyonyam cānu-
modiṣyante sa-
3. rvasatvahitāya duṣcaritakarmanivāraṇāya bhadra-
caryāprapūraṇāya anuttarajñānapāripūryai sarve
te buddhā bhagavanto dya tāṃ sahāṃ lokadhātum
saṃni-
4. patya bodhisatvagaṇaparivṛtāḥ śāśvakasaṃgha-
puraskṛtā imāṃ vajradharmasamatāṃ pratītya ²
dharmahrdayasamuechrayavidhvaṃsani[m] dhāra-
ṇīmudrā-
5. padaprabhedapreveśavyākaraṇiṃ bhāṣiṣyante ~ tad
yo yuṣmākaṃ icchati tāṃ vajradharmasamatāṃ
pratītya dharmahrdayasamuechrayavidhvaṃsani[m]
nā-

¹ I.e. *anyo*.² Écrit *rya*.

6. [ma dh]ā[raṇimudrāpadaprabh]e[da]p[ra]veśav[y]āka-
raṇim śrot[u]ṃ tāmś cāprame ¹ yāsaṃkhyeyān (~)

27 (v^o).

[Pl. 2. A. 2b. (= x. a. 3.).

1. ² kabuddhakṣ[e]tr[e] buddhān bhagava ³
taḥ tiṣṭhataḥ pūjayitum taṃ ca dharmam śrotum
tāmś ca sarvabuddha-
2. bodhisatvadevaviśayamāraṇaviśayabuddhakṣetrāṇikā-
ravyūhān draṣṭum aśrutapūrvam ca bahubuddha-
saṃnipātam draṣṭum ⁴ amṭa etarhy asmābhiḥ
sārdham āga-
3. cchatu tām saḥam lokadhātum yatra sa śākyamunis
tathāgato viharaty arhan samyaksambuddho tha
te bodhisatvā mahāsatvās tām buddhān bhagavata
evam āhu-
4. r evam bhadanta bhagavan gacchāmo vayan tathā-
gatena sārđham saḥam lokadhātum yatra sa
śākyamunis tathāgato viharaty arhan samyak-
sambuddhas tām aśruta-
5. pūrvam vajradharmasamatā[m] pratitya dharmahr-
dayasamuechrayavidhivaṃsanin dhāraṇimudrāpada-
prabhedapraveśavyākaraṇim śravaṇāya tatra va-
6. yam ekakālaikasamayaikab[u]d[dha]k[ṣ]etre tām
apra[m]eyāsaṃkhyeyān buddhān bhagavata- (~)

28 (r^o)

[Pl. I. A. 3a. (= x. b. 4.).

1. s t[i]ṣṭhant[o] yāpayantaḥ pūjay[i]syāmas teṣān
cāntikād dharmam śroṣyāma tatra ca vayan
caturbhir ṛddhiviśayavyūhais tām saḥam loka-
dhātum samanu-

¹ Ici un trait d'union, la courbure du bord supprimant la place d'écrire.

² I.e. *eka*°.

³ Ici un trait d'union, même raison que supra.

⁴ MS. semble porter *draṣṭuṇaṃta* ou *draṣṭuṇta*.

2. kṛtān drakṣyāmaḥ tāmś ca mahāsannipātavyūhāṃ
drakṣyāmaḥ saced vayan tatra buddhakṣetre
tasyāṃ dhāraṇyāṃ bhāṣyamānāyāṃ sthānaṃ
lapsyāmahe tāmś ca bu-
3. ddhān bhagavato vanditum śakṣyāmaḥ paryupāsītum
pūjayitum dharmam ca śrotum tāmś ca yathā-
sannipatitūn bodhisatvān mahāsatvān ity atha te
buddhā bhaga-
4. vantaḥ prati prati buddhakṣetre tān svān svān bodhi-
satvān mahāsatvāṃs tāmś ca mahāśrāvakān evam
āhuḥ mā yūyaṃ kulaputrā evam kāmṣata maivaṃ
ci-
5. kitsadhvaṃ tatra lokadhātau praveśasthānāvakāśaṃ
pratiḥ¹ tat kasya hetoḥ ananto buddhānāṃ bhaga-
vatā[ṃ] buddhaviṣayāvatārasamatājñānakauśa-
6. l[ya]sat[kar]mavipākāḥ vistirṇāvakāśāḥ sakalapu[ny-
a]ḥ sa]

28 (v^o).

[Pl. 2, A. 3b. (= 3. a. 4.).

1. śākyamunis tathāgato mahopāyakaūśalyasamanvā-
gataḥ ye kecit kulaputrāḥ satvāḥ satvadhātusa[ṃ]-
grahasann[i]h[i]tāḥ dhātvāyatana-
2. mīśritās teṣāṃ satvānāṃ saced ekaikasya sumeru-
pramāṇa ātinabhāvo bhavet parikalpam upādāyaḥ²
śaktaḥ sa śākyamunis tathāgatas tān sa-
3. rvasatvān evamrūpātmbhāvān ekasmim sarṣapaphale
praveśayitum ekaikaś ca satvovistirṇaviṣayāvākāśāḥ
syān na ca parasparam te cakṣuṣa
4. ābhāsam āgaccheran na ca tasy³ aikasya sarṣa-
paphalasya sarvasatvamahātmbhāvapraveśenon-
atvaṃ vā pūrṇatvaṃ vā prajñāyeta ~ evamrūpeṇa
ku-

¹ Erreur de scribe, comme plusieurs autres.

² Même erreur que ci-dessus à *pratiḥ*.

³ Écrit *et*.

5. laputrā upāyakaśalyena samanvāgataḥ sa śākyamunis
tathāgata iti ~ || punar aparāṃ kulaputrāḥ yāvat
karkaśatvaṃ tat sarvaṃ pṛthivīdhā-
6. (~) tuḥ śaktaḥ sa śākyamunis tathāgatas taṃ
sarvaṃ pṛthivīdhāt[u]-

29 (r°).

[Pl. I. A. 4a. (=x. b. 1.).

1. [m e]karajūgr[e] praveśayitu[m] na ca tasy[ai]kara-
[jā]grasya sarvapṛthivīdhātupraveśēnonatvaṃ va
pūrṇatvaṃ vā prajñāyeta ~ anenaivaṃ rūpeṇ o-
pāyakau-
2. śalyena samanvāgata sa śākyamunis tathāgataḥ punar
aparāṃ kulaputrā yat kiṃ ci dravatvaṃ prajñā-
yate tat sarvaṃ abdhātub śaktaḥ sa śākyamu-
3. nis tathāgatas taṃ sarvaṃ abdhātum ekabālāgre
praveśayitum na ca tasyaikaśya bālāgrasya sarvāb-
dhātupraveśēnonatvaṃ vā pūrṇatvaṃ vā pra-
jñāye-
4. ta ~ || punar aparāṃ kulaputrāḥ yaḥ kaścid vāyu-
dhātub prajñāyate ~ śaktaḥ sa śākyamunis tathā-
gatas taṃ sarvaṃ vāyudhātum ekasmin roma-kūpe
pra-
5. kṣeptum tatra ca sarvo vāyudhātus tasmīṃ ekaro-
makūpe vistīrṇāvakāśaḥ svaviśayava¹ samcaret ||
punar aparāṃ kulaputrā yāvad uṣṇa-

29 (v°).

[Pl. 2. A. 4b. (=x. a. 1.).

1. [t]va[m] prajñāyat[e] tat sa[r]va[m] t[e]j[o]dhātub
utpannaḥ utpannapūrva utpatsyate vā taṃ sarva[m]
tejodhātum ekasmin paramāṇau praveśay[e]t² sa
ca sarva[s] tej[o]dhāt[ub]

¹ Ci-dessous 29 v°, 2, *scaviṣayavat*.

² Ou ²/a.

2. tasmin paramāṇau vistirṇāvakāśaḥ svaviśayavat
samcaret || punar aparāṇ kulaputrā yāni kāni ei
daśasu dikṣu buddhakṣetrāṇi tāni sarvāṇi sārḍha[m]
3. taiḥ sarvasatvaiḥ taiś ca caturbhir mahābhūtaiḥ sa
śākyamunis tathāgataḥ ekarājāgre praveśayitum
śaktas tasmimś ca paramāṇurajasi te sarva-
4. satvāḥ saha tair mahābhūtaiḥ svaviśayakarmānta-
cāriṇo vistirṇāvakāśā vicareyuḥ na ca paraspara-
viheṭhā bhava na ca tasyaikarājāgrasyona-
5. t[*v*]aṃ vā pūrṇatvaṃ vā prajñāyeta evaṃrūpeṇopā-
yājñānakaśālyena samanvāgataḥ sa śākyamunis
tathāgataḥ || punar aparāṇ kulaputrā

MS. B.

(7^v)

[Pl. I. B. 1a. (=x. a. 5.).

1. ḥ.
eva[m] ca vāca[m] bhāṣant[i] nāsti bhūtārhaḥjivitaṃ ~
yatra śakro devendro¹ mantra[m] bhāṣati dāruṇaṃ ~
yatredaṃ vasati sūtraṃ grāme vā nagare pi vā
na ta-
2. [tra] . . .² asmākaṃ praveśaṃ na labhāmatha³ ~
evaṃ dāruṇa sūtreḍaṃ bhāṣitaṃ sāmabandhanaṃ ~
yatra bhūtā pravekṣyanti tatra [. .] jvalaṃti ca⁴ ~
sarve nairayikā duḥkhā bhū-

¹ Peut-être, pour rétablir le mètre, pourrait-on supposer que le texte primitif portait un génitif en *āna* (admis en sanskrit buddhique) dont la dernière voyelle formait saṃdhi avec la première de *indro*; ainsi *devānendro*.

² Suppléer *vāso*?

³ Ou *labhāma tha*? En tout cas la curieuse forme d'une 1^{re} personne du pluriel en *matha* paraît exister. Je serais porté, pour ma part, à admettre qu'elle doit son origine à un saṃdhi, à la façon du pâli-prākṛit, entre *-ma* et *atha*.

⁴ Deux akṣaras manquent. Leur omission et la lacune qui suit se compliquent pour me rendre trop hasardeuse une restitution.

3. [tā] . . . ~ vedanā ~
 devarājāna vacanaṃ yaś ca bhūto atikramet ~
 kāyasya bhedaṃ narakeṣu avicasmy upapadyatu ~
 yaś cāpy atikramet sūtraṃ yathā bu-
4. . . . ~ — ~ — ~¹
 dhruvaṃ virāgitā buddhā yaś ca sūtraṃ atikramet
 bhāṣitaṃ sūtru buddhebhī ~ sambuddhena prakāśitaṃ ~
² karuṇarucasya arthāya rakṣāyā
5. . . . ~ — ~ ca ~
 sarvagrahā pramucyatu ~ ye ca loke vihiṃsakāḥ
 itrasaṃtu uttrasante ca ~ na ~
6. . . . ~ kā³ śatam || (~)

(v^u).

[Pl. 2. B. 1b. (= x. b. ā.).

1. ahaṃ vakṣye
 sarvabhūtāś ca yakṣāś ca mā ca hīṃsantu mānuṣān
 tatra vaiśravaṇo rājā sarvair yakṣaiḥ puraskṛtaḥ
 upasaṃkramitvā sambuddhaṃ vandī-
2. [tum] . . . ~ — ~ me⁴ ~
 vanditvā śirasā pādau kṛtvāna ca pradakṣiṇaṃ ~
 ekatamante sthahitvāna imā gāthāṃ abhāṣisu ~
 prabhaṃkaraṃ namasyāmi ~ bhavanīrṃmuktanāya-
3. vām⁵ ājñāya deśesi dharmacakṣumān
 tatvaṃ vira namasyāmi ~ lokanāthaṃ narottamaṃ ~
 dharmeṇa tvaṃ mahāvīra samaṃ prekṣasi gautamaḥ⁶
 subhā-

¹ Suppléer "dāhebhī bhāṣitaṃ ?² M. E. J. Rapson a proposé la distribution des pādas qui avait paru mal assurée. [L. V. P.]³ Le k n'est pas sûr. L'm dans śatam est irrégulièrement formé, mais est entièrement probable.⁴ saṃgrahakrama, semble-t-il.⁵ Une partie du caractère manque, mais ce me semble certain, contre l'hypothèse d'un ca ou d'un ta. On peut conjecturer qu'il y avait là un composé terminé en bhava ou bhāra.⁶ Cf. Grimblot. Sept Suttas Palis, p. 324 : kusolena sammikkhasi : amannasā 'pā taṃ vadanti. [L. V. P.]

$$A. In$$
$$\{A, 2A, \dots, (n-1)A, nA\}$$

A. 3a,
(=X, b, d)

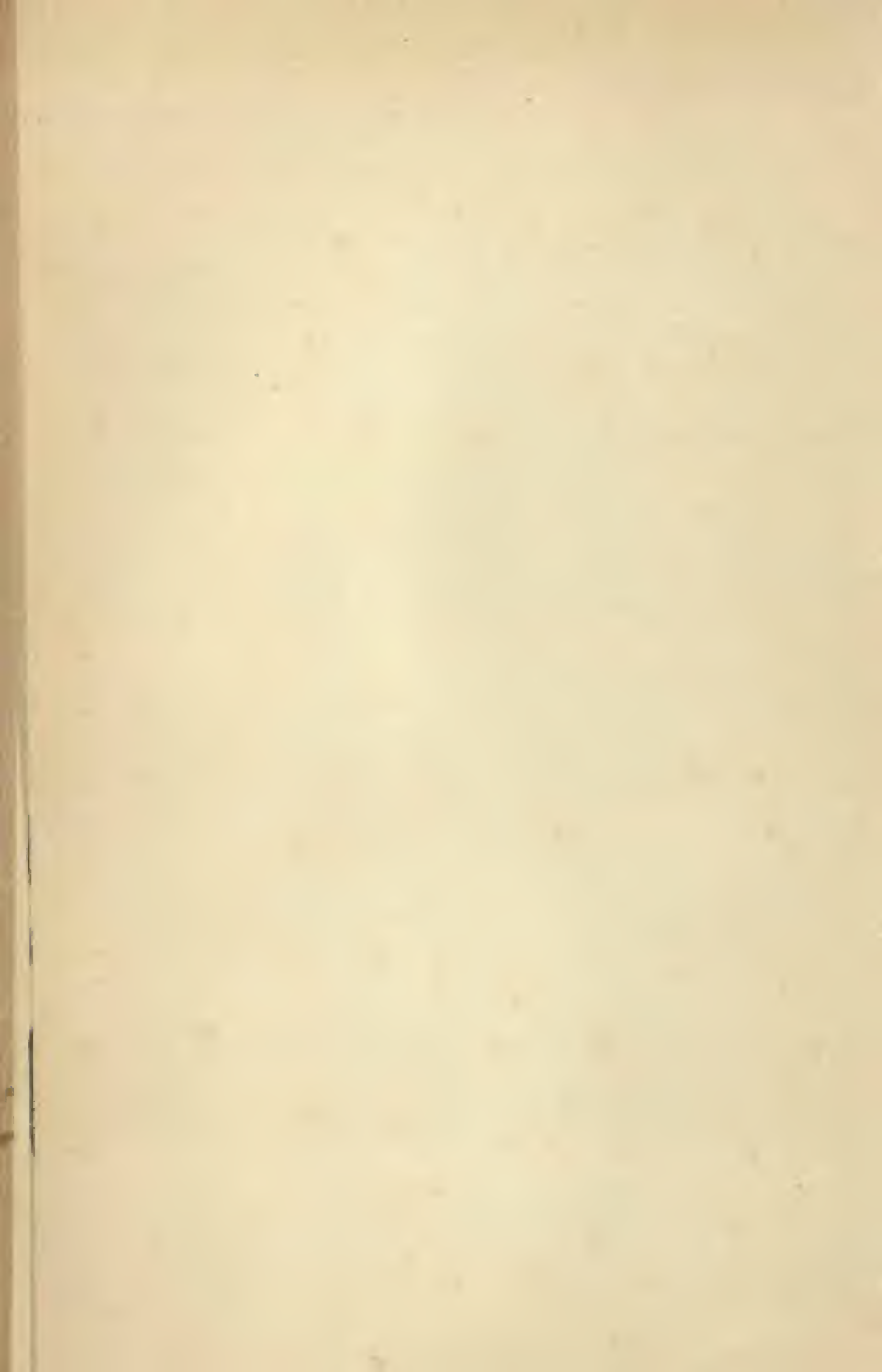
$$A_{\text{in}} (=X_{\text{in}}, b_{\text{in}})$$
$$B; 1\mu, (=X, n.5)$$

PALM-LEAF MSS. (recto).
Plate I.

A. 1b.
(-X, a²)

$$A_{-2b},$$
A. 3b.
(=X 6.4)
$$A, 4b, (=X, n.1)$$
$$H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z$$

PALM-LEAF MSS. (1870)



4. [ṣitam] . . . ¹ sūtram dharṃarāja prabhaṃkara ~
 tatrāpy ahaṃ pravakṣyāmi sambuddhaḥ samānvāhara² ~
 yakṣapretyā mama pretya upāḍenti vivīdhā
 hastirūpā sim-
5. [ha] . . . ³ [vyā]ghraṃrgarūpakāni ca ~
 aśvarūpāḥ gavarūpāḥ kharoṣṭrā eḍakāni ca
 sthūlaśīrṣāḥ kṛśagā⁴ lā (~)

¹ Il me semble à propos de supposer là ~ — comme dans les pādas impairs qui précèdent. *trayā* pourrait aller.

² Si on mesure *samānvāhara*, on obtient un pāda.—[Même remarque que ci-dessus, B 1^a, note 2, p. 52.]

³ *rūpā* au moins très-probable.

⁴ "gā", sic. Lire "gālā".



V.

A COIN OF HUVISHKA.

By J. F. FLEET, L.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

THE illustration A. at page 58 below shews a coin of Huvishka, the reverse of which has been presented by Thomas in this Journal, 1877. 212, plate, fig. 7; by Gardner in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, plate 28, fig. 7; and by Cunningham in his *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 22, fig. 17. For the casts from which I illustrate this coin and two others which have to be noticed along with it, I am indebted to Mr. Allan, of the British Museum.

The reverse of this coin shews a woman, standing, clothed with an *himation* or short upper cloak over a *chiton* or long robe reaching down to her feet, holding a bow in her left hand, and drawing an arrow from the quiver with her right hand. There is, perhaps, a small crescent over her head: or that detail may be a part of the head-dress. The name attached to the figure is *ΖΕΡΟ*.

* * * *

This coin appears to have been first described by Thomas, in this Journal, 1877. 213, No. 7. He read the name as *ΖΕΡΟ*, and interpreted it as meaning Ceres (*Dēmētēr*) but as denoting Diana. And he considered that the device was imitated from a certain coin of Augustus of B.C. 10. The reverse of that coin, however, illustration B., shews an appreciably different figure of Artemis or Diana; clothed indeed in a long flowing robe, but striding. A resemblance between the two figures is found only in the point that each of them holds a bow in the left hand and is drawing

an arrow from the quiver with the other hand. It cannot be said correctly that the device A. was an imitation of the device B.

Von Sallet (*Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, 202) rejected the reference to Ceres, and proposed to read the name as $\mu\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron$,—taking the μ and ϵ as combined in "monogram."

Gardner (op. cit., 144, No. 71) read the legend, somewhat doubtfully, as MEIPO. He took the figure to be that of Artemis. And, in respect of the point that the name would denote the Sun-god, he said (introd., 61):—"I venture to suggest that the word MEIPO is intended, for we find in other instances that inappropriate legend sometimes accompanying types which were, as we may conjecture, unintelligible to the die-cutter."

Stein took up this matter next, in the course of an article entitled "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins," which was published first in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1. 155 ff., and then, with some additions, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 17. 89 ff. He followed the belief that Kanishka founded the Śaka era of A.D. 78, and that the coins of the Kanishka group are the latest of the so-called Indo-Scythic series, and present at least some deities of an unmistakably Zoroastrian character. His point of view was that "these representations are, in fact, almost our only contemporary documents for that most obscure period in the history of Zoroastrian worship which intervened between the fall of the Ancient Persian Empire and the Sassanian revival," and that the names of the non-Indian deities on the coins in question are mostly Middle Persian or Pahlavi. And under those influences he treated this particular name as follows (IA, 17. 93), taking as his clue "the bow and arrow in the hand of the deity." He took the word *tīr*, meaning in Pahlavi and Persian 'an arrow,' which is a later appellation of the star Sirius whose Avestic name is Tishtrya, and is

also the name of the fourth Zoroastrian and Cappadocian month.¹ He inferred that an arrow "in popular conception was evidently an attribute of the star;" and he found a passage in the Tir-Yasht, 8. 37, in which the swift flight of the star Tishtrya is directly compared with that of an arrow. He also found that in two of the best manuscripts the name of the fourth month in question is written *Teipei*. Accordingly, he analyzed the first letter of the word $\tau\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron$ into a τ followed by the characters ϵ and i combined. He thus read the name as $\tau\epsilon i\pi\omicron$. And on the point that the figure is undeniably that of a woman, he said :—"We need not attach much importance to the difficulty presented by the apparently female character of the type. The latter is evidently a mere reproduction of the Greek Artemis, which was a type ready at hand for an Indo-Scythian die-cutter wishing to exhibit in his type the characteristic emblems of the Deity, bow and arrow."²

Finally, Cunningham (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 2. 42), objecting to the association of a female figure with the name of a male god, preferred to read the name as $ZEI\pi\omicron$, and to identify the goddess with the Persian Zahra, Venus. He remarked :—"In the Arabic version of the Acts of the Apostles [c. xix, 28] the Greek *Ἀρtemis* is rendered by *Zahra*.³ We have also the

¹ He also (IA, 17. 90, 92, 94) found Mihr, Mithri, names of one of the other months, in the Miro, Miuro, etc., on other coins of the same group; Athra, Ātash, names of the ninth month, in the Athsho, Athosho, of the coins; and Xantheri, Xanthri'orē, etc., names of the sixth month, in the Shaorēoro, Shaurēoro, of the coins. He seems, in fact, to have been far too much influenced by that line of thought. But, while we may differ from him in respect of some of his conclusions, we cannot recognize too cordially the great service that he rendered by establishing the *sh*-value of the character π .

² It may be observed, however, that the arrow has no prominence on the coin: it is not shewn at all: the prominent attributes are the bow and the quiver.

³ The passage is the well-known one :—"And when they heard *these sayings*, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

"statement of Hesychius, who says Ζαήτης Ἀρτέμις Πέσαι. As a final proof I may add that I possess two "gold coins with *exactly* the same female figure with "Bow and Quiver, both of which bear the legend of "NANO. That Nanaia was the Eastern Venus we have "the testimony of Plutarch and Klemens of Alexandria. "The former says 'Artemis quam vocavit Anaïtida,' and "the latter more directly says Ἀφροδίτης Ταυαῖδος." Later, in his *Coins of the Kushāns*, adhering to his identification of the goddess with Zahra, he proposed to read the name as "perhaps ΖΗΡΟ" (p. 63, No. 80), or "doubtfully as ΖΕΙΡΟ or ΖΕΡΟ" (p. 97).

My reading of this name differs from all the preceding readings. In the first syllable we certainly have a compound character. But we cannot recognize anything like Z, I, or T, as a part of it. We might recognize an M or an H, in combination with an *epsilon*, or even an *epsilon* and an *iota*; the right limb of the M or H doing duty for also the principal part of the *epsilon*. But no similar instance of a ligature is found on any coins of this group, or, except in the actual "monograms," on any of the other coins: and, as we have seen (this Journal, 1907, 1044 ff.), the sign H with the value *h* is conspicuously absent from the coins of this group. In any case, however, it is out of the question that we should admit a female figure as an accompaniment to the name of a male god: there is nothing in the coins of the Kanishka group to justify so strange a treatment as that.

I base my reading on what we have been told by Tayler regarding the disappearance of the character H with the value of the aspirate from the Greek alphabets, and the evolution of the rough breathing in its present form. He has said (*The Alphabet*, 2, 86):—

"The process of formation can be conveniently traced "on the coins of Heraclea, an Ionian colony in Lucania,

A COIN OF HUVISHKA.

A



B



C





"which supply an instructive series of chronological legends, extending from the close of the 5th century B.C. to the beginning of the 3rd. We have four successive types—

"(1)	HE	prior to 400 B.C.
"(2)	HPAKΛEION	400-350 B.C.
"(3)	HPAKΛHION	350-300 B.C.
"(4)	HPAKΛEION	after 300 B.C.

"At first H is a mere guttural breath, E representing the long vowel *ē*. In the next stage H denotes the aspirated vowel *hē* (=English *hay*). The forms are then differentiated and the sounds specialized, giving $\vdash = h$,¹ and $\text{H} = \bar{e}$. The character \vdash easily passed through L to L , which is the form of the rough breathing usual in "minuscule MSS."

With that guide before us, I find in the first syllable of the word $\text{H}\epsilon\text{P}\text{o}$ a ligature which, rare as such combinations were in the more ancient Greek writing, is one which is of no questionable nature but is of actual occurrence. The ligature consists of H as a cursive form of the rough breathing \vdash , prefixed to ϵ as a variety of the cursive *eta*, h . And the name given to us here is $\text{H}\epsilon\text{P}\text{o}$, = 'Ēro, or more freely Hēro, or (we may say) Hēru: for the *u*-value of the *o*, see this Journal, 1907. 1046, and 1045, note.²

* * * * *

The treatment of this matter would hardly be complete without an identification of the goddess who is here called 'Ēro, Hēro, or Hēru. On this point, the following remarks may be made.

¹ Roberts, in his *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, part 1. 273, has noted a "form H which is apparently a transition form between H and the Tarentine H ."

² When I wrote that note, I had lost sight of the fact that Dr. Stein had already identified the name Oesha, Oēsha, with the Sanskrit Vriśha, through, in his opinion, a Prākṛit form **vriśha*.

The two coins referred to by Cunningham (see page 58 above), as presenting exactly the same female figure but bearing the legend NANO, are now in the British Museum. They, also, are coins of Huvishka.¹ And the illustration C. shews one of them, presented by Cunningham alongside of the coin bearing the name Héro in his *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 22, fig. 16.

We have here, on the reverse of C., a figure which is almost identical with that on the Héro coin: but it has a nimbus, and a plainly discernible crescent over the head; and the upper garment is treated differently.² The legend ~~NANO~~, Nano, marks this distinctly as a figure of Nanā, Nanaia, the great goddess whose image was carried away from Babylon to Shushan (Susa) by the Elamite king Cudur-nankhundi about a.c. 2280.³ But it does not follow that Héro was necessarily Nanā.

Jastrow has told us (*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 81 f.) that Nanā, the consort of Nabu, was, in the fully developed cosmology, the planet Venus, and her name became finally displaced by that of Ishtar (Astarte, Ashtoreth). She may thus be certainly treated as a Babylonian counterpart of Artemis; for, Rawlinson has told us (*The Five Great Monarchies*, I. 139) that in the inscriptions of one king Ishtar is represented as the goddess

¹ Attention may be drawn to a detail which is clear enough on the original coins, but is not quite so evident in the illustration which I give. The oo of the name ooHPKI is represented, not by two complete circles, but by two semicircles, with the open part downwards. Why this should have been done, is not apparent: the die-sinker was plainly a good artist; and he could, surely, have easily made room enough to form the two vowels fully, by making the nimbus somewhat smaller.

² It is treated in this way again on the reverse of a coin of Artemidóros (Gardner, plate 13, fig. 2). But there the goddess stands facing: and, judged by the hand-drawn illustration in Cunningham's *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, plate 14, fig. 4, she seems to be holding the bow in a different manner,—horizontally, or almost so.

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 7. 796.

of the chase: and that would suffice to account for her being represented on this coin with the bow, an attribute of Artemis as the huntress. Again, other reasons for identifying Nanā with Artemis, perhaps even more directly, are given by Wagner in his article "Nana" in Roseher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*:¹ this writer has reminded us, for instance, that a temple which the author of ii, Maccabees, 1. 13, speaks of as a temple of Nanaia and locates at Elymais a "city" in "Persia," is called by Josephus (*Antiquities*, 12. 9, 1) a temple of Artemis.

Now, Nanā appears to be invariably depicted on the Indian coins with a crescent above her head: and the crescent moon was certainly an attribute of Artemis as the goddess of the moon. But the crescent does not necessarily mean the moon in the case of Nanā: as is well known, the planet Venus shews from time to time the crescent shape; and there are occasions when, in the east, she can be seen in that shape with little, if any, optical aid. Further, Nanā is depicted on the coins in various styles, and with other surroundings, which are certainly not those of Artemis.² It would seem, therefore, that the persons who directed the making of those coins regarded her in several aspects, amongst which that of a connexion with Artemis was only one. Also, it appears difficult to trace any appellation of Nanā resembling in any way the name Hērō. And further, it would seem that other goddesses also were regarded as counterparts of Artemis: for instance, Herodotus tells us (2. 216) that the Egyptian Bubastis (Pasht) was the same with the Artemis of the Greeks. We must here look, I think, for some other goddess than

¹ I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Wroth, in answer to an inquiry about his mention in his *Coins of Parthia*, introd. 20 f., of the temple of Artemis (Nanaea) in the kingdom of Elymais (Susiana).

² For instance, holding a horse-headed or deer-headed sceptre (Gardner, plate 26, fig. 3; Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, plate 22, fig. 12); riding on a lion (*Coins of the Kushans*, plate 22, fig. 20).

Nanā, also capable of being regarded as a counterpart of Artemis, but having a name which does resemble the name Hêro.¹

The required goddess is found— (I am indebted to Dr. Pinches for this)— in the Babylonian Êru, Êrua,² who was amalgamated with Zer-panitum, "the seed-creatress," the consort of Marduk (Merodach). Êru, Êrua, was in a special sense the goddess of creation and reproduction, and was, from that point of view, a counterpart of Artemis,— notably, of the famous Artemis of Ephesus, the personification of the fructifying and all-nourishing power of nature : and that would suffice to account for the presentment of her with the bow of Artemis. Further, inscriptions indicate that she was identified with Nanā ; which would justify her being represented with so similar a figure and dress. Finally, there are indications that her name was at one time pronounced Hêru, Hêrua : and that would exactly account for the form Hêro, pronounceable as Hêru (see page 59 above), which we have here.

¹ The name of Hêra (Juno) of course suggests itself. But no authority can be found for connecting the bow and quiver with her, and none of her real attributes are found here. And, while the die-cutters of Kanishka and Huvishka, or the persons from whom they obtained their designs, may have used the same figure, or closely similar figures, for different deities, there is no good reason for imputing to them mistakes in the matter of attributes.

The Greeks had also the name Hêrō : but, in addition to its having *omega* instead of *omikron*, it appears to have been confined to (1) a daughter of Danaus, (2) a daughter of Priam, and (3) the well-known priestess of Aphrodite of the story of Hêrō and Leander.

² Regarding this goddess, see also Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 122 ff.

VI.

THE *VYAKTI-VIVEKA* OF MAHIMA-BHATTA.

By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

THIS is a unique rhetorical work in Sanskrit literature, quoted by such eminent authors as Mammata-Bhaṭṭa. In point of singular outspokenness, fearless criticism, and utter disregard of contemporary opinion, few rhetoricians can compare with Mahima-Bhaṭṭa. He wrote his well-known work at a time when the critical spirit was at the highest pitch, and his courageous exposure of the prevailing schools of thought and his daring attempt to set up an original school in their stead are commendable. Though often referred to by later authors and quoted piecemeal, the *Vyakti-vivēka*, as a whole, has till now remained a sealed book to the public at large.¹ A paper manuscript of the work that was available to me, as well as the Mysore Oriental Library copy to which I had access through the courtesy of the Curator, supplied the materials for this brief sketch.

From the closing verses² of the work it will be seen that the full name of the author was *Rājānaka-Mahimaka*.

¹ It is just under publication by Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstriar, Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum.

²

आधातुं व्युत्पत्तीर्नमृणां वेमयोगभाजां नः ।
 सत्सु प्रथितनयानां भीमस्त्रामितगुणस्य तनयानाम् ॥
 श्रीधिर्यस्त्राङ्गभुवा महाकवेः श्यामलस्य शिष्येण ।
 व्यक्तिविवेको विदधे राजानकमहिमकेनायम् ॥

The term *Rājānaka* is, as we know, a title of respect held in common by several poets and scholars, such as Mammāṭa, Ratnākara, and Ruṣṣyaka. And in the introductory verse¹ the author calls himself *Mahimā* (nom. sing. of *Mahiman*); so that Mahimaka or Mahimā is the real name of the author. He is more popularly known as *Mahima-Bhaṭṭa*, or (with reference to the name of his work) the *Vyakti-viveka-kāra*. We also meet with the form *Mahimāchārya* in the colophon at the end of the cantos.

From the closing verses quoted already, we learn that he wrote the work for the edification of his own grandsons (नप्तारः), the sons of *Bhīma*. Whether *Bhīma* was Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's son or son-in-law is not clear from the passage, as the term नप्तारः generally refers to a son's sons or a daughter's sons.² More probably *Bhīma* was his son, for he is spoken of here with no mark of respect and as if the relationship between *Bhīma* and himself was well known to the public.

The term नप्तारः may refer also to great-grandsons (sons of a grandson or a granddaughter).³ If we take this meaning into consideration, *Bhīma* will have to be regarded as Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's grandson (a son's son or a daughter's son), which is rather improbable, since *Bhīma*'s sons must have been sufficiently grown up to receive instruction at the time of the composition of this work.

Now, whatever may be the exact relationship between Mahima-Bhaṭṭa and *Bhīma*, it is certain that *Bhīma* was

- ¹ अनुमानान्तर्भाव सर्वस्व धनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।
व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ॥

² Cf. पुत्रस्य पुत्र्याद्यापत्यं (चमरमुधा, ii, 6, 29).

³ Cf. व्यासं वसिष्ठनप्तारं शक्तेः पौत्रमकल्पयम् ।
पराशरात्मजं वन्दे शुकतातं तपोनिधिम् ॥

a younger contemporary of Mahima-Bhaṭṭa; and Bhima's sons were so dear to him that their welfare was a matter of great concern to him (वेमयोगभावां नः). Well pleased with their gentle qualities (सत्सु प्रथितनद्यागां) he wanted them to be well educated, and to this end he wrote his work.

Again, we find in the closing verses the names of his father and his teacher. Though his father, Śrī-Dhairya, may not be well known to Sanskrit literature, his teacher, Śyāmala, must have had a high reputation as an author to have merited the title *mahā-kavi*. Who could this Śyāmala be? We know of one poet, Śyāmala or Syāmalaka, to whom is ascribed, in Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, stanza 2,292 (प्रायश्चित्तं मुगयते, etc.). A similar reference is found to a Śyāmala in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhana.¹

That Mahima-Bhaṭṭa was a native of Kashmir may be inferred from the constant allusion in the work to Kashmirian authors, from the peculiar form of his name, *Mahimaka*,² and from the title *Rājānaka* exclusively held by Kashmirian poets. Further, the following quotations, coupled with the fact that most of the illustrations in the work are taken from the story of Pārvatī and Paramēśvara, go to show that our author was probably a Brahmin of the Advaitic persuasion:—

(i) व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम् ।

(ii) मिथैतन्मम चिन्तितं . . . शुक्तिरवतप्रतीतिवत् . . .

HIS AGE.

Coming now to the author's age, we find in the *Vyakti-vivēka* abundant quotations from and references to several

¹ For other citations see Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s.v. **श्यामल**.

² Cf. Bhaumaka, Vamuka, Śankuka, etc., all ending in *ka*, just similar to the other names ending in *ṣa*, viz. : Kallaṣa, Allāṣa, Bhaḷlāṣa, Mammaṣa, etc.

works and authors. I have been at great pains to trace the several stanzas quoted in the work to their original sources, and I find that the following¹ are the most often cited :—

AUTHOR.	WORKS.
(1) <i>Kālidāsa</i> ..	Śākuntala, Raghuvamśa, Vikramor- vaśīya, Kumāra-sambhava.
(2) <i>Bhāravi.</i> ..	Kirātārjunīya.
(3) <i>Śrīharsha</i> ..	Nāgānanda.
(4) <i>Bhartṛhari</i> ..	Vākyapadīya.
(5) <i>Māgha</i> ..	Śisupāla-vadha.
(6) <i>Rājasēkhara</i> ..	Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa.
(7) <i>Bhavabhūti</i> ..	Uttara-Rāmācharita, Mālatī-mūdhava.
(8) <i>Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa</i>	Vēṇī-saṃhāra.
(9) <i>Ratnakara</i> ..	Haravijaya.
(10) <i>Anandavardhana</i> .	Dhvanyālōka.
(11) <i>Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka</i> .	Hṛdaya-darpaṇa, Commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra.
(12) <i>Abhinavagupta- pādachārya</i> ..	Lōchana.

Of these we shall consider the last three, as they are the latest in point of time. We know that *Ānandavardhana* lived in the latter half of the ninth century, at the time of Avantivarman (855-884 A.D.); *Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka* was a contemporary of Śaṅkara-varman (884-902 A.D.); and *Abhinavagupta-pādachārya*, or Lōchanakāra, flourished about 993-1015 A.D. (see Duff's "Chronology of India," p. 102). Thus we may safely conclude that *Mahima-Bhaṭṭa* cannot be earlier than 1000 A.D.

¹ Among other references found in the work the following verse deserves special mention, as alluding to a rhetorician of the highest order :—

‘ काव्यकाञ्चनकषास्ममानिना कुतकेन निजकाव्यलक्षणि । ’

Can this *Kutaka* be the *Vakrokti-jīvitā-kāra* so often cited by rhetoricians?

Again, the *Vyakti-vivēka*, in its turn, has been quoted or criticized by later authors, among whom the following are the earliest:—

- (1) *Mammāṭa*. (See *Kāvya-prakāśa*, ch. v, pp. 304–7, Bombay.)
- (2) *Ruyyaka*. (See *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, Bombay ed., pp. 12–13.)
- (3) *Hemachandra*. (See *Kāvya-anuśāsana*, iii.)

Of these, *Ruyyaka*, we know, was the teacher of *Maṅkha* (a contemporary of *Jayasimha*, 1129–1150 A.D.); and was the author¹ of *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, and a commentary on Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, called काव्यप्रकाशसङ्केत. (See *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Peterson's Introd., p. 106.) Whereas *Hemachandra* (the author of *Kāvya-anuśāsana* and other well-known works) was a contemporary of Kumārapāla, and flourished between 1088 and 1172 A.D. He quotes profusely from Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Thus we see that both *Ruyyaka* and *Hemachandra* are later than Mammāṭa. Mahima-Bhaṭṭa's age, therefore, hinges on that of Mammāṭa, as being the earliest of the authors that quote from or criticize the *Vyakti-vivēka*.

Let us now consider the various theories regarding the date of Mammāṭa:—²

(1) Dr. Peterson, in his introduction to the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, maintains (p. 85) that Mammāṭa cannot be placed later than 1294 A.D. (the date of the commentary *Jayantī* on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*).

(2) Miss Duff, in her "Chronology of India" (p. 189), refers to a commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* by *Narahari* (son of Mallinātha), born 1242 A.D.

¹ Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrīar of Trivandrum informs me that he has recently discovered a *Commentary on the Vyakti-vivēka* by the author (*Ruyyaka*) of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.

² [On these questions see the references to Peterson and Bühler supplied in Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, p. 324.—F. W. T.]

(3) Professor Maedonell ("History of Sanskrit Literature," p. 434) holds that Mammaṭa lived about 1100 A.D.

(4) *Bhīmasēna-Dikshita*, in his commentary (*Sudhāsāgara*) on the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*,¹ following the tradition, states that Mammaṭa and his brothers, *Kaṣṣaṭa* (author of the *Bhāṣya-prudīpa* (and *Uvvaṭa* (the commentator on the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*), were contemporaneous with King Bhōja (996–1051 A.D.).

(5) *Bhaṭṭa Vāmanāchārya*, in his learned introduction to the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, holds (p. 3) that Bhīmasēna's statement is not reliable, inasmuch as Mammaṭa refers to Bhōja in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (canto x)—"भोजनृपते सत्त्वागली लायितम्"—and must therefore have been *later* than Bhōja; and his young brother, *Uvvaṭa*, could not at all have been a contemporary of Bhōja. He therefore disbelieves Bhīmasēna's theory, and does not consider *Uvvaṭa* as the brother of Mammaṭa (the author of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*). He ascribes Mammaṭa to the end of the eleventh century, placing him between Bhojarāja (996–1051) and *Māṇikyā-chandra*, the commentator on the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (1160 A.D.).

It will be seen from the foregoing that the date of Mammaṭa is yet a matter of uncertainty, and the question deserves a detailed discussion here.

The arguments of *Bhaṭṭa Vāmanāchārya* are too weak and untenable. He presumes that Mammaṭa should be *later* than Bhōja (because of the reference to him in the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*), and bases his arguments on that presumption. But this reference only goes to prove that Mammaṭa *cannot be earlier* than Bhōja, and I am of opinion that he must have been a contemporary of Bhōja, inasmuch as it would be more natural to interpret the passage 'भोजनृपते सत्त्वागली लायितम्' as referring to the

¹ [See Peterson's Report I, p. 26, and Vāmanāchārya's Introduction to his edition of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (Bombay, 1889), p. 3.—F. W. T.]

munificence of a ruling king under whose patronage the author and his brothers flourished.

On this supposition there would be nothing inconsistent in the tradition that *Kayyata* and *Uvvaṭa* were the younger brothers of *Mammaṭa*, and that all the three brothers were contemporaries of Bhōja. In fact, *Uvvaṭa* himself has, in his commentary on the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, clearly stated that he wrote the work while Bhōja was reigning (भोजे राज्यं प्रशासति). In the face of such an explicit admission on the part of *Uvvaṭa*, it is hard to disbelieve the tradition about the brothers and assign them to different periods. Following *Bhīmasēna*, therefore, I would place *Mammaṭa* in the first half of the eleventh century.

Coming back to *Mahima-bhaṭṭa*, we thus see that he must be placed between *Abhinava-guṇṭapāda* and *Mammaṭa*. No doubt the date I would assign to him makes him contemporaneous almost with the former; the passage in the *Vyakti-vivēka* where *Abhinava-guṇṭapāda* is criticized supports me, as the wording there suggests that *Mahima-bhaṭṭa* is referring to a living rhetorician of a rival school of thought (केचिद्विद्वन्मानिनः . . . यदाहुः, तद्वान्तिमूलम्). For these reasons I am induced to arrange the periods of the literary activity of these rhetoricians thus :—

- (1) *Abhinavagupta* — the last decade of the tenth century.
- (2) *Mahima-bhaṭṭa*—early part of the eleventh century.
- (3) *Mammaṭa*—middle of the eleventh century.

Further, if we accept these dates as accurate, we shall be allowing the necessary interval for the several commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* which sprang up in the twelfth century A.D., such as *Ruyyaka's* (1129–1150) and *Māṇikya-chandra's* (about 1160 A.D.).

HIS RHETORIC.

From the opening verse already quoted (अनुमानान्तर्भाव सर्वस्वैव ध्वनेः, etc.) we see the one aim of the author is to establish his position that *Dhvani* falls under the head of *Inference* (अनुमान). He was a good logician, and, as such, his object was to criticize the theories of the other schools (grammatical and rhetorical). He refers to these rival schools in the passage—

युक्तो ऽयमात्मसदृशान् प्रति मे प्रयत्नी
नास्त्येव तज्जगति सर्वमनोरमं यत् ।
केचिज्ज्वलन्ति विकसन्त्यपरे निमील-
न्त्यन्ये यदभ्युदयभाजि जगत्प्रदोषे ॥

(i, 2.)

His chief aim is to explain and supplement the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana in his own way, as may be judged from the following verse:—

इह सम्प्रतिपत्तितो ऽन्यथा वा
ध्वनिकारस्य वचोविवेचनं नः ।
नियतं यशसे प्रपत्स्यते य-
न्महतां संशय ख गौरवाय ॥

(i, 3.)

The work is divided into three chapters, called *vimāśas*. In the *first* chapter the author discusses critically the definition of *Dhvani* (ध्वनिलक्षणाक्षेपः). The *second* chapter deals with the impropriety of words in conveying *Dhvani* (शब्दानौचित्यविचारः). The *third* and last chapter treats of the various modes of implying *Dhvani* (the inner essence of expressions), and critically examines passages taken from various authors (अन्तर्भावोपदर्शनं).

The work is extensive, and the author craves the indulgence of his readers in the following verse:—

प्रतिपाद्यबुद्धपेक्षी
 प्रायस्तद्बोचविस्तरौ कर्तुः ।
 तेन न बद्धभाषित्वं
 विद्वद्भिरसूयितव्यं नः ॥

The author clearly states in the concluding stanza that he is reckless about the nature of the reception that may be accorded to his work by the learned public. He only cares to be remembered by them, whether as an object of ridicule, or as one that has expounded an altogether new theory affording pleasure to scholars:—

अन्यैरनुसृष्टिखितपूर्वमिदं ब्रुवाणो
 नूनं स्मृतेर्विषयतां विदुषामुपेयाम् ।
 हासैककारणगवेषणया नवार्थ-
 तत्त्वावमर्शपरितोषसमोदयावा ॥

He generally adopts throughout the work the prose style, which is common to the later rhetoricians ; but at the end of each disquisition he summarises his argument in a few verses which he calls संयद्दशोका. The prose is dignified and flowing. As a specimen of well-reasoned disquisition and as an exposition of the subtleties of the art and science of critical research, the work stands out prominent in the whole field of Sanskrit literature, and, if I refrain from dilating on its many-sided merits, it is with the hope that I have in this hurried sketch pointed out enough to create an earnest desire in the reader to plunge more deeply into the work and gather the gems that lie scattered in such abundance.



VII.

THE BABAR-NAMA.

THE MATERIAL NOW AVAILABLE FOR A DEFINITIVE TEXT
OF THE BOOK.

By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

- I. The wording of the Haydarābād and Elphinstone Manuscripts.
- II. General notice of the St. Petersburg Foreign Office Codex (copied by Dr. Kehr) and of the pseudo-Bābar 'Fragment.'
- III. Dr. Kehr's transcript considered as text-material.
- IV. Summary of the results in text-material of the examination of the fifteen manuscripts enumerated in this Journal in 1900.

I. THE WORDING OF THE HAYDARĀBĀD AND
ELPHINSTONE MANUSCRIPTS.

AT the end of an article on the Elphinstone Codex which appeared in this Journal in January, 1907, I expressed the hope of being able later to offer information from which to judge how it compares in wording with the Haydarābād Codex, the ultimate aim of the whole investigation being the establishment of a definitive text of the Bābar-nāma. Since writing that article I have ascertained, by collating the two manuscripts, that in the matter of wording one cannot be ranked higher than the other because, trifling divergence excepted, they are verbally identical.

(a) *Their variation.*

They differ in trifles easy to be dealt with; here and there one has a Turki word, the other a Persian or Arabic equivalent, but one is not more consistently Turki than the other. Here and there they give two forms of the same Turki word, both forms being found in dictionaries. They are not consistent in their use of contingently variable letters. They vary much in their diacritical marking: the Haydarābād MS. is fairly well pointed throughout; the Elphinstone is profusely so, but much of its pointing seems of later date than its transcription; some of it is incorrect, and introduces pseudo-variants. Other such variants have been created by expunging original words and substituting others; fortunately, however, in most such cases, there are remnants which can be interpreted by the help of the intact manuscript.

The major omissions of matter from the Elphinstone Codex were enumerated in my article of January, 1906; a good many minor ones in both manuscripts have come to light while collating them, omissions mostly of the common kind which a scribe makes by skipping from a word to the place of its next occurrence in his archetype. I have not, however, when consulting other manuscripts, come across any instance of loss of material from their combined contents; they interdigitate conveniently.

(b) *Their authoritative character.*

It should be remembered that although (trifling variation excepted) the two manuscripts are verbally identical, they are known by their contents to be mutually independent.¹

¹ The Elphinstone MS. cannot be a copy of the Haydarābād, because it has many notes, written into its text, where the latter has none. The Haydarābād MS. cannot be a copy of the Elphinstone, because it contains material that is not in the latter, and has not been lost but omitted.

They are collaterals and are not in one line of descent from Bābar's draft. The high rank of the Elphinstone MS. is established by the testimony of its seals and notes; the Haydarābād MS. is its equal intrinsically.¹ Accepted, therefore, as they safely can be accepted, for first-rate copies of the Bābar-nāma, it is nevertheless worth while to state a plain argument in their favour which has been made clear by collating them. It is an argument which leads to the opinion that though neither is Bābar's first draft, both are mutually independent replicas of that draft, perhaps first copies of it. If they are this, they provide the best procurable basis for the definitive text. They may, indeed, be as much better than Bābar's original manuscript, more legible and less impaired by clerical error, as a fair copy usually is than a draft.

The argument is this: In the text of fols. 194 and 195² of the Elphinstone MS., there is legible the following partially expunged note:—

تا اینجا در دیگر رسالهها بود باقی از مسودده اصل یافته شد

(Up to this place was in other writings; the rest is taken from the original draft.)

According to this note, then, the Elphinstone MS., from fol. 194 onwards, is a copy of Bābar's draft.³ The

¹ It is satisfactory to have ascertained their agreement for another reason than that of their service as text-material, viz., that a real warranty has been obtained for the Haydarābād Codex in confirmation of the mainly circumstantial one on which it has been accepted.

² Erroneously given in January, 1907, as fol. 198.

³ Owing to the inconsistent entry of notes in the Elphinstone Codex, some in the text, some on the margins, my argument might be opposed by the presumption that the quoted note is one copied, not made, where it now is. But if it were copied, the argument would be still valid, since it applies to any replica of Bābar's draft. The Elphinstone Codex is doubly supported in its position as a replica, not only by the Haydarābād Codex, but, as I have quite recently ascertained, by that portion of Dr. Kehr's manuscript which follows the place of the quoted note.

Haydarābād MS. in its corresponding portion¹ has been found, by collating the two, to be a replica of the Elphinstone MS.; it is equally so, therefore, of Bābar' draft.

There is no sign in the Haydarābād MS. of any change in its archetype; its uniform merit allows the supposition that it is a copy of one good manuscript.² Its uniformity carries on the argument in favour of both manuscripts, because it dispels the doubt cast on the earlier portion of the Elphinstone MS. by the words "other writings" of the quoted note. As the identical wording of the two manuscripts in their second section (cut off by the quoted note) supports the Haydarābād in this section, so does the same identity of wording support the Elphinstone in their first section, and lift from it the doubt imputed by the words "other writings." In fact, the comrade transcripts are throughout mutually corroborative.

II. GENERAL NOTICE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG FOREIGN OFFICE CODEX (copied by Dr. Kehr) AND OF THE PSEUDO-BĀBAR 'FRAGMENT.'

The account of this codex, which was published in the J.R.A.S. of July, 1900, suffered from being based on indirect information, and contains inaccuracies which can be corrected now that I have examined the volume itself.³

¹ i.e. from its fol. 240 to fol. 312, at which place it is left unsupported through loss of pages from the Elphinstone MS.

² Immediately after the quoted note there occur in the Elphinstone MS. an unusual number of slight mistakes and verbal variants, just what might occur if the handwriting, Bābar's that is, of the archetype were less clear than that of the earlier and presumably professional scribe. It soon, however, shows the advantage of familiarity by returning to its former agreement with its comrade.

³ I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas for being enabled to examine the manuscript in the I.O. Library.

Although Dr. Kehr's Bābar-nāma text is of admittedly doubtful authority, I have had to compare it closely with the true text of the Haydarābād and Elphinstone MSS., because its published form, the Kāsān imprint, does not exactly reproduce it. A reason for scrutinizing it, special to the seekers after text-material, is that with it is the 'Fragment,' a piece of Turki writing as to the authorship of which expert opinion has differed.¹ M. Pavet de Courteille accepted it (down to its account of Bābar's death) for Bābar's composition; Dr. F. Teufel rejected it on a Turki scholar's grounds. Neither critic saw it in Kehr's volume, or had knowledge of its place and purpose there. It is entered in the Kāsān imprint as a supplementary postscript to the recognized Bābar-nāma, and this mode of entry, there can be no doubt, has misled more than one of those who have written about it. I hope to define its place in Dr. Kehr's volume, and by so doing to make its purpose clear, to bring it into line with other parts of his transcript, and also to cast a light upon its genesis that brings real help to decide the issue "Is it Bābar's?"

Several excellent and unexpected results have followed the examination of Dr. Kehr's great volume; one provides an explanation of the enigmatical difference of view between the two Turki scholars. For I find that while the volume bears varied testimony to confirm Dr. Teufel's rejection of the Fragment, it contains also what explains M. de Courteille's acceptance of it (cf. post (d)).

(a) *A general characteristic of Kehr's volume.*

There can be few books which it is more necessary to examine as a whole in order to understand a part than the huge composite one written down by Dr. Kehr. The need

¹ Cf. "Mémoires de Bābar," vol. ii, pp. 443 ff. and notes; also Z.D.M.G., vol. xxxvii, pp. 141 ff., art. "Bābar und Abū'l-faḡl."

of a complete purview of it will become apparent, I hope, as this article proceeds to discriminate between what in its contents is of great value for the definitive Turki text and what is corroborative only or useless altogether.

All its items, which are the Bābar-nāma, the Fragment, the Timūrid Biographies, and Dr. Kehr's Latin notes, have one thing in common: they seem to be parts of a private book and not to be offered for criticism. This is shown by his numerous entries of purely personal character; by the provisional quality of his Latin noting; by his unusual fashion of entering the Turki writing. The personal notes were described in July, 1900; some are quoted by Professor Smirnoff in his Catalogue of the Library to which Kehr's codex belongs. The Latin notes are not, as they had been erroneously thought, a translation entered upon interleaves, but are rather what may be called a first snatch at the meaning of an unfamiliar tongue; they often give alternative readings, they are frequently incorrect, and they are made to a comparatively small portion of the manuscript. The curious way in which the transcribed writings are scattered over the pages assuredly shows a private end. At first sight the peculiarity seems explicable by the need of more space for Latin than for Turki, but this interpretation does not hold good, because the Latin noting ends before the scattered Turki. The advantage of the disarray in varying the visual field for easy reference leads one to explain it by the fact that it achieves this admirable result.

Dr. Kehr copied the Bābar-nāma in order to translate it into Latin, and he seems to have effected his purpose, because in Dr. B. Dorn's catalogue of the St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum (1846) there is the following item: "(62) Kehr. Latina interpretatio Mseti Tataro-Indici Baburnamah, i.e. Indo-Mongolici primarij Monarchae Baburi Historiae authenticæ rerum ab ipso gestarum compositæ. 2 voll. 4°."

(b) *The arrangement of the contents of Kehr's volume.*

The word 'arrangement' in connection with the items of Kehr's book is a misnomer, since they are in disarray. Of the four already enumerated, two only are included in the Kāsān imprint, viz. the Bābar-nāma and the Fragment; the said Fragment consisting of a summary of certain events described in full by Bābar himself, of certain passages taken from Gul-badan Begam's Humāyūn-nāma and from the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī, and of an account of Bābar's death, character, and court. The other two are named in the imprint preface, but not so to show how they, or any of the four, appear in the manuscript volume. Dr. Ilminsky has extracted from that volume a continuous Bābar-nāma and to this has added the Fragment as a postscript. Entered as Dr. Ilminsky has entered it, the Fragment stands out distinctly as matter extra to the recognized Bābar-nāma, and also, in the absence of information to contradict the inference, it cannot but be presumed to stand in the manuscript volume where it stands—postscript to the Bābar-nāma—in the imprint. Entered as it is in the imprint, it requires explanation; in Kehr's volume, however, it explains itself by its position.

The manuscript volume is far from being as orderly as the imprint; in it the Bābar-nāma is intermixed with the Fragment and the Biographies in a confusion not merely of pages and easy to remedy by the help of catchwords, but of matter also. This confusion notwithstanding, its total Turkī writings, are divided into two distinct works by a definite wrong plan. Their entanglement has needed the clue of the Persian and English texts to unravel into Ilminsky's orderly Bābar-nāma with postscript Fragment.

(c) *The two sections of Kehr's volume.*

The Turkī writings in Dr. Kehr's manuscript volume are divided into two sections, separated from one another by

blank leaves (pp. 1016 to 1020). The first section ends on p. 1015, and is followed by a note which, in Russian, states that here the writings of "Shah Babour" end. This note is appended to the Fragment account of Bābar's death, and by whomever made, testifies to opinion that where it stands the Bābar-nāma has come to an end. What is transcribed before it, begins with the Bābar-nāma narrative, but is not the true text, goes on with disordered portions of the true text, and is brought to an end by the Fragment on the page where the Russian note is entered.

What is transcribed after the blank pages begins (on p. 1021) with the Tīmūrid biographies; these end abruptly on p. 1084, with signs of a tattered archetype, and have for sequel the balance of the Bābar-nāma wanting in the first section. This balance is out of order, but it eventually ends in the normal way of the Bābar-nāma, with the Guālīār passage of 936 H.

(d) *The purpose of the Fragment in Kehr's volume.*

Kehr's first section splits into three portions, and if these are considered the purpose of the Fragment will be made clear. The first portion, which ends under 908 H.,¹ is Bābar-nāma's narrative, but it differs so curiously from the true text in its wording that for some time I was greatly puzzled to understand how such divergence could have been effected. Little by little, instances of Persification led me to form the hypothesis that this portion is not the Bābar-nāma text at all, but a re-translation into Turkī of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Mirzā's Persian one. As being this, I now definitely take it, and shall later give an example in support of my opinion. The second portion of the section, which begins in 908 H. and ends abruptly under 935 H., is

¹ A singular coincidence about the point of junction of these first and second portions will be found mentioned under (f).

true Bābar-nāma text, disordered, and, in parts, verbally inaccurate but still the text. The third portion is the Fragment, which, a few introductory lines excepted, is no part of the recognized Bābar-nāma, but is, there can be little doubt, a translation from the Akbar-nāma. The purpose served by the first and third verbally foreign adjuncts to the centre of true text is unmistakable; they are used to complete a defective portion of Bābar-nāma text. They are in line, apart from the text in style, Persified and corrupt.

The Fragment as it appears in the manuscript volume, needs no explanation other than the one given by its position there—a position to which it has been brought from the Akbar-nāma for the purpose of completing the defective Bābar-nāma of Kehr's first section. The fact that this is its manifest purpose is not changed by the presence in Kehr's second section of the true end of the Bābar-nāma; that presence shows merely that the person who made up the first section had no grasp of his text-resources.

In the similar and corrupt wording of the two verbally foreign adjuncts of Kehr's first section, I find an explanation of M. de Courteille's acceptance of the Fragment as written by Bābar. He worked at the disadvantage all workers on the Bābar-nāma shared till the Haydarābād MS. brought in the help of a second Turkī MS.; he would first know the Bābar-nāma by the portion of Kehr's text which I take to be a translation from the Persian one, and this is one in defect with the Fragment. If he had doubts as to the wording of the Fragment, as he can hardly have failed to have, his linguistic warrant for smothering them lay in that first portion.

Dr. Teufel could not accept the Fragment, because he judged it absolutely as a Turkī composition, and also, as his critique shows, by the standard of the true text. It is literally true that each scholar could find in Kehr's

volume (N.B. they found it in the Kāsān imprint only) reliable ground for accepting or rejecting the disputed matter according to whether they referred for guidance to the corrupt text of its first portion or to its latter part, which is in verbal agreement with the Haydarābād and Elphinstone MSS.

(c) *A few details about the Fragment.*

Where the Fragment stands in Kehr's volume, it is a formal misfit in date and topic. Of this Kehr knew, since before it begins, he has made this note—"Custos hic non convenit cum initio sequenti paginae."¹ What is wrong here is that an incomplete account of performers at a feast on December 19th, 1528, which precedes his note, is followed after the note by an account of reinforcing an amir on February 17th, 1527.

Where the Fragment changes from being a repetition from the Bābar-nāma to be a translation from the Akbar-nāma, there are real misfits which it will be easy to define if reference be made to the reproduction of the Fragment in the Kāsān imprint.² The Bābar-nāma passage there ends in the twelfth line with the words *girdnā bīrkūt tūk*, and this ending is marked in the manuscript volume by a *v* placed, probably by Dr. Ilminsky, over the word *girdnā*.³ The last topic of the passage is the linking of gun-carriages on February 17th, 1527. The first words of the Akbar-nāma translation (*wa rānā sangā*) belong to the account of the battle of Kānwāha, and are of date March 16th, 1527. It may be mentioned, moreover, that these are followed by

¹ The missing page is in his second section.

² See, too, Haydarābād MS., fols. 353 and 310b; Ilminsky, pp. 457 and 463; *Memoirs*, pp. 395 and 352. Also Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., vol. i, p. 106, and trans. H. Beveridge, vol. i, p. 260.

³ A discrepancy in the MSS. about *bīrkūt* it would be tedious to draw attention to.

the ineptitude of reducing Abū'l-faẓl's statement of the basis of the feudal levy in Hindūstān to one of mere mode of reckoning.

(f) *Light on the genesis of the Fragment.*

It is strange that a narrative which reproduces one work in the way that the Fragment, down to the *v*, reproduces the Bābar-nāma, should there diverge to translate another, the Akbar-nāma. Why at the *v*? why in the middle of a sentence, and with misfit of time and topic?

A chance light which goes far towards ascertaining the genesis of the Fragment, has disclosed an answer to these questions. For I find that where, at the *v*, the Bābar-nāma passage ends, the Calcutta A.S.B. and I.O. MSS. also end. Moreover, they have variants from the true text which are in that passage, the most distinct of which is the substitution of *daryā har dā* for the *yānīmiz dā* of the true text.

The Calcutta MSS. are too modern to have influenced the Fragment; the inference I draw from the coincidence is that they and its Bābar-nāma passage have for common source a manuscript which breaks off, or (if it be as confused as Kehr's) seems to break off at the *v*, and that this the Akbar-nāma passage was translated to complete.

Many considerations tend to locate that common source in Bukhārā, the city from which the three St. Petersburg manuscripts seem to have issued. The coincidence which brings the two Calcutta MSS. into relation with Kehr's, recalls the fact that when, in India and in 1809, Elphinstone mislaid his own, he intended to write to Bukhārā for a copy of the Bābar-nāma manuscript known then to be in that city.

The extraordinary confusion in Kehr's volume is presumably reproduced from his archetype. This presumption makes fruitless all speculation about the earlier condition

of his Bābar-nāma text, and this the more that the text varies so much in accuracy that it may be composite and parts of more than one manuscript.

Kehr's volume contains a second instance of coincidence which it is appropriate to mention here, and which, in quiet literary way, is startling.

I have expressed the opinion that his text down to within 908 H.¹ is a translation from the Persian one of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Mirzā. This supposedly translated portion leads up to a broken passage of true text, and it is at their point of junction that the coincidence occurs. For the translation breaks off (where Bābar, in extremity, is quoting a Persian verse) at one of the definite lacunæ of the archetype of the Elphinstone Codex, of that codex, and of their descendants, the Persian and English texts.² This is, however, the less important part of the coincidence; the more important one is that after the supposed translation, Kehr's manuscript goes on with what is missing from those MSS. and texts of the narrative of 908 H., in the true Turkī text, precisely as if the translation had been made to lead up to the passage lost from the archetype of the Elphinstone MS. It is an extraordinary coincidence, and is the more so that Kehr's true text contains (s.a. 925 H.) a note which is parallel to those preserved in the part of the Elphinstone Codex which was "copied from the draft" (see Section I (b)) [there are none in the part taken from "other writings"], and which is in the portion of Kehr's true text where the Elphinstone MS. and its archetype have a lacuna. One cannot but wish the more strongly for this coincidence to examine the Bukhārā Bābar-nāma which appears to be Kehr's source, direct or indirect.

¹ Ilminsky, p. 144, line 5; *Memoirs*, p. 122.

² The missing narrative is contained in the Haydarābād Codex.

III. DR. KEHR'S VOLUME CONSIDERED AS A SOURCE OF TEXT-MATERIAL.

Classed by their wording, the differing portions of Kehr's volume fall into two opposed divisions. One is of true Turki text, although not uniformly accurate; the other is of translations from the Persian, and is composed of three items, viz., the Bâbar-nâma narrative down to the point of coincidence just described, the Akbar-nâma portion of the Fragment, and the Timûrid biographies.

(a) *Its true text.*

The contribution made by Kehr's transcript to the definitive text is of high and surprising value. Beginning at the point of coincidence in 908 H., his copy contains at first many verbal inaccuracies, but as it proceeds, it comes into closer agreement, until it becomes identical with the Haydarâbâd MS.

Their agreement is a surprising fact. For when he began his transcript Dr. Kehr was inexperienced in Turki; his work must have been copied by Dr. Ilminsky for the Kâsân imprint; the transcripts and the imprint were effected without the help of a second Turki MS. That the Kâsân imprint for a considerable portion of its great length should be found in agreement with the true text of an early manuscript, reveals in its three copyists work too faithful for praise.

What the fidelity of the Oriental and German scribes and of the Russian scribe and editor has provided for the definitive text possesses extraneous value, for where their work has issued best into the Kâsân imprint, is precisely where pages are missing from the Elphinstone MS., and where, as a consequence, it cannot support the Haydarâbâd MS.

This is not all, however; the overlappings of accurate text begin before the lacuna of the Elphinstone Codex begins, and thus, as far as they extend, provide a triple basis for the definitive text. Moreover, this is an understatement of advantage, because the earlier and less accurate parts of Kehr's text also are highly serviceable.

For convenience of reference, I have written thus far of Kehr's text as it appears in the orderly imprint, but it is well to add that reliable as the best part of the imprint is proved to be by its agreement with the Haydarābād MS., Kehr's MS. must not be neglected in establishing the definitive text, and this especially in the less accurate parts which are often verbally changed in the imprint.

(b) *Its translations.*

It is in connection with the three items which in Kehr's volume depart, in fact or wording, from Bābar's known compositions, that the need of studying it as a whole becomes apparent. The item in the imprint to understand which complete purview is needed, is the Fragment only; that purview brings to light in the manuscript volume two other items which are in line with the Fragment in purpose and by appearing to be translations from the same hand. These three items stand or fall together; that all fall below the rank of text-material there is certainly warrant to believe.

Complete purview of the volume defines what appears to be its compiler's purpose. He meant his first section to be the Bābar-nāma, and he led up to and finished off his modicum of true text by translating from the Mīrzā's and from the Akbar-nāma. From the facts of position assigned, it is clear that he thought he had wound up the Bābar-nāma when he supplemented it by an account of its author's death. The compiler's second section I surmise that he meant for a Humāyūn-nāma, because the Timūrid

biographies which introduce its modicum of true text have Humāyūn for their objective. They lead up to that sovereign, and to his Accession (?) Feast through "Bābar Mīrzā, who was the father of Humāyūn Pādshāh." I have not had time to try to trace their starting-point; they are strange and highly Persified productions.¹

(c) *An illustration of the (supposed) translations from the Persian.*

Since the Haydarābād Reproduction and the Kāsān imprint are accessible in many libraries, it is not necessary to encroach on the space of the Journal with much extract in support of the opinion that Kehr's volume contains three translated items. One illustration will suffice, which will be quoted in all known versions and will serve: (1) to illustrate the hypothesis of translation that explains the aberrations of a part of Kehr's text; (2) to illustrate, in support of that hypothesis, the opinion Mr. Erskine formed of the Mīrzā's text;² (3) to show (as at a convenient place) a specimen of Pāyanda Ḥusain's text; (4) to show a sequel of error which, through text

¹ The following significant words appear in a few lines of the "Bābar Mīrzā" biography: *sipāh-sālār*, *Qāsim Qāchīnī*, *amīr-malik*, *tawājī-beglār*, *parvīna-beglār*, *auighūr* to describe Turks, *tāzūk-rosh*, *ba daulat wa safar*.

² "The translation which he executed (the Mīrzā) of the Memoirs of Bābar is extremely close and accurate, and has been much praised for its elegance. But, though simple and concise, a close adherence to the idioms and forms of expression of the Turki original, joined to a want of distinctness in the use of the relatives, often renders the meaning extremely obscure, and makes it difficult to discover the connection of the different members of the sentence. The style is frequently not Persian, and a native of Persia would find it difficult to assign any sense to some of the expressions. Many of the Turki words are not translated, sometimes because they had no corresponding term in Persian, and sometimes perhaps from negligence; or, it may be, because they were then familiar to the Turki nobility of the Court of Agra." (Mems., Preface, p. ix.)

after text, has followed one of the Mirzā's ambiguous phrases and enforces the need of revising the English text; (5) to show the newly enhanced worth of the Haydarābād MS. as being the complete revisor of all other texts.

(d) *The illustrative passage.*

My illustration is taken from the Bābar-nāma narrative of 907 H., at which date Bābar, still under 19 years of age, was a wanderer in the hills to the south-west of Farghāna, after expulsion from Samarqand by Shaibānī Khān.

A.—The Haydarābād MS., fol. 97, l. 2 from foot, and the Elphinstone MS., fol. 71, l. 2.

دخکت ته ایکاندا دخکت نینگ گرد و نواحی سداغی
 تاغلارنی همیشه ییاقی [Elph. یایاق] یوروب سیر قیلور ایدیدم اکثر
 یالانگ اییاق یوروب ایدیدم یالانگ اییاق کوب یورکاندین اییاق لار
 انداق بولوب ایدی کیم تاغ و تاش تفاوت قیلماس ایدی اوشول
 سیراٹنا سیدا بیرگون نماز دیگر بیلہ نماز شام اراسیدا بیر اینچک
 نامشخص یول بیلہ بیر اوی توشوب بارا دور ایدی مین دیدیم کیم
 بو یول قایانغہ بارور ایکین اوی غہ گوز سالینگ اوی نی ایتور مانگ
 تا یول نینگ قایساری چقاری معلوم بولغای خواجہ اسد اللہ
 ظرافتی قیلدی دیدی کیم کاوگون [گم] شود چکارکنیم

This passage I construe literally, and as follows:—

While in Dekhkat

دخکت ایکاندا

دخکت نینگ گرد و نواحی سداغی تاغلار

the hills belonging to the environs of Dekhkat

constantly going out on foot همیشه ییاق یوروب
 I used to wander over سیر قیلور ایدیم
 often I used to go barefoot. اکثر یالانگ ایاق یوروب ایدیم
 Through much going barefoot یالانگ ایاق کوب یوروبکاندین
 the feet became so ایاق؟ انداق بولوب ایدی
 کیم تاغ و تاش تفاوت قیلماس ایدی
 that hill and stone made no difference.

One day in the time of this wandering اوشول سیر اثنا سیدا بیرگون
 between the Other Prayer and Vespers نماز دېگر بيله نماز شام اراسیدا
 on a narrow, ill-defined road بیر اینجکه نامشخص یول بيله
 a cow was going down. بیر اوی توشوب بارا دور ایدی
 I said (i.e. to his companions, or soliloquizing) مین دیدیم
 کیم بویول قایانغه بارور ایکیین
 To which side may this road be about to go ?

اوی غه گوزد لینگ

Fix your eyes on the cow (i.e. said to his companions),
 do not lose the cow اوی نی ایتور مانگ
 (or, possibly, do not press the cow forward—Zenker, 142a)

تا یول نینگ قایساری چقاری معلوم بولغای
 till of the road the direction of the outlet shall be known.

Khawāja Asadu'llāh made his joke خواجه اسد الله خرافتی قیلدی
 Should the cow be lost, what do we do ? کیم کاوگم شبد چکار کنیم

How far Kehr's text is removed from this can be seen next.

B.—Kehr's Text, 264; Ilminsky's imprint, fol. 119, l. 1.

اوشال گونلار دختکت ته ایکانیمدا همیشه پیاده سیر قیلور ایدیم
 کوپچی [Ilm. کوپچی] یانگ ایاغ یوروب [Ilm. یوروب] ایدیم کوب

ایان یلنگ یوروکایدین ایان لڑیم انداغ بولوب ایدی کیم تاغ و تاش
تائیر قیلماس ایدی او شال وقت ته بیرگون نماز دیگر بیلان نماز
شام اراسی بیر اینچکه یول بیله بیر کیشتی بیر اوکوز (Kāz. ox)
آلیپ باره دور ایدی مین سوروم که بو یول قایدا بارور ایتی کیم
اوکوز کا قرالانگ دیو تور مانگ تا قیدا بارغای بو سوزنی ایشیتیب
خواجه اسد الله زرافت قیلدی دیدی کیم اگر اوکوز بیت سانه
[Ilm. یتمانہ] قیلور

My next extract is from 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mirzā's Persian text.

C.—Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī, I.O., No. 217, fol. 63.

در آن ایام که در دحکت بودم در کوهای گرد و نوحای دحکت
همیشه پیاده سیر می کردم اکثر پای برهنه می گشتم از جهت پای
برهنه گشتن بسیار پایهای انچنان شده بود که کوه و سنگ تفاوت
نمیکرد در اثنای همین سیر یک روزی میان نماز شام و نماز دیگر
در یک راه باریک با شخصی گاوی میرفت من گفتم که ایمن راه
کجا میرفته باشد گفت بگو نظر اندازید و گم نکنید تا بکدام طرف
بر آمدن راه معلوم شود خواجه اسد الله ظرافتی کرد و گفت که
گاو گم شود چه کار کنیم

The three versions quoted so far show several clear instances of the dependence of Kehr's text upon the Mirzā's Persian translation. They contain, moreover, several instances of divergence from Bābar's mode of expression. These points it is essential to consider in detail in order to judge the textual quality of Kehr's first portion.

(1) *Instances of Kehr's wording following the Persian text.*

Line 1. اوشال گونلار is the Persian در آن ایام, and has no equivalent in the Turkī text.

Line 2; B, l. 1. پیاده is from the Persian where the Turkī has ییاق or ایاق.

Line 4. اوشال وقت ته is nearer to the Persian در اثنای سیر اوشال سیر ائنا سیدا than to the Turkī سیر همین.

Line 5; C, l. 4. اراسی translates the Persian میان but not the Turkī اراسیدا.

Line 6; B and C, l. 5. Here is an important point, and one which has a claim on attention beyond that of its testimony to my translation hypothesis.

Bābar wrote "a narrow ill-defined road," بمر اینچکه نامشخص. Kehr's text writes "a narrow road, a person," thus reading [in its Persian source, as I take it] شخص for مشخص. In doing this it follows what is in many manuscripts of the Persian text, but what there is no reason to suppose the Mirzā wrote. Pāyanda Ḥusain reproduces Bābar's term "ill-defined" نامشخص; there may be MSS. of the Mirzā's text equally faithful to their original. [I have not found one, but time has failed me to look into those of the Bodleian Library, which are, I think, amongst our best. Those I have seen agree in error here and vary mutually in other words of the passage under discussion.] Scribes unfamiliar with Turkī, and unaware of the peculiarities of the Mirzā's text, might be misled by his two adjectives without conjunction. Doubtless they found in copying many difficulties where Mr. Erskine found them in translating.

Through this phrase, "a narrow ill-defined road" بمر اینچکه نامشخص یول, a clear instance comes to light of the translation of Kehr's text from the Persian one; Kehr's text writes کیشی (person); this is the word Bābar would have used if he spoke of a person; it is the word natural to use if translating into Turkī the Persian شخص (person); it is not

in Bābar's text; if the supposed translator of Kehr's had before him a Persian manuscript in which شخص had taken the place of میشخص, he naturally would translate it by کیشی.

To this verbal testimony in support of the hypothesis that Kehr's text is (in part) a translation from the Mīrẓā's, it is hardly necessary to add the following item of what is circumstantial. If the cow of the story had been going "with a person," as the incorrect Persian manuscripts oddly put it, or if, as Kehr's text embroiders it, "a person was taking a cow," the small point of the Khwāja's story would become smaller, for why, if there were a human guide, fix eyes on the cow?

Kehr's text takes the story still further from Bābar's. Its "person" was taking an "ox" (اوکوز, taureau, bœuf, Kāz. ox, say dictionaries). اوکوز strikes one as a strange representative of the indeterminate اوی or گاو, and destroys the image called up by the hour specified by Bābar (surely with intention), of the cow homing at milking-time.

A trifling discrepancy from Bābar's precision can be fitly mentioned here where it occurs, though of the third class of these instances. To agree with his habit, there should be the accusative sign (نی) after اوکوز (see line 7).

Line 6 (B). The Persian گ remains for the Turkī کیم.

(2) *Instances other than verbal of what shows a Persian original for Kehr's text.*

Line 8. Here is the speech of Khwāja Asadu'llāh already mentioned. In Bābar's text it is entered in Persian; it is also in Persian in the Mīrẓā's text. If the supposed translator of Kehr's text saw it in the Mīrẓā's, he would naturally put it into Turkī with its context. If, however, he had seen it entered in Persian in the Turkī text, he would, or at least might, have kept it as he found it. The words which Kehr's text substitutes for the Khwāja's speech require illumination to show point.

(3) *Points in which Kehr's text departs from Bābar's customary wording.*

Line 1. The possessive pronoun in *ایکانهیم* is not according to Bābar's style, he being as a rule distinctly impersonal in his wording. This same divergence occurs in line 3, *ایانغ لاریم*.

Line 2 (B). The word *کویچی* is not in Bābar's text, and certainly is not one usual with him. In de Courteille's dictionary it is given with this passage to illustrate its use by Bābar, but it is in Kehr's text only. Dr. Tenfel (l.c., p. 148) also refers to this passage, and his reference fails as does M. de Courteille's because not made to Bābar's text at all. The word is in the Fragment also.

Line 3; B, l. 2. *یلنگ* for *یالانگ*, Bābar's usual form of the word. So too *غ* for *ق* (as in the Fragment).

Line 3; B, l. 2. *کوب* is out of place, as it easily might be if an inexperienced person worked from the Mīrzā's phrase in which it occurs, *پای برهنه گشتن بسیار*.

Line 4. A new word *تاثير* has been brought into the texts to translate *تفاوت*, the one used in Bābar's and the Mīrzā's.

Line 6. Here is a development of the mistake which started from the reading of the Persian manuscripts, "with a person" in place of "ill-defined." If there were a person taking the cow as Kehr's text has it, there might be conversation; therefore the translator (supposed) has carried the *دیدى* and *گفتم* of the Turkī and Persian texts on to *سوردوم* (asked).

Line 7; B, l. 6. Naturally, after *سوردوم* (asked) there follows a direct question. "Where does the road lead?" Thus, the subjective sense of Bābar's *ایکین* and of the Mīrzā's *باشد* is lost. In the Turkī text there is nothing to cause the change of mood made in Kehr's; in the Persian text there is the interpolated *گفت*; I say "interpolated" of the *گفت* because the Mīrzā's verb remains in his text unaltered by it and subjective. Kehr's text translates that *گفت* (which is not in the Turkī text) by *ایتى*.

Line 7 (B). *دییو نور مانگ* is a remarkable phrase. It may account for the intrusion of the *diabolus* in the Latin notes (*vide infra*).

Line 8; B, l. 7. *قایدا بارغای*. Cf. this with Bābar's idiomatic phrase. The word *قایدا* is not one of those he habitually uses.

Line 7. *بوسوزنی ایشیتیب*. This embroidering is against Bābar's economy in words.

Line 7. *قرالانگ*. This word seems special to Kehr's text. M. de Courteille's dictionary gives it as Bābar's with a reference to this passage. Zenker does not give it in this form with the meaning 'to observe,' 'look at.' As it is written here, it accounts for Dr. Kehr's *niger*. (Zenker (678a) translates it *devenir noir*.)

I quote next from the older Persian translation of Pāyanda Husain Ghaznavi and Muḥammad Hīṣarī Mughāl.

D.—Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī, L.O., No. 215, p. 79b, l. 2 from foot. Pāyanda Husain Ghaznavi's text:—

چند گای که بودیم کوهای اطراف دکت را همیشه پیاده سیر
 میکردیم اکثری یا برهنه از بس که با برهنه می گشتم پاها بنوعی
 شده بود که کوه و سنگ چندانسی تفاوت نمیکرد در آئناي سیر
 بوقت نماز دیگر به یک راه نامشخص افتادیم بخاطر رسید که به
 بینیم این راه بکدام جانب میروند حقیقت معلوم شود اما منزل را
 ملاحظه فرماید مبادا گم کنیم خواجه اسد الله ظرافتی کردند که کاو
 اگر گم شود چکنیم

In this singularly differing version of Bābar's anecdote, two points concern the hypothesis that a part of Kehr's text is a translation from the Mirza's, viz. Bābar's phrase in it, *ناشخص*, 'ill-defined,' and the expression in it,

definitely and in varied words, of the fact conveyed by the subjective wording in Bābar's text, that he had a 'thought' or 'wondered' about the road, and did not ask 'a person' a direct question about it.

This extract from the older translation certainly indicates a ground for Akbar's asking to have a second one produced by 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mirzā.

E.—I quote now from the English text (*Memoirs*, p. 100), giving it, as the older, priority over the French:—

"While I remained in Dehkat, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot, and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I soon found that our feet became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, between afternoon and evening prayers, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow road. I asked him the way. He answered: 'Keep your eye fixed on the cow, and do not lose sight of her till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know your ground.' Khwāja Asadu'llāh, who was with me, enjoyed the joke, observing: 'What would become of us wise men were the cow to lose her way?'"

I would draw attention in this, certainly free, rendering of even the Persian text, to the loss of precision which follows from reading 'with a person' for 'ill-defined.' A merely 'narrow' road might have been the better to follow as being the more trodden by cattle; Bābar gives point by saying 'ill-defined.'

F.—The French version of the illustrative passage is at vol. i, p. 210 of the *Mémoires de Bāber*:—

"Durant ce séjour que je fis à Dekhket, j'avais pris l'habitude de me promener à pied. Le plus souvent je marchais pieds nus, et la répétition fréquente de cet exercice les avaient tellement endurcis qu'ils ne craignaient ni les aspérités des montagnes, ni les pierres. Un jour,

entre la prière de l'après-midi et celle du soir, je rencontrai un homme qui conduisait un bœuf dans un sentier étroit. 'Où mène ce chemin?' lui demandai-je? 'Ne perdez pas de vue le bœuf,' me répondit-il, 'et ne vous arrêtez pas tant qu'il marchera.' En entendant ces paroles, Khodja Açad-Allah dit en plaisantant, 'Si le bœuf s'égare, que deviendrons nous?'

G.—There remain to be quoted Dr. Kehr's Latin notes (p. 265) on the illustrative passage in proof of the opinion I have expressed that they are private and provisional only.

"Illo tempore, die quodam inter preces pomeridianas solemnus vespertinas post occasum Solis, fieri solitas (peragendas). Per tenuem viam quandam nos quandam oculo nostri virum videbamus, qui bovem capiebat (tenebat) ambulantiem. Ego interrogabam, Quorsum haec via abit (sc. ducit)? Dicebat (Oghus versum) bovem de nigra (nigrum fac) diabolus erit (sc. potius, Bovem cornu tene eoque mactato hilaris esto). Vid. in Meninski قد et قرن et *ulmaq*. Ego ad montem abeo (accedo, ascendo). Hoc sermone audito Chadsha Asadus (bovem illum sumsit) societatem (ceterorum decem hominum circiter) congregavit ad conviviam dixitque. Antequam bos comestus fuerit anni spatium conficitur."

To these notes Dr. Kehr has appended another:—

"En ambiguitatem notionis vocum duplici sensu praeditarum. Duplex hic interpretatio datur; alterutra tamen juxta connexionem textûs tantum toleranda quam hic vides. Sed hinc judicare quis poterit quantum difficilior Orientalium linguarum interpretatio sit expositione linguarum Occidentalium et quam longe harum linguarum interpres interpreti Orientalium linguarum in dignitate proponendus est ob altiore eruditionis gradum ad Orientales linguas."

IV. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF EXAMINATION OF THE BĀBAR-NĀMA MSS.

In 1900 I enumerated in this Journal fifteen manuscripts which I had found mentioned in various places, as being copies of the Bābar-nāma. The fifteen can now be classified according to their value as material for a definitive text of the book. The MSS. are numbered as they were in 1900:—

- I. Bābar's autograph MS. This has not been found; an additional item of information about it has been given to me by Mr. Beveridge, namely, that the Pādshāh-nāma (ii, 703) mentions under date 1057 H. (1647) the existence of a copy of Bābar's book (the word used is "Wāqī'āt-i-bābarī," according to Indian habit) in Shāh-jahān's special library, written with Bābar's own hand or by Ashraf (a known scribe) (*ba khatt ashraf*).
 - II. Khwāja Kilān's MS. Of this nothing further has been learned.
 - III. (Humāyūn's transcript.) The supposed existence of this has been disproved by examination of the textual basis on which it was presumed.
 - IV. Elphinstone MS. This has been ascertained to provide excellent text-material.
 - V. British Museum MS. The fragments of which this volume consists are serviceable for the text.
 - VI. India Office MS.
 - VII. Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. }
 - VIII. Mysore MS. }
- The Mysore appears to be now the ASB. MS. It must be said that Nos. VI and VII are worthless for the text.
- IX. Bib. Lindesiana (Rylands Library) MS. This has not been seen since 1900. It is a mere fragment.

- X. Haydarābād MS. This is the one complete and intact manuscript yet found, and is the reliable basis for the text.
- XIV. The Bukhārā MS. This has not been seen, but as it appears (inferentially) to be the original source of Dr. Kehr's, amongst others named below, it cannot but be of great value.
- XV. Nazar Bāy *Turkistānī's* MS. This has not been seen; it is the archetype of the Senkovski and belonged to a Bukhariot.
- XIII. St. Petersburg Asiatic Museum MS. (Senkovski). A partial copy only, which resembles Kehr's.
- XI. The St. Petersburg University Library MS. This has been seen again, and still appears to be a copy of Kehr's.
- XII. St. Petersburg Foreign Office Library (Dr. Kehr's). This has been examined and is described in the earlier part of this article.

The net result of the above summary is that there is available now as text-material, the complete Haydarābād MS., which is good throughout; the Elphinstone MS., which is identical with it, but has lost many pages; the British Museum MS., which is a collection of short fragments; and Dr. Kehr's, which is of the important help detailed in the preceding article.

It appears desirable to wait somewhat longer before undertaking the definitive text, in the hope of examining the Bukhārā MS. Meantime the revision of the English text can be effected, and this would provide a useful circumstantial guide to the final text.

VIII.

THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTION No. 1. A.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.LE.

THE inscriptions from the Buddhist Stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprōlu in the Kistna District, Madras, were discovered by Mr. Rea, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, whose account, with excellent illustrations, of the relic-chambers, the relics found in them, and other interesting details, may be read in his volume entitled *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* which was published in 1894,—ASSI, 6. 1-16, plates 1 to 10. The records were first brought to notice by Professor Bühler, in a letter published in the *Academy*, 28th May, 1892, which was reprinted in this *Journal*, 1892. 602 ff. Some of them were edited by him, with a discussion of the palaeographic peculiarities, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 6, 1892. 148 ff. And all of them were edited by him, with facsimile reproductions and a table of the alphabet, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 2. 323 ff. The records, usually counted as ten but really eleven in number, were somewhat difficult to decipher, in consequence of their presenting a new southern variety of the Brāhmī alphabet: and Professor Bühler did not claim to have produced final versions of them. That we are able to make here an advance on his treatment of one of them, is due to something which will be mentioned farther on.¹

¹ It may be observed that it is often much easier to improve upon a previous treatment of an epigraphic record than it is to produce an original treatment. The inscriptions are not accompanied by commentaries, as the literary works are: and there are frequently many more subsidiary points to be considered than are apparent at first sight,

From Mr. Rea's account it appears (op. cit., 11) that, in the excavations made by him, there was first found a large receptacle, measuring on the top about 2' 11" by 2' 6",— a *dhātugarbha* or "relic-chamber" (see this Journal, 1907, 346, note 2),— formed of two black stone slabs with smoothed inner faces (plate 3, "casket" No. 1). In the smoothed inner faces there are rectangular cuttings, answering to each other; the lower stone having a projecting rim, round the cutting, which fits into a projecting rim on the upper stone. In the rectangular cutting in the lower stone there is a cavity or chamber, 5 inches deep, with sides sloping to a circular bottom. In this cavity or chamber there were found various articles (plate 1, the top compartment), including an inscribed hexagonal crystal (ibid., and plate 4) and a globular black stone "casket" $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and height (plate 1, bottom, left; plate 4, fig. 7). In this stone "casket" there were found some flowers in gold leaf and copper, some gold beads, an amethyst bead, some small pierced pearls, a *svastika*, or Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms projected to the right, made of twenty-one small silver coins, and a crystal "phial" (plate 4, figs. 11, 12). And inside the "phial" there was found a flat piece of bone half an inch broad (ibid., fig. 12). These details help to explain the records.

The smoothed inner surface of the lower of the two stones forming this *dhātugarbha* bears three incised

or can be fully examined all at once. The first interpretation of an inscription becomes a commentary on it: but, as we know well, even the commentaries on the literary works are not all final: and the first treatment, or even the second or third, of an inscription is not necessarily final, even though it may be the work of a scholar of repute. The inscriptions, especially the more ancient ones, always remain open to further examination in the light of later discoveries: and there is perhaps no line of work in which more advance has been made during quite recent years towards a settlement of many points previously undeterminable and even unrecognizable.

inscriptions, lying round the mouth of the cavity or chamber (see the plate at EI, 2. 324), and numbered by Professor Bühler as 1 A, 1 B, and 2.

No. 1, B, runs :— Banava-putasha Kurasha shapitukasa majusa ; “ the receptacle of Kura, son of Banava, together with his parents.”¹

No. 2 runs :— Utaro Pigaha-puto kāṇiṭho ; “ Utara, the youngest son of Pigaha.”² It seems to name the stone-cutter who made the receptacle, or else the person who engraved the inscriptions.

No. 1, A, in which we are particularly interested, runs as follows :—

Text.

Kura-pituno cha Kura-matu cha Kurasha chapiva kācha-majusaṃ paṇaṭi phāḷiga-shamugaṃ cha Budha-sarirānath nikhetu.

* * * * *

After the word *Kurasha* Professor Bühler read *cha Siva[sha] cha*;³ remarking that the second word “ looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.” He took *nikhetu* as = *nikkhattum* = *nikshēptum*, the infinitive of *ni + kship*, and *sarirānath* = *sarirānām* as the partitive genitive. And he translated the record thus (EI, 2. 327) :—

“ By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (Śiva), (*has been ordered*) the preparation

¹ The inscription 1, A, shews that *pitu* = *pitrī* stands here as an *ikāṇśha* of *mātāpitu*, ‘ mother and father.’

² I follow Professor Bühler’s translation of this record. But *kāṇiṭha* seems a somewhat peculiar form for *kāṇishṭha* ; and we possibly have here a term denoting some office or avocation : “ Utara, son of Pigaha, (*is*) the Kāṇiṭha (*in this matter*).”

³ The text in EI, 2. 326, accidentally omits the *cha* both before and after *Siva[sha]*. The words are duly shewn in VOJ, 8, 1892. 155.

" of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order
 " to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*)."

* * * * *

Along with the other Bhattiprolu inscriptions, this record presents the following peculiarities in spelling:—

(1) There are no double consonants: *kurasha* stands for *kurashsha*, and *budha* for *buddha*, and so on.

(2) The long *ā* is treated somewhat capriciously: it is shewn in *kācha*, *phāḷiga*, and *sarirānaṁ*; but it is absent from *matu* and the first syllable of *chapiva*.

(3) There are no long forms of *i* and *u*: *i* stands for *ī* in *chapiva* and *sarirānaṁ*, and *u* for *ū* in *majusaṁ*.

In respect of particular words, we have to make the following observations:—

(4) There is no question about the correctness of my reading, *chapiva kācha*-, where Professor Bühler read *cha Siva[sha] cha*: the *pi* instead of *si*, and the *kā* instead of *sha*, are quite clear in the facsimile. The combination *chapiva* stands for *chāpīva*, and represents a Sanskrit *ch:āpy:ēva*, 'and also indeed.'¹

(5) In *kācha-majusaṁ*, the second component, *majusaṁ*, represents the Sanskrit *majjūshā*, more usually *mañjūshā* (the form *mañjūshā* also is given by the Śabdakalpadruma from the Śabdaratnāvalī), 'a box, chest, case, basket, receptacle:' as the original does not present an Anusvāra in the first syllable, either here, or in the form *majusa* again in the inscriptions No. 1, B, and No. 6, or in *majūsa*, with the long *ū*, in No. 9, whereas the Anusvāra is duly shewn in the last syllable here, and in *samugam* and *sarirānaṁ*, we have probably to understand that the

¹ In Pāli, *api* + *eva* becomes *appēva*; but *eva* is liable to become *va* after a long vowel: see Childers' Dictionary under *api* and *eva*. The form which we have here seems to be a kind of compromise between those two practices: the *e* of *eva* was elided, and the *i* of *api* was lengthened.

word in view was *majjūsam* = *majjūshā*, not *man-jūsam* = *manjūshā*. The word *kācha* is explained as meaning 'glass, crystal, or quartz.' I take the whole term as denoting the *dhātugarbha* itself: that application seems to be indicated by the inscription 1, B, and by the points that the word *majusa*, *majūsa*, occurs again in the two inscriptions, Nos. 6 and 9, which occupy similar positions on the other two *dhātugarbhas* which were found in the same Stūpa, and that globular stone "caskets" were not found in them.

(6) Professor Bühler took *paṇati* in composition with *majūsam*: but, as is shewn by the Anusvāra, that was certainly not intended by the author of the record. It is not clear how he arrived at the meaning 'preparation.'¹ The form *paṇati* might represent either *prañatīh*, 'bending, bowing, reverence, obeisance,' or *prajñaptīh*, 'teaching, an appointment, an order, the arrangement (of a seat, etc.).' I find the same form in the Mathurā Jain inscription No. 36, in the words *paṇati-dharitaya* and *paṇati-hara* (EI, 2. 209, No. 36, lines 3, 4), which, with *paṇati* taken as = *prajñaptī*, have been translated by "obeying the command:" and, not only does that rendering seem quite suitable there, but also it appears to be well supported by the fact that in another (but later) record from the same place we have (*ibid.*, 210, No. 39):—*Dattilāchāyya-prajñapitāye Śāmādhyāye*; "of Śyāmādhyā, who had received the command from Dattilāchārya." But *paṇati* as = *prajñaptīh* would in full spelling become *paññatti*; and that, as we shall see (page 106 below, and note 1), is not admissible here. I therefore take *paṇati* as standing here, quite naturally and correctly, for *prañatīh*; and I take it as meaning

¹ Possibly, the wrong words were italicized and bracketed in EI, 2. 327,—“(has been ordered)” instead of “(the preparation of).” On the other hand, however, in VOJ, 6, 1892. 155, we have “(has been defrayed the expense of) the preparation of a casket.”

'(an act of) reverence or obeisance,' or, more freely, 'a humble offering.'

(7) In *phāṭiga-shamugaṃ*, the first component is a well-established corruption of the Sanskrit *sphāṭika*, 'crystal, made of crystal.' The second component stands for *shamugga* = *samudga*, 'a round box or casket.' The whole term obviously denotes the crystal "phial," which contained the flat piece of bone. The arrangement of the text seems to mark this object as a separate offering by Kura himself, in which his parents did not join.

(8) It does not seem correct to take *nikhetu* as standing for the infinitive *nikkhetum*. I take it as standing for *nikkhetu* = *nikshēptuḥ*, the genitive singular of the verbal noun *nikshēptri*, 'one who deposits.' The construction *sarirāṇaṃ nikhetu* = *śarirāṇāṃ nikshēptuḥ*, 'of a depositor of relics,' is authorized and inculcated by Pāṇini, 2. 2, 15, 16, where we are taught that, save in some exceptional instances, the separate objective genitive, and not a base in composition, is to be used with a verbal noun formed with *tri* or *aka*. Instances given by the Kāśikā under sūtra 16 are *apāṃ sraśṭā*, "the creator of the waters," *purāṃ bhēttā*, "the destroyer of the cities," and *vajrasya bhartā*, "the wielder of the thunderbolt." As another epigraphic instance, we may cite from one of the Vākāṭaka records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 247, line 41):—*Gavāṃ śata-sahasrasya hantur=harati dushkritam*; "he takes over, incurs, the guilt of a slayer of a hundred thousand cows."¹ As an easily accessible literary instance we may cite from the *Raghuvamśa*, 2. 50:—*Tad=raksha kalyāṇa-paramparāṇāṃ bhōktāraṃ=ūrjasvalam=ātma-dēham*; "therefore preserve thy strong body, the enjoyer of successions of lucky things."

¹ In Pallava records, we have the same verse with the various reading *pibati* instead of *harati* (IA, 5, 52, line 32), and also with the further various reading *likhisham* instead of *dushkritam* (ibid., 156, line 35). It comes, no doubt, from some law-book.

With the above introduction, I give my rendering of the record as follows :—

Translation.

Of the father of Kura, and of the mother of Kura, and indeed of Kura himself, (*this*) quartz receptacle (*is*) the humble offering : and the crystal casket (*is the separate humble offering*) of him making a deposit of relics of Buddha.

It may be added that the principal record on this *dhātugarbha* is, not this one, but the short inscription No. 1, B, which says :—"The receptacle of Kura, son of Banava, together with his parents." That that record was engraved first, is shewn by the manner in which the last two syllables of No. 1, A, slant upwards, out of the direct line of the writing, so as to avoid the first syllable of No. 1, B.

* * * * *

A special feature of interest in this record is found in the point that, like the inscriptions on the Piprahwa and Peshāwar vases, it is in metre : it furnishes another instance of the occurrence of isolated epigraphic verses, the probability of which has been doubted in certain quarters. That this record seemed to be metrical, was observed to me by Mr. Thomas about two years ago : and it was, in fact, his remark that led me to examine the record and detect the correct reading *chapiva kūcha-* (*majusam*), and to consider other details also.

Completing the text with double consonants and long vowels, we have a verse in the Āryā metre, as follows :—

Text.

- 1 Kūrā-pitū|nō cha Kūrā|-mātu cha|
- 2 Kūrashshā| chāpī|vā kācha|-mājjū|sām|
- 3 paṇāti phālīgā-shāmuggān cha|
- 4 Buddhā-sā|rīrā|nām| nikkhe|ttū|

In view of what has been said in this Journal, 1906. 452, 714, there is no need to justify any further the slurring of the Anusvāra so as not to lengthen the preceding *a* of *saṃuggān* and *sarīrānām*, and the treatment of the *o* of *pituno* as short.

A feature, however, which does call for remark, is found in the point that the third *pāda*, *paṇāti etc.*, does not scan in accordance with the rule, which requires here three feet, each of four short-syllable instants. But the *pāda* does present the prescribed number of such instants, namely twelve.¹ The verse, therefore, must be regarded as an irregular Āryā. But it does not stand alone in this particular peculiarity: it is matched and justified by other similar instances.

Amongst epigraphic records, we have two instances in the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 89). The first verse begins—

¹ It is this point that fixes the conclusion that *paṇāti* stands here for *prapaṇāṭi*, and not for *paṇṇatti*, = *prajñapti*, which would give two short-syllable instants too many. As regards another detail, it may be added that composition of words is not permissible in passing from the second to the third *pāda*: this is a second reason for which we cannot take *majjasaṃ-paṇāti* as a compound.

The line might be set right by transferring *paṇāti* to stand after *cha*: but that involves taking a liberty with the text; and it would spoil the construction.

- 1 Jāyātī-vī|bhūś-cha-tūr-bhūjās|=
 2 cha-tūr-ā|rṇṇāva-vīpū|lā-salīlā|-pāryya|nkāh|

The second verse begins—

- 1 Śātē pañcha-shashty|-ādhikē|
 2 varshā|ṇām bhū|pātau chā| Būdha-gūp|tē|

Here, in each case, the first *pāda*— the rule for which is the same as for the third *pāda*— presents the proper number of twelve short-syllable instants, but is arranged rightly for only one foot out of the three.¹

From Pāli literature,² I have noted a similar instance in the Thērigāthā, verse 407, which begins—

- 1 Sāssūyā sāssūr|āssā chā|
 2 sāyām| pātām| prāṇāmām|=ūpāgā|mma|

¹ In the way of other metrical curiosities, it may be observed that we have a Vasantatilaka verse which is irregular in the first *pāda* in the Gaṅgdhār inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 75, line 19):— Yāteshu| chaturshu| kritēshu| etc. Also, that in the inscription on the bear at Ēraṇ we have a passage which distinctly begins as an Āryā but passes into prose (*ibid.*, 150, line 1):— Varsha| prathamē| prithivīm| prithu-kiṛttan, etc. Further, that in the Bijayagadh inscription (*ibid.*, 253) the word *siddham* should not be separated by a mark of punctuation from *kritēshu* etc.: lines 1 and 2 then form a verse in the Āryā metre, except that in the last *pāda* we must scan *etasyām* as *ēta|syām|*, taking the liberty of shortening the long *ā*: that this passage is a verse has been suggested by Professor Kielhorn in *IA*, 26, 1897. 153, and note 38.

I think that Professor Bühler somewhere pointed out that in the passage beginning with *pradāna-bhūja-vikrama* in line 30 of the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 9) we have a verse in the somewhat rare Prithvibhara metre. But the point may be mentioned here, in case it has not been previously notified.

² Perhaps Mr. Rouse can adduce other instances from this source.

And the same work yields in verse 438 an instance which is analogous, but affects the second *pāda* instead of the first or third :—

- 1 Sō=ham| tāṭō cha|vītvā|
- 2 kālām| karītvā Sindhāv-āraññē|

Here we have the proper number of eighteen short-syllable instants, but not in the right order.

* * * *

A remark may be added regarding the inscription on the Peshāwar vase, mentioned in the course of the preceding remarks, which is another instance of the occurrence of isolated epigraphic verses. This record has been exhibited as a verse from one point of view by Mr. Thomas in this Journal, 1906, 453 ; from another point of view by me, *ibid.*, 714.

There were available at that time only two reproductions of this record, both hand-drawn ; one by Professor Dowson, the other by General Sir Alexander Cunningham. Professor Dowson's reproduction seemed the more reliable : and, following that, we both took the first word as *Gihilēna*.

Since that time, there has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 8, 296, to accompany an article by Professor Lüders, a facsimile reproduction which makes it certain that the word is *Sihilēna*. The following question is thereby raised. The word *siṃha*, 'lion,' underlies both the names, *Sihila* and *Siharachhita* as written here. In *Siharachhitēna*, we must scan the *i* of *si* as long. How, then, are we to avoid doing the same in *Sihilēna*, against the metre from either point of view ?

Dr. Grierson tells me that, though he cannot just now give the exact reference, he has found the word *siha* = *siṃha* with the *i* scanned both as long and as short in

one and the same verse in some Panjābi or Rājasthānī composition. Further, that it is a rule for all Tadbhava-words—(and both the names in question are such)—that long vowels before the penultimate should be shortened.

There is every probability that the rule was the same in the ancient Prākṛits, in one of which the record in question was composed. And in these circumstances we need hardly hesitate to scan the opening words as *Sihilēna* *Sihā°*, which suits the metre both from Mr. Thomas' point of view and from mine.



IX.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM
SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

*Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum,
Oxford, and Munich.**With an Introduction and an English Translation.*

II.—TRANSLATION.

BY M. GASTER.

O YE men of knowledge and who understand riddles, who search by means thereof for precious objects; lift up your eyes on high and read the book that is called the "Privy of Privies," wherein there is contained the direction in the governance of the kingdom which Aristotle wrote for the great king Alexander.

2. Says the Ishmaelite, the translator: May the Lord keep the King of the Faithful to joy; may He strengthen him to defend the Law and to protect the people and all the interests of the Faithful. Behold, his servant has fulfilled his command, and he has diligently searched for the book of the rule of government, which is called the "Secret of Secrets," which the great and pious philosopher Aristotelos, the son of Nikomachis, wrote for his disciple the great king Alexander, the son of Kilis Flori,¹ who is called the man of the two-horns, and, in

¹ A corruption from Philippos.

Arabic, Dzul Karnain. When he had grown old and too weak to go with him, and King Alexander had made him governor and lord and councillor, because he was a man of true counsel with the spirit of wisdom and of good understanding, combining with it gracious manners and the expert providence and spiritual wisdom, and holding fast to the virtues of discretion, of meekness and lowliness, the love of righteousness and the virtue of justice : wherefore many of the sages hold him as of the number of the prophets, although he has not been sent (with a Message) to the nation and had not been a Lawgiver. And in the Chronicles (of the Greeks) it is found written that the Lord, blessed be He, endowed him with the power of prophecy, and said unto him, "Thou shouldst be called Angel rather than man." And he knew Arts without number, and there are many opinions about his death ; one section said that he died in a natural way and that his grave is known, and another section said that he ascended to Heaven in a column of the Divine Glory. And he helped Alexander by his good counsel, and Alexander followed his biddings, as is known. And his greatness, his glory, his sovereignty and rule spread over all the kingdoms, and he went to the extreme ends of the earth and he passed over all the length and breadth of the roads, and all the nations accepted his rule, the Arabs and Barbarians, so that he became king over the whole world. And this came about because of the guidance of Aristoteles and of his deep counsel and the interest he took, and in that Alexander never turned away from his words and never forsook his advice and his commands.

3. And it has been found that he sent him letters concerning the government, by which he drew the hearts to love him, and by the fulfilment of those letters he obtained the most perfect love. Among these letters there is a letter which Alexander sent to him after he had conquered the land of Persia and ruled over their

nobles. Alexander wrote to Aristotle and said unto him: "May the pious teacher and the true and faithful governor know that I have found in the land of Persia men with abundant reason and subtle understanding, and they have lordship over the kingdom, and they rebel against the king; and I fear them on account of my kingdom. And I therefore intend to slay them all, and I ask thy advice in this matter."

And Aristotle replied and said unto him: "Alexander, if thou hast decided to kill them all, and thou hast the power in thine hand this to do for the sake of thy government, thou, however, wilt not be able to kill their country or to change their air and their water. But thou wilt be able to rule over them much better by doing good unto them and by showing them honour; and thou wilt rule over them through their love for thee. For if thou wilt show kindness unto them thou wilt be much more surely established than if thou oppressest them. Know, moreover, that thou canst not reign over persons and govern the hearts but by means of justice and righteousness. Know also that just as the people can talk against thee they can also act. Endeavour, therefore, not to force them to talk, and thou wilt have peace from their deeds. Peace unto thee."

And this reply reached Alexander, and he acted accordingly; and the Persians became more obedient to his command than all the other nations.

4. Saith the Ishmaelite, the translator, Yahia ben Albatrik: I left no temple among the temples where the philosophers deposited their hidden wisdom unsought, nor have I neglected any of the great Nazarites (or, recluses) who had tried to fathom that wisdom, and of whom I thought that the object of my search could be found with him, that I did not with all industry enquire after him, until I came to the Temple of the worshippers of the sun which the great Hermes had built for himself.

And I found there a priest, a man of great wisdom and deep knowledge, and I made myself known unto him, and I made friends with him, and I used many ruses, until he granted me permission to study the books that were deposited there in the Temple. Among them I found the object of my search, which I had been commanded to search for by the King of the Faithful, and it was written in gold. And I sat me down before his noble presence, and I accomplished my desire, and with great diligence and through the good fortune of the king, I undertook to translate this book from Greek into Rumi (Syriac) and from Rumi into Arabic. And in the very beginning I found therein: The reply of the philosopher Aristoteles to the king Alexander. And thus he wrote:—

5. "I beheld the letter of the honoured, beloved, and subtle son, the righteous king, the master of great righteousness. May the Lord in His mercy lead thee on the road of righteousness and preserve thee from turning after the desire of thy heart, and make thee a companion of the good of the world to come and of this world!

"To begin with, thou mentionest in thy letter thy great regret for thy separation from me, and that I am not with thee where thou dwellest. Thou askest me to prepare for thee a treatise on the measure and balance of thy rule, which shall be unto thee as my substitute, and support thee in all thy deeds, as if I were present, for thou knowest that my absence from thee is not because I hate thee, but in consequence of my great age and the weakness of my body.

"Know that that which thou askest of me, the thoughts of the living could not contain, and still less the skins of the dead. It is, however, my duty to fulfil thy desire, for I am beholden unto thee. But thou shouldst not ask from me to make known this secret more than what I make known in this book, for I have laboured over it, and I am

hoping of the Lord that there will be no obstacle between thee and that book. For the Lord has graciously granted thee understanding, and He has given thee of the glory of wisdom, therefore study carefully the allusions (in this book) as I have taught and advised thee already aforetime. Then wilt thou obtain thy wish and accomplish thy desire. These various and scattered secrets have I merely indicated by tokens, and the sealed things have I clothed in likenesses, lest this our book fall into the hands of those proud men who destroy and of the wicked who covet power. They will then see that permission has been withheld from them to understand it, nor was it our intent that they know of it. And I would be breaking the covenant by revealing the secret which God has revealed to me. And I conjure thee, just as I have been conjured upon this subject (not to reveal it), and whoever knows this secret and reveals its hidden meaning is sure of a swift, bad punishment, from which the Lord keep thee and us and grant us mercy.

6. "And after this I mention to thee, in the first place, that which I have recommended thee as the principal objects of thy desire, viz., that it behoves a king to have at least two supports, but only then when he himself is steadfast in his rule, by which he holds sway and those who are under his reign are in one obeisance, and by such subjection the allegiance is strengthened in favour unto the liege. I will explain the reason of their obeisance to their lord, and that is of two causes, one without and the other is within. I have already explained to thee the one without, and that is thou shouldst treat the people well and help them, and this is connected with spending of money and with dispensing favours, which I will mention later on in its proper place. And the subjects are the second support for to draw their hearts by his work, and that is of the first in importance, and it has also two causes, one without and the other within. The without one, which would cause the people to show

obedience to him, is, that they see him dealing righteously with them and that he takes pity on them. And the cause within is, the counsel of the wise and pious in whom the Lord, may He be exalted, delights and whom He has endowed with His wisdom. And I will trust in thy keeping this hidden secret, and other things besides, which thou wilt find in the divers sections of this book, full of wisdom and morals, and in them their very intent and purpose. And when thou wilt study their contents and understand their allusions thou wilt obtain thy wishes and the purpose of thy desire. May the Lord grant thee a clear understanding of wisdom and the respect of the possessors thereof."

7. This book contains eight treatises. The first, on the various manners of kings. The second, on the affairs of the king and his rule, and how he must conduct himself in all his affairs and in the governance of the kingdom. The third, of the attribute of righteousness in which the king must be perfect, and by which he must lead the multitude and individuals. The fourth, of his governors, of his scribes, of the clerks of the affairs of the people, of the officers and their manner of deportment. The fifth, on his couriers who journey on his commands, of his messengers, of their preparation, of their conduct in the discharge of their messages and appointments. The sixth, on the conduct of his servants, of the commanders of the troops, and all who are under them, according to the degrees of their stations. The seventh, on the conduct of war, the battle-array, of watchfulness, of the arrangement of the soldiers, of the propitious times for battles, the time of going forward, and all the diverse movements in all directions. The eighth chapter, on special arts, natural secrets and talismans, on the good of the bodies, on the properties of precious stones, of plants, and living beings, and wonderful things of the mysteries of leechcraft, of what expels poisons without requiring the aid of a physician, and many similar useful things, as we shall hereafter mention.

8. *Book I: On the diverse manners of kings.* There are four kinds of kings: the king who is liberal to his people and liberal to himself; the king who is mean to himself and mean to his people; the king who is mean to himself and liberal to his people; and a king who is liberal to himself and mean to his people. And the Romans already have said, it is no shame to a king to be mean to himself and liberal to his people. And the Indians have said: it is profitable to be mean to himself and to his people. And the Persians have said and replied to the Indians: that only the king who is liberal to himself and liberal to his people is the king that is prosperous in his undertakings. And all agreed to it. For liberality to oneself and meanness to the people is shame and loss to the kingdom.

9. And now that we have decided to examine this thing it is meet to explain what we mean by liberality and what is meanness, and wherein consists prodigality, and what evil is caused by avarice. And it is known that things are considered blameworthy when they are in either of two extremes, but to keep the conduct straight between the two extremes is not considered a blame. The principle of liberality is difficult to determine, whilst that of meanness is easy. The limitation of liberality depends upon how much is required in time of need, and furthermore on the condition that he who gives should give only as much as is necessary, and to persons who deserve, and according to his means. For whatever goes beyond this liberality is increase and over-stepping the limit of liberality, and it becomes wastefulness. Therefore anyone who gives more than is required is not praised, and whoever spends not at the proper time is like a man who pours bitter water on to the littoral of the sea. And anyone who, instead of giving to the one who requires it, gives it to the one who does not require it, is exactly as if he helped an enemy against himself. And any king who gives what is necessary at

the time of need, and who gives to the deserving, he is liberal to himself, and liberal to his people, and prosperous in his dealings, and he studies carefully his affairs. And this is the man whom the ancients called liberal and noble ; not the one who squanders and makes gifts to people who are unworthy, for the man who thus spends largely wastes the treasures of the kingdom. Meanness in general is a title unworthy of kings and unbecoming to the royal majesty. Therefore, if either be the nature of the king, then he must entrust the dispensing of the gifts into the hands of a faithful and discreet man, in whom he has confidence, and to whom he gives full power.

10. "Alexander, I tell thee, that it is a vice for any king to give more than he possesses. And anyone who imposes upon his kingdom more than it can bear, loses himself and causes loss to others, as I shall show further on. And this I have told thee constantly, that liberality and the firm establishment of the kingdom rest on refraining from (taking) the property of other people and forbearing (to take) their goods. And I have seen in some of the maxims of the great Hermes that the most perfect virtue, excellence of intelligence, peace of the realm, and the firm establishment of law, are all in a king who forbear from touching the money of people.

11. "Alexander, know that there was no other cause for the destruction of the kings of Nigig but the too great prodigality of their gifts, far beyond their income, for in the last they laid hands on the money of the people, who rose against them and destroyed their dominion. And this is a natural consequence, in that money is the means for the maintenance of life. It forms a part of it, and life cannot permanently be maintained if this portion is destroyed. Liberality means also to give up a desired object, not to pry on secrets, and to keep silence, not to mention gifts given ; just as perfect piety consists in forgiving rebukes, in paying respect to the worthy, in

receiving everybody with a friendly countenance, and in returning peaceful greetings, and in not paying attention to the aberrations of the fool.

12. "Alexander, I have so often explained to thee that it ought now to be deeply fixed in thy mind, and that if thou doest it I am certain thou wilt succeed. But now I am repeating to thee again the whole wisdom in brief. And if I should not have taught thee anything aught but this, it should suffice to teach thee in all thy works touching this world and the world to come. Know that the intellect is the head of governance, the happiness of the soul, the revealer of secrets. It causes thee to flee from the ungainly and to love the lovable. It is the root of all things praiseworthy and the essence of the desirable. The first teaching of understanding is coveting of a good name. Whoever covets it truly, he shall have glory, but whoever covets it faintly is confounded by hatred and shame. Good fame ought to be coveted for itself. Kingdom ought not to be coveted for its own sake, but only for the purpose of obtaining fame, and therefore the aim of will and intellect is to obtain a good name. And the love of fame is obtained through good government.

13. "If lordship is coveted for other causes it produces envy, and envy produces lying, and lying is the very root and essence of vileness, and the offspring of lying is slander. And slander produces hatred, and hatred produces wrongdoing, and wrongdoing produces violence, and violence produces ire, and ire produces controversy, and controversy produces enmity, and enmity produces war, and war destroys order and devastates the lands and turns everything to chaos, and chaos produces the end of the world. But if intellect conquers the coveting of lordship, then it produces faithfulness, and faithfulness produces meekness, and faithfulness is the very root of all things lovable. It is the contrary to lying, and it engenders fear and justice, and justice engenders trust, and trust engenders honour, and

honour produces fellowship, and fellowship produces friendship, and friendship produces the willingness of sacrifice for others, and by this means law and order are established and this is in accordance with nature. And therefore it is thus made clear that the desire to govern for good name is praiseworthy and lasting.

14. "Alexander, eschew fleshly delights, for they cause destruction. Fleshly appetite induces the animal soul to covet the accomplishments of its will, without discretion, and though the body that wastes away rejoices the intellect that ought to be preserved is destroyed."

15. *Book II: Of the ordinance of the king, of his purveyance, continence, and discretion.* It is needful to a king to obtain renown through some famed science. He will become known by it to others, and he must speak of it, and thereby he shall rule and reign over others. In such wise his wisdom (science) will be known, and that he desire that they should turn their attention towards it, and then they will come to him.

16. "Alexander, any king that puts his kingdom under the Faith, he reigns and holds lord's estate. But any king that puts his Faith (the Law) in servitude to his kingdom, abases his Faith, and whoever abases his Faith, his Faith shall kill him. And I tell thee, as the renowned philosophers have said, whose followers we are, that the very first thing befitting a king is to respect all the statutes of the Law, not trespassing any of its details, or neglecting any of its prohibitions, and he must show to the people his obedience to the Law. He must in truth be a faithful believer. For when he will dissemble his faith and feign obedience, he will not obtain praise for his subtle dealings. For his secret will not remain hidden from the eyes of the people, and he will not in any wise be pleasing unto them, though he spend ever so much money on them. But only (by true faith) will he be

pleasing to God, blessed be He, and make himself beloved of His servants.

17. "And it is needful to a king to reverence the leaders of the nation, the wise men of the Law, and the judges. He should honour them, and not show pride. He should be broad-minded and skilled in thorough examination. He must foresee the future, and be merciful and kind. When he is angry he must not allow the anger to master him until he lose his reason, nor must he allow vice to seize hold of him, for if he submits to it vice will overpower his intellect and will conquer his virtue. And when he reaches the right path he must follow it without hindrance. He must not be arrogant nor put people to shame. He must dress in rich and precious clothing, and put on fair apparel, and the people will be impressed thereby and he will easily be singled out from among the rest. It is becoming that he should speak sweetly and use fair language, and his voice must be clear. A strong (clear) voice is best for times of rebuke; he must therefore not speak with a strong voice except when it is absolutely necessary, and then from afar. He also must not make his voice too often heard, for only in such wise shall his subjects respect him.

18. "He must not seek too much the company of men; his familiarity with them, and still more that with the common people, will bring him into contempt. And how excellent is the custom of the Indians in the ordinance of their king, who say that if the king shows himself to the people his royal majesty gets lowered in their eyes, and they despise him! And it is therefore beseeching that he should not show himself to them but at a distance, and then in royal apparel, and in parade and military display, and on one of the great festival days, and only once a year. And then he is to show himself to the whole nation, and one of his officers must stand beside him who is eloquent, and who will speak to them and thank God, and praise

Him in that they are obedient to the king's command, and that they know of the king's gracious will towards them, and that he thinks of their welfare, and he (the speaker) will ask them to walk in the ways of the Lord, and he will warn them not to turn away from his words, and that the king will pardon trespassers, and he will grant their requests and petitions; and he is to let them know that the king will fulfil the request of the greater number and pardon the guilty. But this must happen only once a year, and he must lessen the heavy burden they are wont to bear, and that will please them and will increase their joy, and his love will enter their hearts, and they will speak accordingly to their household and with their children. And the youths will grow up with the habit of listening to his voice and of loving him, and the women will rejoice in the joy of their husbands, and his name will be good in the eyes of all, in secret and in public. And he thereby will be safe from being treated with disrespect and from losing his sovereignty, and it will not enter into the mind of any man to change any of his laws.

19. "It is also needful that he lighten all the taxes and dispense with their tributes. And in a higher degree must he do it for the merchants who bring merchandise to his realm. For if he forbear to take away the money of his people, they, being pleased with him, will stop longer in his country, and the commerce will grow, and the rent of his realm will increase by the diverse kinds of merchandise and beautiful things (they bring) and by the greater number of people. For this will be one of the causes for his country to be peopled, and also for his income to grow, and for his affairs to improve, and his praise and the glory of his kingdom will be great. If thou givest up the small, thou wilt obtain the great.

20. "Do not covet riches that are corruptible, which thou must soon forsake, but get thee stable riches—a kingdom that does not pass away, and a life that is

everlasting. Seek to obtain a good name and pleasant company. Yield not to the animal instincts, and to the manner of the wolves to spoil whatever thou findest, and to search for what thou hast not lost. Be not cruel to those thou hast conquered, and keep aloof from everything that furthers the intent of going after the desire of eating, drinking, sleeping, and lechery. Do not give too much way to it, for this is the nature of the swine, which may be a praise in animals, but not in thee. It destroys the soul and harms the body, and shortens the days, and reduces the sight, and makes women rule over thee.

21. "Do not withhold thyself from thy best friends and the best among thy courtiers. Do not refuse to eat with them or to delight with them in play or mirth, but do it sparingly, only twice a year. And in addition to it, honour those who have deserved to be honoured [O. adds: and place everyone in his state, befriend them and praise them openly, and honour them], and return greetings to everyone of them. Give changes of raiment to as many as possible. And if it is one of the king's own garments which he takes off and which the other expects, then such gift will be far more acceptable and his love for thee much more excellent. And the king is not to stop distributing until everyone has obtained something.

22. "It is furthermore fitting for the king to demean himself sedately, and not to laugh overmuch; for too much laughing removes fear and hastens disrespect, whilst all those who sit before him will be more impressed by his sedateness, and will appear before him with dread. And if he sees one of them behaving disrespectfully, he must punish him. If he is one of those who are nearest to him (a relative), then his punishment is to be removal from the Court for some time, until he ceases to behave in such like manner. And if it is proved that he acts deliberately, so as to show disrespect and contempt,

then he must be punished more severely, and exiled to a distant place. But if he is one of the knights or courtiers, then he must be punished with death. And in the book of the Indians it is written: The difference between a king who rules by himself and the king whom the people have appointed to rule over them, is strength or weakness. And Asklabios has a chapter concerning the king. He says: The best among the kings is the one who, like an eagle, is surrounded by carrion, and not the one who is like a carcase surrounded by eagles.

23. "Alexander, the obeisance to a king comes through four things: religiosity, love, want, and reverence. Therefore, put away the wrong from the people and remove violence from them, and do not give them matter to speak, for what the people say they may do, therefore guard against giving them reason to speak (against thee) and thou wilt eschew their doing. And know [O. and M.: that the people are the honour of the king. And in the book of the Indians it is written] that fear induces respect for royalty, and it is more necessary that thy fear should be put upon the people than to place thy army in the valleys. For the king is compared to the rain by which the Lord waters the earth. It is the blessing of Heaven and the life of the lands; but it also causes destruction. For it sometimes injures the travellers and shakes the buildings, and the fiery flames come down and the floods overflow, and men and animals perish, and the sea rises in storm, and many evil consequences result therefrom for man. And yet people, uneasinessly looking up to the work of the Lord, recognise His mercies, whereby He gives life to the vegetation, and prepares food for them, and the great loving-kindness with which He graciously favours them, and they extol the work of the Lord and praise Him, and pay no heed to any of the evils which befall them at the same time.

24. "Alexander, enquire after the needy of thy place

and feed them from the Treasury in the time of want, for in the feeding of the people in time of need there is observance of the faith, gladness of the subjects, and also the fulfilment of the will of God.

25. "Alexander, increase the store of corn against the years of famine, and when the time of famine comes bring that corn out which thou hast stored up, and give food to thy country and sell it unto thy people. For by so doing destruction is averted, and king and nation are preserved.

26. "Alexander, be careful in thy dealings and perfect in thy actions, and the best plan for thy conduct is to reassure the meek against the fear of oppression. For then also evildoers and wicked men will entrust themselves to thy forbearance, and they will believe in their hearts that thou keepest thine eyes upon their deeds.

27. "Alexander, above everything I beseech thee, and I repeat it again unto thee, listen to the voice of morals, for then thy government will be perfect and thy sovereignty firmly established, to wit: eschew to shed blood, for this is a punishment reserved unto the Lord the Creator, who alone knows the secrets, but thou judgest only according to the sight of thine eyes, and thou dost not know the hidden things. Therefore take heed and beware with all thy might. And Hermes the great has already said, that when a creature slays another creature like himself, the angels above are moved and cry aloud before their Creator, and say unto Him, 'Thy servant So-and-so calls unto Thee.' And if he has been slain because he had shed the blood of another, then the One, blessed be He, replies unto them, 'He has transgressed and slain, suffer that he be slain.' But if the murder is caused through the coveting of things of this world, or for any other wrong purpose, then He replies unto them: 'I swear by My throne and by the glory of My kingdom that I will not forsake the blood of My servant.' And the angels

never cease crying before Him at every time of prayer and supplication, until the blood is avenged. And if he (the murderer) dies suddenly, know that it is because the Lord is wroth with him. Understand, therefore, that vengeance is being taken of him.

28. "Alexander, suffice it for thee (to know) that the worst punishment is long imprisonment, severe chastisements, and tortures. Before deciding and punishing look into the books of thy divine ancestors, and there thou wilt find the proper teaching how to act.

29. "Alexander, treat the smallest of thy enemies as if he were of the highest potentiality. Do not consider a low man to be small in thine eyes, for it often happens that a poor and despised man becomes great, and if thou refusest his cure the illness (venom) increases.

30. "Alexander, beware lest thou makest void thine oath or breakest thy covenant, for this is an important part of thy Faith of which I have spoken to thee before, and which I have warned thee not to treat lightly.

31. "Alexander, thou knowest already that on thy right hand and on thy left hand spiritual beings are put to watch over thee, and everything that thou performest and doest, be it small or great, is made known by them to thy Creator. Therefore, conduct thyself worthily, so that he who beholds it may rejoice and make it known to thy Creator.

32. "Alexander, if anyone should compel thee to take an oath, beware from swearing; do it only then for great need. Even if a good cause should constrain thee thou shalt not make void thine oath, for, as the Lord liveth, the kingdoms of '*Atag*' and '*Sleir*' and '*Ihas*' (Ism) and '*Imim*' have not been destroyed for any other reason but because they feigned in their time that they had taken an oath by mistake.

33. "Alexander, fear not the things which are passed, for that is the way of women who are weak in intellect.

Show loyalty and cheerfulness, and thy affairs will prosper, and thy enemies will be confounded.

34. "Alexander, do not say yea when thou hast said nay, and do not say nay when thou didst say yea, unless compelled by an extraordinary cause. Keep faith firmly and take counsel from the person in whom thou hast confidence, and thou wilt become perfect thereby, and no blemish will be found either in thy deeds or in thy words or in thy actions.

35. "Alexander, do not entrust to women the care of thy body, but, if need be, only to the one whom thou hast tried and found devoted to thee and to thy happiness. For thou art like a trust in their hands. Beware of deadly poison, for kings have been killed by them aforetime. And do not confide unto one man the healing of thy body, for one man can easily be seduced; and when it is possible for thee to have ten physicians do so; do not follow any prescription, unless they have all come together and are of one accord. And let no medicines be prepared for thee except in the presence of them all, and joined with them one of thy trusted faithful servants, who knows the properties of drugs, their combination and proportions. Remember what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it, because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she surely would have killed thee.

36. "Alexander, take care of thy noble and angelic superior soul, which is given to thee in trust, so that thou be not of the believing (fools). If it may be, neither rise nor sit, drink nor eat, nor do anything nor perform any work without first consulting the stars. For God has not created anything in vain; and through this study Plato,

the pious one, learned to know the parties joined together of diverse colours (or qualities) when he pictured them (formed the Idea) in accordance with their complex properties, until he discovered the art of the coloured silk garments, called in Arabic *dilag*, and all the Ideas. Do not listen to the words of the fools who believe that the knowledge of the stars is a secret knowledge which no one can obtain. They furthermore say that this science deceives those who trust in it. I tell thee that a foreknowledge of the future gained by this science is very profitable. For although a man cannot save himself from what has been ordained, still he can take greater care of himself, and eschew some of the evils that may befall him, according to his capabilities; just as a man can escape the cold by gathering wood to protect himself, or by preparing wool, cotton, and other things so as not to be harmed by the cold. In like manner (he can protect himself) from the heat of the Summer, by all kinds of things that produce cold; and likewise in time of famine, by storing up corn; and in time of war, by guarding against it. And then there is another consideration still, that if a man know what is going to happen before it comes to pass he may be able to remove the decree of the Lord, through praying to the Lord before it comes to pass, and through turning back in repentance and causing others to do so, and to pray unto Him to remove from them the evils which they dread.

37. "Alexander, honour thy vezier (councillor) more than thyself, and seek his advice in small or in great matters, and keep him near to thy palace, for he is thy honour before all the people, and his society is thy comfort. And pardon his sin and mistake. Consider that war-play which is called Shatrang in Arabic, where the king is called Shah, and the queen Prs (פרס) (how he fares), when they are joined, and how, when they are separated. And this ought to be a clear example that no king can

be firmly established without a councillor, and this is true beyond doubt."

38. *Book III : Of righteousness.* "Alexander, know that righteousness is one of the glorious attributes of God, blessed be He, and sovereignty is granted to that one of His servants to whom He has given it, and made him rule over their affairs and their riches and their blood, and all their possessions, and he is unto them like a god, and, therefore, it behoves him to resemble him, and follow his example in all his works. And the Lord is wise and merciful, and His attributes of love and His names are far beyond the power of man to recount them.

39. "Alexander, the reverse of right is wrong and the reverse of wrong is right, and through righteousness heaven and earth have been established, and in righteousness the Lord sent His pure prophets, and righteousness is the shape of the intellect which God has given to His beloved, and through righteousness the world has been established, kingdoms have arisen, and subjects have been made obeisant, and it is the comfort to those who doubt and wonder, and draws the distant near, and saves the soul from harm, and kings have been able to overcome destruction until the Lord has removed it (i.e. righteousness) from them. Therefore do the people of India say : The righteousness of the king is more beneficial to the people than the goodness of the climate. And they said furthermore : A righteous king is more precious even than a fruitful rain after drought. And on some stones it was found engraved in Greek that the king and righteousness are brothers, and the one is impossible without the other. And individuals and the multitude are differing parties, and righteousness changes with them accordingly ; but the real purpose of righteousness is, rectitude, amending of wrong, adjustment of weight, and the correction of measure ; and it is a name collective for all praiseworthy deeds and

for the virtue of liberality. Righteousness can be divided into many sections of many kinds. (One kind of) righteousness impels judges to justice, and another righteousness applies to man who considers his relation to his Creator, and impels to make him right stable in things that are between himself and his fellow-men, to wit, in the nature of action and in the setting of tokens. And I will give thee here



the wisdom of Divine philosophy in the shape of a picture divided into eight sections, and that will tell thee all the objects of the world and all that refers to the governance of the world, and all their degrees and qualities, and how each degree obtains its share of right. And I have divided this circle in such a manner that each section represents one degree, and with whichever section thou

And thou wilt find all that is most precious within the circle of the wheel. And because the thoughts stand in this world opposite to one another, one above and the other below, have I arranged it to begin in accordance with the order of the world. And this likeness is the most important portion of this book and the very purport of thy request. And if in reply to thy demand I had not sent thee but this picture, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore, study it very carefully and take heed of it, and thou wilt find therein all that thou desirest, thou wilt obtain all thy wishes. And all that I have taught thee at length is contained here, like in a brief summary."

40. *Book IV: Of counsellors, scribes, officers, the knights, the people, and the manner of their governance.* "Alexander, heed carefully this teaching and appreciate its worth, for I swear by my life, and by the love which I bear unto thee, that I have gathered up therein all the principles of the science of philosophy and of the nature of the intellect, and I have joined together and revealed therein Divine secrets, needful to write them down for thee in order that thou knowest the truth about the intellect and how the Lord has placed it on His servants, and how they have reached to the knowledge thereof, and thou requirest to know very much of it. May the Lord prosper thee in His great mercy.

41. "Alexander, know that the very first thing which the Lord, blessed be He, has caused to exist, is a simple spiritual substance, which he has made with extreme perfection and excellence and grace, and shaped all the things according to it, and He called it intellect. And from this substance emanated another substance, inferior to it in its station, and this is called the Universal Soul. And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body. Thus He made the body to be like a country and the intellect its

king, and the soul the lieutenant, serving that country and studying its parts. And He caused the intellect to dwell in the most honoured and in the highest place, to wit, the head, and He caused the soul to dwell in all the parts of the body, and from without and from within it guards the intellect. If anything should happen to the soul, then body and intellect are destroyed; but if anything happens to the intellect and the soul remains perfect, then the body remains hale, unless from the Lord comes the destruction of the whole at the end of the fixed number of days. Therefore, Alexander, consider this matter carefully, and think of it, and liken thy work in every way to the work of the Lord, blessed be He. Have only one counsellor and take counsel with him in all thy intentions; and listen to his advice even if it be contrary to thy desires, for then that advice would be a true one. And therefore did Hermes say when they asked him why is the advice of him who counsels better than that of him who asks, 'Because the advice of the counsellor is free from any personal desire.' And this is a sooth word. And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry on for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid that thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily. And if after proof and examination it will have become clear unto thee concerning thy counsellor, and also of the love which he bears thee, and his desire to advance the welfare of thy kingdom, then take his advice. Pay no regard to age as to whether the advice that comes from a young man could be profitable. And I tell thee that the advice follows the body, for when a body is feeble the advice is feeble. All these things depend also upon the nativity, for some people are born under certain nativities, and these men follow then the nature of the stars which control their birth. And if parents would force the child to do any one kind of work, he will still strive after the other in accordance with the influence from above.

42. "Thus it came to pass with some astrologers who came into a town and took up their abode in the house of a weaver; in that night a son was born unto him, so they looked up his nativity and calculated the conjunction of his stars, and that (horoscope) told them that this child would grow up to be wise and clever, of good counsel, and he would govern the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would become a counsellor of the king. And they wondered at it, but did not tell the father anything about it. And this child grew up and the father tried to teach him his craft, but his nature refused to adapt itself to it, and the father did smite him and beat him, until, at last, he gave him up in despair, and left him to follow his own will. So he went to men of discipline and learned all the sciences, and he understood all the manners and governments of kingdoms, until he became a counsellor. And the contrary of this marvellous working of the stars and their way of moulding the nature of man, is that which happened at the birth of a son to the King of India. At the time of his birth the stars pointed to his becoming a smith, and the astrologers hid it from the king. When the child grew up to be a young man the king tried to teach him all the arts and the manners of conduct of kings. But he did not incline to it, and his nature did not draw him, but to the craft of a smith. And the king grieved over it, and he gathered all the astrologers together, who lived at the time, and asked them about this thing, and they all found that his nature led thus the child.

43. "Alexander, do not hasten over a thing and do not tarry before thou hast asked the advice of thy counsellor. And the ancients never cease repeating that counsel is the first of discipline. And it is written in the books of conduct of the Persians that one of their kings took counsel with one of his counsellors on a great secret upon which the kingdom depended. And one of them

said: 'It is not meet for the king to take counsel with only one of us in his affairs, but that he should in preference take counsel with each one of us singly.' But he (the king) ought not to heed them. (The one) would keep the secret, and the king could rely on his advice and be better inclined to peace, and pay less attention to their advice, on account of the mutual jealousy of colleagues. For there is greater safety in revealing the secret only to one, and the king is more sure of his peace.

44. "And *Bhts* (Bhtm, Krts) the Greek, said: 'The strength of the king who is supported by the advice of his counsellors grows as the light of the day, and he will obtain by wit and counsel more than by the might of war.' And one of the kings of Persia who had put his son on his throne in his lifetime said unto him: 'It is necessary that thou shouldst always take counsel, for thou art only one among many, and take counsel only with him who knows the secrets and understands the hidden, and who will not allow a cause of discord to remain between thee and thine enemies, and who will smooth over differences between thee and thine enemies.'

45. "And let not the strength of thine own opinion and thy exalted station prevent thee from joining thy opinion with the advice of others about thee. If thy opinion will agree with theirs, then thine will get stronger by it. If it be different from the advice given by others, then take heed and consider it carefully and ponder over it; if it is more profitable, accept it, and if it be less, then leave it utterly. And it is in this way that thou canst test thy counsellor, if thou showest him that there is a necessity for spending money. If he advises thee to spend all that is in thy treasury, then thou must treat him with scant consideration, he is of no value to thee; put no faith in him, except in time of great need, when there are no other means of help, for he in truth,

in this respect, is undoubtedly thine enemy. And if he advises thee to take the money of the people, then know that he is a man of bad governance; he will cause them to hate thee, and thereby destroy thy kingdom. If he proffers that which he has profited of thee, and what he has got from thee, and gives up his own to fulfil thy wishes, then he is worthy to be praised and to be extolled. And from this thou learnest that he is willing to sacrifice himself for thy service. The most praiseworthy among thy counsellors is that one to whom thy life is dear, and who willingly serves thee and renounces the pleasures of the world only to fulfil thy wishes, and puts his person and his goods to the satisfaction of thy desires. He must have these virtues that I name now.

46. "(1) He must be perfect in all his limbs, trained for the work for which and to which he is chosen. (2) He must be a man of wide knowledge, deep wisdom, and quick imagination, understanding everything that is told him, endowed with a good memory, alert, hears and does not reply, convinced by proof only, and perceives the intention at which others are aiming. (3) He must be of fine countenance and commanding aspect, but he must not be arrogant. (4) He must be reasonable, of fair speech, ready to state his intention and wishes in a few words. (5) He must be well dressed, and versed in all the sciences, especially in that of mathematics, which is the only true science, resting upon evidence, which sharpens the reason and improves the nature. (6) He must be true to his word, loving the truth and driving away the lie, being faithful in his transactions, receiving people with courtesy, a man of good repute. (7) He must not be given much to eating, drinking, and lechery, keeping away from frivolity and sensual delights. (8) He must be courageous, subtle in plans, loving honour, and yet of a meek disposition. (9) That silver and gold, and all the accidents of the world, be despised by him, and that he

put his mind only on those things which would bring honour to the king and make him beloved in the eyes of the people. (10) He must love justice and those who practise it, and hate violence and wrong, and yield the truth to whom it belongs, having pity on those who have suffered violence, removing injuries, and making no difference for the love of any man in the world. (11) He must be a ready writer, a man of fair speech and of discipline, who knows the things of the past, the ways and habits of men, and the affairs of the king, who knows the history of the nations that have been before, and of the generations that have passed away; a man belonging to a good family, whose parents were counsellors, and who had served kings, because then he would be like inheriting a position in which he was brought up, and with which he was familiar. (12) He must know all the issues of the expenses; nothing should be hidden from him of what is necessary and befitting for thee, so that the people should not rise against their subjection and he not know the cause of their complaints, but that he should know how to pacify them, so that the subjects shall know that he understands the needs of the people, and they will no longer murmur against the king. (13) He must be a man of noble descent and of great ancestors, and he should have suffered of the troubles of the world, and the evils of the time should have surrounded him, and when thou then raisest him and exaltest him to a high position, then he will be loyal to thee all his life, and recognise thy kindness, and not suffer any evil to befall thee. For the nobility of his descent and the conduct of his ancestors will prevent him from doing otherwise. (14) He must not be talkative, or jocular in his ways and insulting to people. (15) He must not drink wine nor love too much repose and luxury. He must be ready to receive people day and night, and treat them well. That his court be open to all comers who want him; he must listen

to their pleadings and improve their affairs, and mend their works, and satisfy them in their desires, and share in their troubles. He must also be religious, godfearing, and trusting in the word of the Lord. But do not trust any of those religious men who are not of thine own Law, and who believe not according to thy faith.

47. "Know that man is the most exalted being of all those that God has created. There is none of the qualities which God has given to other living creatures which He has also not given to man, and made him, to wit: courageous as the lion and faint as the hare, liberal as the cock and miserly as the hound, lecherous as the raven and solitary as the leopard, homely as the dove, sly as the fox, simple as the lamb, fleet as the hart, slow as the bear, proud as the elephant, and lowly as the ass, rapacious as the bird called in Arabic *akak* (wren?), proud as the peacock, straight (foolish?) as the bird called *katah* (*ktah*) (ostrich?), straying as the owl, wide awake as the bee, unstable as the goat, anxious as the spider, meek as the ant, revengeful as the camel, grumbling as the mule, mute as the fish, twittering as the swallow, enduring as the swine, sorrowing as the bird called *kos*, prancing as the horse, quick as the ox, furtive as the mouse. And above all, I command thee and warn thee that thou shalt not make thyself hated by any man created by God in this world. For the first aim of reason, after belief in God, is the love of mankind, be they good or bad.

48. "I furthermore command thee and warn thee that thy counsellor be not red-haired, and if he has blue eyes, in Arabic called *azrk*, and if he be one of thy relations, do not trust them, do not confide in them any of thy affairs, and beware of them in the same manner as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look, from a distance. And the nearer they are to thee the more harmful they are. For they all envy thee for thy riches,

and thy relations envy thee thy possessions, and they will not rest satisfied until they have killed thee.

49. "And know, Alexander, that this is established in nature and grounded in the formation of man and proved to true men by experience from olden times. Thus it was at the beginning of the creation of the world, when Cain envied his brother Abel and slew him."

50. *Book V: Of the royal scribes and seal-bearer.*
"Thou must select such men to write thy letters and to seal them who will show thy wide intellect, the greatness of thy understanding, and thy true intention to those who read them, so that no blemish be found in any of thy thoughts, meanings, and intentions which are thy virtues, and by reason of which in the eyes of the people thou art worthy to rule. For the intention is the spirit thereof, and the indicting is the body, and the writing is the (clothing and) ornament. Just as a speaker needs be a man of fine appearance and of fair beholding, so must be the selected secretary a man of perfect understanding, of fair words, and a beautiful writing. The scribe must be an ornament to thee. The kings of old became famous through their scribes, and they reached their high station only through their scribes. And right as he interprets thy will and takes heed of thy secrets and spreads thy glory through the whole world, so must thou honour him in his station, after the service which he does to thee and after the manner in which he bears the burden of the affairs of thy kingdom. He must be unto thee as a part of thyself, his prosperity be thy prosperity, and his loss thy loss. And if it is possible to make thy counsellor to be thy secretary, then it is preferable for his benefit and for thine, for he will keep thy privy counsel more secret, and likewise thy intentions."

51. *Book VI: Of the administrators and of the tax-gatherers.* "Thou knowest already that the people are thy treasury which thou must carefully preserve and replenish, for thereby thy kingdom is established. The people, therefore, must be in thine eyes like an orchard in which there are diverse trees, and they must not be in thine eyes like seed which grows once a year and must be sown anew. Trees are deeply rooted, they do not require to be sown over and over again. And thus for the love of thy people, which establishes thy kingdom and thy might, thou must needs honour them and endeavour to remove from them all their wrongs. Be it never irksome to thee to watch over their interests, or to gather their fruits. And the gatherer must know their needs, be experienced and well informed in all things, rich, faithful, and he must gather only the fruit and not destroy the tree. He must be a man of moral qualities, silent and meek, for if he will be contrary he will drive the people away and will destroy good dispositions.

52. "And thou shalt not appoint many officers nor many stewards to thy expenses, for the greater the number the greater thy loss. Each one will endeavour to outdo the other, and this will be the loss of thy possessions. He will also endeavour to show himself profitable to thee by putting the loss on thy subjects, and everyone is partial to himself and looks after his own interests, and some of them might favour those whose favour they enjoy, and help them."

53. *Book VII: Of couriers and messengers and their appointment, and the manner of their deportment in the discharge of their messages.* "Know that the messenger shows the wit of him that sends him, in that he is thine eye where thou seest not, thine ear where thou hearest not, and thy tongue where thou art absent. It is therefore necessary that thou choosest the most worthy of those

who are in thy presence, the wisest, tall, comely, faithful, and who eschews the ungainly. And if thou findest such a man, send him, and place in his hands all thy interests, after thou hast made known to him thy will. And do not command him about the future, for it is possible that in the time of need the proper thing will be that which thou didst not wish. And if thou findest not such a man, then let him be at least faithful, that he neither add nor subtract in things that thou sendest him, and that he keep well thy command and understand what he hears and brings back the answer.

54. "And if it is impossible to find such a one, then he must at least be a faithful bearer of thy letter to him that thou sendest him, and brings the answer back. And if thou perceivest that thy messenger is busy to get money in the place that thou sendest him, then do not send him, for the money will not be given to him for thy profit.

55. "Also thou shalt not send a man who drinks wine. For the Persians, when a messenger came to them, offered him wine, and if he drank they knew that the secret of the king who sent him would be revealed unto them. Or they brought great riches, and if they saw him willing to take it they were sure that his king would fall into their hands.

56. "Alexander, beware lest thou send thy counsellor for a messenger. Suffer him not to go far from thee, for that is destruction of thy kingdom. I have now explained to thee the qualities of thy messenger, and that the man upon whom thou shouldst rely should be faithful and without treachery, for otherwise he will betray thee, and such is the man who takes money and gifts and deceives thee in the object of his mission; he will cause destruction to thy affairs and interests, and will frustrate thy plans."

57. *Book VIII: Of the management of soldiers, leaders, and knights.* "Alexander, the knights are the ornament of the king and the pride of the court, and it is meet to lean on the pleasing ornament and the excellent order in the degrees of knights, so that nothing that is nigh or far concerning them should be unknown to thee. Thou shalt not undervalue the importance of the order and degrees of those thou sendest away, and of those upon whom thou reliest, for thou wilt be able to call thee without any difficulty the number which thou requirest; and the smallest number of ordinance is four. And I say four, because there are four sides to everything in the world; before and behind, right and left. And similarly, there are four corners of the world: north and south, east and west. And appoint each (of these four) commanders to rule over a fourth part of thy kingdom.

58. "And if thou wishest to have more, then let them be ten, for ten and four are perfect numbers. In ten, four is contained in the following manner: one, two, three, four; summing them up together they make ten. And this is the perfection of the ten, that it comprises the four in the number. Under each leader (or commander) let there be ten governors, and under each governor ten officers, and under each officer ten subordinates, under each of these ten soldiers, and thus you have 10,000 men. And if thou requirest a thousand men, command one governor, and he will have with him ten officers, each officer ten subordinates, and each of these ten men, thus 1,000. And if thou requirest only 100, thou commandest the officer and he will have his ten subordinates, and so on. And thus it will be easy for thee to govern them, and thou wilt be able to carry out everything that thou desirest. And the burden of the knights will be lightened, and it wilt not be tiresome to thee, since each of them commands ten inferiors. And also their own work will be made easy for them, and they will carry out anything

thou wishest with one accord, for each of these knights will be under the command of one who is superior to him, one order above the other.

59. "And it is indispensable that the army should have a wise scribe, faithful, one who understands the affairs thoroughly, and who knows the characters of the men and is proved in chivalry, and who will not suffer that they be corrupted by gifts, thereby destroying their allegiance. And if thou perceivest any such thing in him, remove him, and call them together and tell them that as soon as thou hast seen or learned of their corruption thou dost no longer support him, and that it is thy desire to remove him from them. It needs that the king be friendly, and receive them with courtesy and constantly improve their affairs, and prevent any of them from coming to grief.

60. "And it needs that they fear thee, so that they reverence and honour thee. They must not be allowed to approach thee too closely when they come to pay homage to thee. Do not speak with them overmuch either in public or in private, for that may be a cause for them to despise thee, and may also cause destruction, for they may plot against thee as it happened to *Tmstis* (Atmstis, Tmastiis, Tamstius) the king and other kings of olden times.

61. "Accustom them to bring their complaints before thee in writing. They should be forwarded to thee by men who are close to thee and who are worthy of that high station. And read every letter sent to thee in presence of thy counsellor and the commander of the army; and to those that deserve consideration and reply, send it and write it on the back of the same letter which was sent to thee; for thereby thou showest honour to the petitioner, and he will glory in it, he and his children; and he will become more strongly attached to thy service, and strengthened in his allegiance to thee. But if there is a letter not worthy of consideration, then leave it and answer him with fair words. And give them a banquet

on certain occasions and on festivals, for it pleases them and they consider it an honour, and their love for thee will increase."

62. *Book IX: Of war and of the manner how to dispose the army and the posts, and how to arrange the lines of battle.* "Do not put thy life in danger in war, and keep close to the great of thy court, and do not follow the example of the '*Hiabli*,' who risked their lives in war.

"And I swear unto thee that king has never tried to meet another in war, that the one had not the intention of conquering the other, and this is due to the nature in which the world has been created. And remember the deed of Cain against Abel his brother; and it is known that envy and the love of this world are the causes of it; it is inherited and proved to be part of the nature of this world of which we must beware. Know that war is like body and soul, in which two extremes meet, the one trying to overthrow the other. The soul consists in the belief which each of the two parties has, that he will win, and that he will conquer the other. The body consists of the armies of the two parties arrayed one against the other, for if no one hopes in victory war ceases by itself; the war lasts only so long as one faces the other, and the end of it is the victory of one over the other. Thou must therefore put all thy aim to strengthen the heart of thine army and to assure them of thy victory, and that thou hast proofs in thine hands; and show them practical arguments for to strengthen their courage, such as thy war implements which are called '*Hisaros*,' and the slings (?) which are called '*Akud*,' which I will hereafter mention again in this book. Speak to them fair, and promise them gifts and change of raiment and encourage them thereby. Warn them at the same time against trespassing thy command, for thou wilt punish them with public chastisements and tortures before all.

63. "Do not set thy camp in an open field or in a narrow and enclosed place. And if thou settest thy camp and that of thy followers in an open field, then try and protect thyself with all kinds of arms; place keepers and spies and watches at all times, night and day, so that the enemy shall have no chance of victory or of inflicting loss upon thee. And do not set up thy camp but in a high place, such as leaning against a mountain or the like of it. It must be close to water. Provide a large quantity of food and wood, even if thou hast no need of them; also of terrifying instruments which make horrible noises, for thereby thou wilt encourage thy army and strengthen their soul, and thou wilt frighten those with whom thou wagest war, and dread will enter their souls. And thy knights shall be differently clad, one different from the other, some in breastplates, others in coats of mail, and others with halibards (slings?).

64. "And when thou sendest a section of the army to engage in battle send with them walls (castles) and towers of wood in which there are archers and also those who throw fiery missiles, for if fear should seize upon the army their hearts will get strengthened by relying on them. The archers and the fire-shooters shall stand in front of them, facing the enemy. And thou shalt dispose thy army as I have mentioned, and thou must place at the right hand those that strike, and on the left those who know how to throw their spears, and the archers and those who shoot with firebrands and that make loud noises like those water instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I have made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against '*Blhh*' the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to the large number of these instruments which I have mentioned. It is needful that thou controllest the army, so that thou knowest their outgoings and their incomings, and what is good for them and what

is bad, for when they perceive it they will be careful and fear thee.

65. "Study carefully the plans of the enemies, and where thou seest them weak, strike. And when thou engagest in battle act with deliberation, for that is of great help. I have never yet seen a man at the head of the army winning the battle unless the (enemy) be overcome by faintness of heart and great fear. Put many ambushes (and arm them) with fire, and with terrible noises, for they are a great safeguard and a great power which help to victory, and also an important element in the issue of the war, for they kill the courage of those with whom thou fightest.

66. "Make thee those terrible instruments called '*Mhavi*' and '*Zoba*' (*Zoha, Zoka*) in some countries where thou wagest war, and protect thy cavalry from them. Have a large number of the animals of Khorasan (*Brasan*) which carry war stores, (are swift), and frighten the horses, and they are a safety in time of defeat, and they are as a castle. They, moreover, carry victuals for the journey, and water.

67. "And if thou assailest castles, make thee such weapons as I have invented for thee, that throw stones from afar, and destroy the buildings, and throw down the walls; and make as many of them as thou standest in need of. And also the battering-rams and instruments that shoot poisoned arrows, and place upon them the revolving bow (?), for it terrifies stout hearts and shakes castles. If thou seizest their water, cast into it deadly poison, and guard against it thyself, for it is necessary to be exceeding careful.

68. "Do not associate with him that is beaten nor befriend him. And if it is possible to fulfil thy purpose by cunning, use it, for the very essence of governance is cunning, and let war be the last deed. And because the Indians are very cunning no evil befalls them. Whilst the people that are called Turk are cruel and very foolish,

therefore fight with each of them in the manner that is convenable. And do not allow a small thing to grow, but consider it carefully before it come to pass."

69. *Book X : The calculation of names of the warriors (generals).* "Know, O Alexander, this is the secret of which I have spoken to thee and upon which I have acted when thou didst go forth against thy enemies to battle, and when thou didst send thy servants. And this is one of the Divine secrets with which the Lord has favoured me; I have tried its truth and I proved its use, and I have profited by it. Thou hast asked after it, and I hid it from thee and gave thee only the benefit of it. Now thou mayest not reveal it to any other man, but act upon it only, thou alone, and thou wilt never fail, in that thou goest not to fight thine enemy until thou hast found by this calculation (of the numerical value of the letters of thy name) that thou art sure to conquer. And if it be not advantageous to thee, then calculate the names of thy servants (commanders) and appoint over the army only the one who according to these calculations is sure to win. And in such manner shalt thou reckon: get the sum of the names of the generals and of thy name, keep the sum of each of them, then from the sum-total of each of these names, subtract as many nines as it contains, and put aside the fraction under nine that may remain, and thus proceed with the second name; whatever remains less than nine of the second put also aside. Then look at the table which I have written for thee, and compare it with the remnant of the sums of the two names; what thou findest therein believe, for it is true, and by the help of the Lord thou shalt never be led astray."

70. (Here follows the Hebrew alphabet, each letter of which has a numerical value; and after Tau, whose numerical value is 400, follow five letters with two strokes

on them, their numerical value being, instead of 5, 500; 6, 600; 7, 700; 8, 800. Then follow: Tau 'raphē' (without a dot), Pe 'raphē,' Tet 'raphē,' 900, the word for 'thousand,' and finally Gimel 'raphē' and Sin.)¹

"Then calculate (the letters of) several two names according to the numerical value which I have just described, throw away every nine, and for that figure which remains in thy hand less than nine, look in the following table of calculation:—

71. "Figure 1:—1 and 9, the 1 beats 9; 1 and 8, 8 beats 1; 1 and 7, 1 beats 7; 1 and 6, 6 beats 1; 1 and 5, 1 beats 5; 1 and 4, 4 beats 1; 1 and 3, 1 beats 3; 1 and 2, 2 beats 1; the one who challenges beats the one who is challenged.

72. "Figure 2:—2 and 9, 9 beats 2; 2 and 8, 2 beats 8; 2 and 7, 7 beats 2; 2 and 6, 2 beats 6; 2 and 5, 5 beats 2; 2 and 4, 2 beats 4; 2 and 3, 3 beats 2; 2 and 2, the challenger beats the challenged.

73. "Figure 3:—3 and 9, 3 beats 9; 3 and 8, 8 beats 3; 3 and 7, 3 beats 7; 3 and 6, 6 beats 3; 3 and 5, 3 beats 5; 3 and 4, 4 beats 3; 3 and 3, the challenger beats the challenged.

74. "Figure 4:—4 and 9, 9 beats 4; 4 and 8, 4 beats 8; 4 and 7, 7 beats 4; 4 and 6, 4 beats 6; 4 and 5, 5 beats 4; 4 and 4, the challenger beats the challenged.

75. "Figure 5:—5 and 9, 5 beats 9; 5 and 8, 8 beats 5; 5 and 7, 5 beats 7; 5 and 6, 6 beats 5; 5 and 5, the challenger beats the challenged.

76. "Figure 6:—6 and 9, 9 beats 6; 6 and 8, 6 beats 8; 6 and 7, 7 beats 6; 6 and 6, the challenger beats the challenged.

77. "Figure 7:—7 and 9, 7 beats 9; 7 and 8, 8 beats 7; 7 and 7, the challenger beats the challenged.

¹ This passage is undoubtedly corrupt.

78. "Figure 8:—8 and 9, 9 beats 8; 8 and 8, the challenger beats the challenged.

79. "Figure 9:—9 and 9, the challenger beats the challenged."

(Cod. L. adds: End of the war play, may the Lord put to shame my enemies. Amen, Amen, Selah, for evermore.)

80. *Book XI: Of physiognomy.* "O Alexander, know that the science of physiognomy is one of the subtle and speculative sciences which it is necessary for thee to know and to understand, because of the great need in which thou standest when appointing men to stand before thee. I will therefore put down for thee in this chapter all the tokens of physiognomy which are proved true and known in the days gone by, and which we have tested in sooth from olden times.

81. "Alexander, thou knowest that the womb is for the child what the pot is for the broth. The temperaments differ according to the creature, and the natures differ according to their composition. Know that a clear white complexion with a tinge of blue (purple?) and much sallowness betokens shamelessness, cunning, lust, and unfaithfulness. Behold the people of 'Ashkenaz,' who have all these qualities and are foolish, unfaithful, and impudent. Therefore, beware of any man whose complexion is blue (purple) and sallow, and if besides having a large forehead, he is beardless, and has much hair (on his head), beware of him as thou bewarest of the poisonous snakes.

82. "And in the eyes there are also unfailing tokens which betoken mercy, wrath, love, and envy. The worst of complexions is the blue (purple), which is of the colour of the stone called '*Aklamah*,' and in Arabic '*Firuzg*.'

83. "He that has large and protruding eyes is envious, impudent, slothful, faithless, and lying; and if they are blue, then he is even worse; he has then undoubted envious eyes.

84. "He that has little and sunk eyes, dark and black, is alert, understanding, faithful, and loyal. He that is squint-eyed, looking along the length of the nose, is deceitful. He that has eyes like the eyes of an animal, that stare and move little, is of hard understanding.

85. "He that has shifting eyes, and has sharp sight and turns quickly, is treacherous, sly, and faithless; and if the eye is red it betokens courage and fearlessness. If the eyes are speckled on all sides, then such a man is worse than all others, and most vicious in disposition and in deed.

86. "Alexander, if thou seest a man who looks often at thee, and if thou lookest at him he blushes, and he looks ashamed, and looks as if he were jesting, do not befriend him. If there are tears in his eye, he fears thee and loves thee, he will be true and faithful, especially if his eyes have all the good tokens which I have already mentioned. And if thou look at a man and he looks at thee shamelessly and fearlessly, it betokens that he is envious of thee, and that he holds thee in contempt and is unfaithful unto thee.

"Alexander, beware of any man that is deformed (imperfect) as much as thou eschewest an enemy.

87. "Of the hair:—Thick hair betokens courage and health of brain; soft hair betokens a soft heart, coldness of brain, and little intelligence; abundance of hair on the shoulders and on the neck is a sign of foolishness and also a sign of fastness; abundance of hair on the chest and belly denotes animal nature, little intelligence, and love of falsehood.

88. "Of the colour of the hair:—Fair hair (light) denotes foolishness and great ire, and flippancy and also tyranny; black hair betokens intelligence and softness (patience) and love of play; and the mean between the two betokens fairness (righteousness).

89. "Of brows:—Much hair on the eyebrows betokens weakness, and boldness of speech; when the eyebrows

extend sideways (to the temple) they betoken vainglory (pride), and he who has the eyebrows wide apart, equal in length and shortness, and black, is alert and wise.

90. "Of nostrils:—He who has tender nostrils will be a man of soft temperament, long nostrils close to the mouth betoken courage; and he who has extended nostrils is a man who will brave danger; he whose nostrils are wide open (strong in blast) is a violent man; he whose nose rises up in the middle and declines again towards the extremity is a vainglorious man and a liar. The best nose is a long nose, but not too long, just even, moderately thick, and declining in its extremity to thinness; it betokens intelligence and understanding.

91. "Of the forehead:—A broad forehead in which the veins cannot be seen signifies quarrel and interference; but a broad and prominent forehead where the veins are visible signifies wisdom, friendship, trust, understanding, secrecy, plan, and acuteness.

92. "Of the mouth:—A large mouth betokens courage (strength of heart), thick lips betoken simplicity, and one who has red lips and of mean thickness is a just man.

93. "Of the teeth:—He whose teeth stand out prominently (*var.* are serrated) is a man of hard speech and treacherous, unfaithful; he who has straight teeth well set with space between them, is intelligent, faithful, and a man of foresight.

94. "Of the face:—He who has a full fleshy face and swollen cheeks is a man of low disposition; he who has a lean sallow face is wicked, treacherous, and deceitful; he who has a long face is impudent; he who has swollen temples and full of veins, is of a violent temper.

95. "Of the ear:—He who has big ears is a simpleton, save in that which he understands; he who has little ears, is a fool and a thief.

96. "Of the voice:—A strong voice betokens courage; but a man who has a mean voice, neither over great nor

over small, neither over quick nor over slow, is intelligent (*ear.* and faithful); he who is hasty in words, and especially if he has a small voice, is impudent, ignorant, and a liar; and if his voice be right great, he is of quick temper and of evil manners; he who has an ugly voice is envious and treacherous; he whose voice is full great (?) is stupid, of little understanding, and pride.

97. "He who makes many movements is vainglorious and deceitful, and whoever is quiet in his demeanour and whose speech is perfect, and moves his hands at certain set portions, is perfect of understanding and thoughtful in mind.

98. "Of the neck:—He who has a very short neck is deceitful and a liar. He who has a long thin neck is lewd, stupid, and faint-hearted. Whosoever has a long neck and a small head is a fool beyond measure; he who has a long thick neck is a fool and a glutton; and whosoever has a neck well-proportioned in length and thickness is ingenious, discreet, and a faithful friend.

99. "Of the belly and chest:—He who has a thick belly is simple and a fool, and faint-hearted. A small belly and a narrow chest betokens good understanding and good counsel.

100. "Of the shoulders and back:—Broad shoulders and back betoken prowess and foolhardiness. A bent back betokens discordant nature, an even back is an excellent sign. Upraised shoulders betoken bad thoughts and evil will.

101. "Of the arms:—When the arms reach so far that the hand touch the knee, it betokens courage, liberality, honour, and goodness of soul; but if they are short, then the person loves discord and is faint-hearted.

102. "Of the hand:—The long (palms of) hand with long fingers betoken cleverness in crafts, excellence in work and in governance of the kingdom.

103. "Of the thigh and the leg:—Feet full of flesh

betoken weakness and slackness; thick thighs and houghs, hardness, arrogance, and strength.

104. "Of the foot:—A big foot betokens folly and love of falsehood; a small foot betokens courage.

105. "Of the steps:—Whosoever makes wide, deliberate steps, welfare shall follow him in all his work and he shall foresee the future; he who makes quick, short steps, he is hasty in his work, he does not foresee the future, and is of evil disposition.

106. "The tokens of perfect body and best nature are that the flesh be soft and tender, neither over thin nor over thick, neither over short nor over long, of white complexion, middling between red and sallow; soft-looking, long hair, just between the crisp and the plain, middling fair; big eyes, being somewhat deep-set, and between dark and black; the head of even size, the neck straight (and lean), the shoulders a little bent, without much flesh on the back and thighs, the voice clear, tempered between strong and weak; the palm smooth, the fingers long and tending to tapering; sparing in words, little given to frivolity or laughter except when it is absolutely necessary, and in his temperament inclined to melancholy and also to being sanguine, and in whose looks pleasure and joy are mixed without malignity, just as thou art (?), and who does not wish to rule over thee nor over things over which he has no power. This is the most perfect creature which the Lord has created, and this is the man whom I would choose for thee; search, therefore, for a man who answers this description, and thou shalt thereby prosper. Thou knowest already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him.

107. *Book XII: On the preservation of the body.*
"Alexander, since this body fails and in time perishes, therefore take heed of these tokens which I mention unto thee and pay attention to them with thy perfect

knowledge and with thy unblemished understanding, for it will be profitable to thee, with the help of the Lord, through the change of compositions which occur in the body. I have therefore decided to collect here in this chapter some of the most important secrets of leechcraft, which, if thou wilt observe and adhere to them [O.M. adds: For it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the leech, and if thou wilt follow this precious order of life which I give thee] thou shalt have no necessity for a leech save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew.

108. "It behoves thee, Alexander, when thou risest from sleep, to walk about a little and stretch thy limbs evenly and comb thy head with a comb, for the stretching strengthens the body and the combing of the head lets out the vapours which rise up to it during the night-time of sleeping from the stomach. And then wash in the Summer in cold water, for this strengthens the body and regulates the vital heat, and this causes appetite. Then put on clean clothes and dress in beautiful garments, for the sense of sight is gladdened thereby, and the power of the sight is strengthened by beholding it.

109. "Then cleanse thy teeth with the bark of bitter trees, gall-nuts sharp and hot, for they are of great help, since the cleansing of teeth and mouth softens the white phlegm, loosens the tongue, clarifies the speech, and stirs the desire of eating. Then make a '*Sa'out*' (shampoo?) according to season, for the '*Sa'out*' is of very great benefit; it opens the closings (pores) of the brain, it stiffens the neck, the throat, and the arm, and it fattens the face, it sharpens the wits, and prevents old age (hair turning soon grey). Anoint thyself according to the season in which thou art; there is no better food for the spiritual soul than the smell of sweet savour, and this is its food, and if thou feedest thy soul and strengthenest it the body gets strong, the heart rejoices, and the blood runs in the veins with the expansion of the soul.

110. "And then take an electuary, four drachms of aloe and rhubarb, for the effect is to draw down the white phlegm from the mouth to the stomach and to remove it together with the food, to kindle the natural heat; it also reduces flatulency and cleanses the mouth.

111. "After which speak with the nobles of thy kingdom and discourse with them pleasantly, and judge everyone according to his due. And when thou desirest to eat at the time at which thou art accustomed to eat, then take some exercise to tire thy limbs, in wrestling, walking, or galloping on horseback and the like, for the exercise helps to drive out winds, to quicken the body and to strengthen it, and to make it supple, to kindle the heat of the stomach [O.M. adds: to strengthen the joints, to make the superfluous humours to melt and the food to sink, so that it should be consumed by the heat of the stomach], and to stir the soul.

112. "And then set before thee many meats, and eat after thy desire what pleases thee, and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked. And eat first that which ought to be eaten first, and take for a second course of that which is to be eaten second: take, for example, that on a table there are two dishes, of which thou partakest, now one of these dishes through its softness loosens the stomach, and the other by its astringency binds the stomach. Thou ought then to eat first the soft and then the binding meal; for this will contribute to cause the first food to be passed on freely, immediately after it is digested. But if thou eatest first the binding and then the loosening, they will not be digested, and both shall be wasted. If there is on a table a dish that goes easier down to the bottom of the stomach, and one more difficult to digest, then ought thou to eat first that one that is more easily digested, and then the other that is more difficult to digest, so that the lower part of the stomach should be more quiet and more slow to digest, for the lower part of the stomach is more hot, for

it is more fleshy and close to the liver, which digests things by its heat. It is necessary to restrain thy hand (i.e. leave off) eating when thou hast still appetite, for over-feeding shortens the breath and causes the food to remain undigested in the bottom of the stomach.

113. "It is needful to restrain thyself from drinking water whilst thou art eating, until thou lovest this habit; for the water cools the stomach and increases the heat of appetite and spoils the food; and too much water spoils the stomach, and causes great hurt to the body. But if thou standest in great need of water for the heat of the season or for the heat of nature or of the food, take but little, and let the water be very cold.

114. "After dinner walk a little gently to a soft place, and lie thee down and sleep for an hour on the right side, and then turn on to the left and finish thy sleep on it. Sleep before meals makes the body lean and dries up the moisture, but sleep after meals nourishes, satisfies, and strengthens the body.

115. "Eat no meal before thou knowest that the previous meal has been digested completely, and thou shalt know it by thine appetite and by the increase of spittle in the mouth. For he that eats when the body does not require it, will find that the food will hurt him by increasing (extinguishing) the natural heat, whereas if a man eats when he is hungry he will find the natural heat not as burning fire. And when thou feelest appetite, then eat at once, for otherwise the stomach will feed on the superfluities of the body, will produce evil humours, and will trouble the brain with evil vapours, so that if thou eatest afterwards the food is spoilt and it is of no benefit to the body.

116. "Take heed of the four seasons of the year to protect thyself accordingly. The vernal equinox (i.e. the Spring) is warm and moist and temperate, it is like the air, it stirs the blood, and all light food is of benefit, such as young

chickens and the fowl called '*Drag*' (*Ddag*, *Diag*), new-laid eggs boiled in warm water, lettuce and endive and goat's milk; and this is the best time for blood-letting and cupping, which is called in Arabic '*Mihdam*' (*Mhatm*), and conjugal life, and for much exercise and purging, and baths in the water, and hot air baths for perspiration, and drinking of the Theriac for purging. And any trouble arising out of blood-letting or of purging will soon be remedied and restored through the action of the season.

117. "The next season is that of the Summer. This season is hot and dry, and it stirs up the red gall and makes men sanguine. It is necessary to abstain from anything that is hot either in food or in drink or in medicines and spices. Abstain also from over-eating, for it will extinguish the natural heat. Eat only cold food, such as veal in vinegar, and cucumbers, and young chickens, fattened on barley meal, and of fruit, sour apples, and nuts, and sour pomegranates, and do not indulge in fleshly liking, keep aloof from blood-letting and cupping, except when it is absolutely necessary. Do not take much exercise, and also use the bath little.

118. "Then follow the cold Autumn days. This season is cold and dry, and it stirs up the black gall. Abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry; eat and drink only what is warm and moist and soft, such as chickens, lambs, and sweet raisins, and light old wine; and keep away from anything that may produce melancholy; have more exercise and fleshly liking than in the Summer, and go more often to the bath, and take purgings if need be.

119. "Then follows the rainy season (Winter), which is cold and moist, it stirs up the whole phlegm, and it is necessary to turn again to warm food and spices, such as pigeons and young lambs, and roast meat and hot spices, and figs and nuts, and clear red wine, but if any of these cannot be obtained, then use hot electuaries, and abstain

from purging and from blood-letting, except when it need be. And change the air and warm it, and also anoint thy body with warm ointments and use temperate baths; and strong exercise, and to know one's wife, or much eating, will not hurt at this season, for the digestion is very strong at this time of the year.

120. "Alexander, take care of this glorious temple and of the natural heat with all thy might. For so long as the heat is temperate and the moisture is proportionate, that heat feeds the man and his health lasts and long (life) is assured. For two causes a man waxes feeble and his body decays. First is the natural weakening from too much exercise, when the dryness overpowers the body and the existence comes to an end; and the second is accidental weakness, plagues, disease, and the loss of mind. That which makes the body fat and moist is peace and rest, eating of the dish called '*Aspidbag*,' sweet savouries, and the drinking of warm milk and sweet wine, and sleeping after eating on a soft and comfortable bed in a cool place, and bathing in sweet warm water.

121. "Do not stay too long in the bath, for the bath dries up the sap [O.M.: whilst the body should, on the contrary, be made soft through the bath], and smell at all times sweet aromatics, such as jasmine in the Winter (rainy season) and roses and carnations (camphor?) in the Summer [O.M.: one must vomit at least once a month, especially during the hot season], for vomiting washes the stomach and cleanses it from evil humours and rotten phlegms, and when those evil humours are reduced the natural warmth is strengthened to digest the food and to benefit the body and to nourish it.

122. "Still more profitable with this disposition is to have pleasure, songs, and honour and victory over the enemy, and occupation with pleasant objects, and the sight of beautiful faces, and the reading of books that are a delight to the soul, listening to sweet singers, and playing

with friends, clothes rich in divers colours, and to be anointed with good ointments, according to season.

123. "In the contrary of all this, leanness and wasting of body come from eating and drinking little, from over-work and exercise (standing) in the sun, keeping long time awake, sleeping before meals on a hard bed, and bathing in sulphurated (evil-smelling) waters, in eating salted and pickled foods, which are moreover cold and sharp, and burnt food, and drinking old wine without water, and too much purging, and blood-letting, and too much sexual life, anxiety and dread, and dreary thoughts of things to come; all these produce leanness of body, and dry it up."

124. *Book XIII: Of special arts and of natural secrets and of the properties of precious stones and pearls.* "Thou knowest already, from that which I have mentioned hitherto unto thee and of what I have repeated unto thee over and over again, that the essence of all that is in this whole world, above and below, the near and the far, undergo no change in their essence; the change is merely an accident which is divided into form and appearance. And since the substance does not change, the cause of the change lies outside it, and the whole material world which thou seest consists of four substances, and these are the four elements, and out of these are then born the mineral, vegetable, and the animal world, and the moving agent is the sphere (world) that surrounds them all. Each of them is subdivided into smaller sections and are (called) species and kins. If I should attempt to explain or to mention them all, it would take me too long, nor is this the object of my book. For my real object therein is to fulfil my promise and to tell thee some of the riddles of this great secret. Now that I have explained it to thee in what precedes, thou art sure to know and to find that it is true. I will now mention

unto thee the virtues of precious stones, for it is necessary that thou knowest them, for they may prove to be of great benefit unto thee, with the help of God.

125. "The highest science is the knowledge how to make silver and gold, yet the true knowledge is withheld from (men), for it is impossible that any man be likened to God in his fundamental actions. But it is evident that these accidents (changes) can be obtained if no one hinders, for they are subject to the universal law (i.e. of the unity of substance). It suffices, therefore, to deal with the accidents, for anyone who follows them up follows the right path, though their inner nature may remain hidden. Take then of Zarnik (arsenic) one portion, and put it in vinegar until it turns white, and then take an alloy of quicksilver and silver and mix them with the oil of eggs and put them in the furnace, as I have taught thee before. If it turns white as the bird called in Hebrew '*Paras*,' in Arabic '*Akab*,' then it is good; if not, put it back into the furnace until it turns as thou wishest. Then put one portion of it to seven of Mars and one drachm of the Moon, and it will be perfect. Then take of '*Hadun Ktag*' (Hadus Katag, Harus Katag), and feed with it the '*Paras*,' which is called in Arabic '*Akab*,' until it turns green, and mix with it '*Shsbuzag*' and wax, and oil of eggs, and take one drachm of it and put on two drachms of the Moon and the Sun, in two portions, and that will be perfect.¹

126. "And if thou make a ring of silver and gold with a red jacinth set in it, and engrave on it the image of a naked girl, tall and strong, riding on a lion, and six men worshipping her, and it is made in the morning of Sunday at the hour (?) of the sun, at the conjunction of Leo and Sol, and the sun is in it, and the moon is in the 10th degree at the height which is called '*Shrf*' in Arabic, and

¹ All these are alchymistical names for metals and other substances.

the net (?) far away from it. Then, whosoever wears such a ring will be revered by the people. They will listen to his voice and fulfil all his wishes in this world; and no man will be able to withstay him.

127. "‘*Bish*’ :—This is one of the greatest poisons, but not recognisable through taste or colour, for when people taste it, it has no bitterness, none of the bitterness of the asp or of the leopard. And the gold-lime (orpiment ?), which is called ‘*Klas*,’ is also one of those poisons which are indispensable to thee. It is one of the secret instruments of war, by means of which misfortune in war can be averted, as I have already told thee. Rely, however, only on the special lucky star under which thou wast born. Neither subtlety nor endeavour can profit thee. Do not undertake anything in this world as if thou wert going to live for ever, but think of the world to come, and consider thyself as one who may die on the morrow. It is needful that thou busiest thyself in thy governance only with principles all necessary, and eschewest the details. Heed it with discretion, for it is a great token.

128. "Know that ‘*Kemia*’ (i.e. Alchemy) is not a true science. Not so ploughing and sowing, which should be the most beloved in thy sight: through them shalt thou prosper, and thy governance shall be exalted, and thy kingdom shall prosper by the help of the Lord.

129. "Since precious stones have special virtues, as I shall mention later on, I shall determine those marvellous virtues, which will prove to thee of great benefit, and which are proved by trials and tested by me.

130. "The stone *Bazhar* (Bezoar). This is a Persian name, and means ‘averts misfortune,’ others say it means ‘tightens the wind’ (subdues the demon). It is of a twofold colour, one yellow like a piece of wax, and the other, olive-green with green streaks, looking like a sallow piece of leather (?); this is the best, and it is dug up in the land of Tsin. It is said that it is found also in the poison

of the snakes. It is rolled into small white balls, soft to the touch; its property is that it protects against all manner of poisons, of beasts, plants, and minerals, and of the bite and sting of insects. He who drinks of it twelve grains weight will be saved from death and the poison will pass out in the sweat. He who puts it in a ring on his hand will be revered by the people and by all who behold him. If it be ground to powder and strewn on the bite of a reptile it will draw the poison out, and even should the place have started to putrefy it will still be healed; and if they take of the powder two barley grains weight, and melt it and throw it into the mouth of vipers and reptiles, it will suffocate and kill them. And if they hang some of it round the neck of a child it becomes proof against epilepsy and any other evil occurrence; it saves it from bad accidents.

131. "The pearl, which is called '*Takut*' in Arabic:—There are three kinds: red, yellow, and black. He who sets in his ring or hangs round his neck any of these kinds of pearls, and comes into a town where the illness called '*Tamun*' is raging, no illness that happened to the inhabitants shall touch him. Whosoever puts on his hands a ring with a red pearl in it will be courageous and much honoured in the eyes of the people. Whosoever engraves on it the likeness of a lion and the constellation Leo with the sun inside and the rays darting out afar, will be greatly revered, he will obtain his object, and quickly fulfil his desire, and he will not see in his sleep terrifying dreams.

132. "*Zmrd* (emerald):—The property of this stone is that honour is paid to the man who wears it in his ring, on his hand. If hung round the neck it appeases stomach-ache, especially when kept close to the stomach. Dissolved and drunk, it is also good for leprosy. Whosoever wears it in his ring or round his neck, and it is hung before illness appears, will be freed from pains in his belly.

133. "The stone '*Ahlamah*,' which is '*Firzay*' in Arabic:—This is a stone which great kings highly prize and treasure it in their treasury. Its great property is that no man can slay him who wears it. It has never been found with a slain man. If it is ground and dissolved in water and drunk, it saves from the sting of scorpions and from the deadly poison of reptiles and snakes.

134. "The stone *Alkahat*:—This stone is a soft stone, black (Ethiopian), and is luminous (brilliant). The touch of it is cold, fire has no power over it and cannot burn it. Its property is that it saves from all hot fevers, inasmuch as anyone taking it in his hand feels very cold, and needs keep it and cannot remove his eyes from it. Whosoever wears one of these stones appears great in the eyes of men, who will reverence him. He who goes to war and wears one, no man can fight against him, but (his enemy) is confounded, and stares at him. Therefore get thee a large number of them, and use them and act according to the secret which I have taught thee.

135. "Alexander, suffice this answer to the request which thou didst make of me. Study it, consider it, take heed of it, and thou shalt obtain thereby good understanding. May the Lord, in His mercy, cause thee to prosper."

End of the book called "The Privy of Privies":
praise unto Him who knows all the hidden things.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

GŌVINDA, GŌPĒNDRA, UPĒNDRA.

I am afraid that my bad handwriting is responsible for an error in Mr. Kennedy's learned and deeply interesting article on *Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars*, in the last number of the Journal. In a note on p. 979 he quotes me as an authority for the fact that 'Govinda' is really 'Upēndra, the little Indra.' My writing has evidently been misread. What I did say was that 'Gōvinda' was really a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit 'Gōpēndra,' i.e. Lord of Cowherds. When the word was taken back into Sanskrit it was given, in its new form, a new etymology. By the *paṇḍits* it was falsely connected with *vindati*, he finds, and said to mean 'a cattle-finder.' See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. lii. The word has nothing to do with 'Upēndra.'

May I add that the acceptance of everything that Mr. Kennedy says about the introduction of Christian ideas into India by Gūjars, in no way alters the undoubted fact that the modern teaching of *bhakti* came to the Ganges Valley from Southern India, and that that teaching also, as I have shown, included many Christian ideas. The two streams, a Rāma-stream from the south and a child-Krishna stream from the north-west, can well have intermingled in the country round Mathurā.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

Oct. 28th, 1907.

VĒTHADĪPA.

May I offer a further item of proof that **Viṣṭu* may be a corruption of *Viṣṇu*, as maintained by Dr. Konow on p. 1053 of the last number of the Journal. In Bengali every *ṣṇ* is pronounced *ṣṭ* at the present day. Everyone, even a pandit, pronounces *Viṣṇu* as *Biṣṭu*, *Vaiṣṇava* as *Boiṣṭōm*, and *Kṛṣṇa* as *Kiṣṭō*.

Dr. Konow's examples are taken from Southern and Western India, but these come from a tract only two or three hundred miles from Kasiā. Bengali pandits insist that in these words, as pronounced, the sibilant is *ṣ*, not *ṣṭ*. My own ear, however, fails to detect any difference in the Bengali pronunciation of *ṣ* and *ṣṭ*.

Camberley.

Oct. 29th, 1907.

G. A. GRIERSON.

SULTĀNU-N-NISĀ BEGAM.

With reference to the July number of the Journal, p. 608, I find that this lady's tomb at Allahabad is certainly a cenotaph, for she was, at her own desire, buried in Sikandra beside the tomb of her grandfather, "on the right side as you enter the cemetery." She died at Agra of dropsy on the 4th Sh'abān, 1056 (5th September, 1646). Her aunt *Shakaru-n-Nisā* also expressed a desire to be buried in Akbar's tomb, and the left side was assigned to her in or before 1646. (See *Pādshāhnāma*, ii, 603-4.) But *Shakaru-n-Nisā* survived her niece, and did not die till the 26th year of Shāh Jahān, 1652. (See Wāriṣ's continuation of the *Pādshāhnāma*, B.M. MS. Add. 6,556, p. 463*.) She must have been a very old woman, for she was of a marriageable age in 1594. The longevity of many of the ladies of the Timurid family is in marked contrast to the short lives of their husbands and brothers, and seems to point to their superior temperance.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DABISTÂN.

Dr. Rieu states in his Catalogue of Persian MSS., i, 142^b, that in a MS. dated 1209 A.H. (1794-5) the author of the Dabistân is said to be Mir Zû-l-Faqâr 'Alî-ul-Husainî, surnamed Mûbad Shâh.

This is corroborated by a statement made half a century earlier by Shâh Niwâz Khân, the author of the Maasîru-l-Umarâ. In the account of Akbar's Divine Faith, which is appended to his biography of Sultân Khwâjah Naqshbandî, he states (vol. ii, 392) that the author of the Dabistân was Zû-l-Faqâr Ardistânî, with the pen-name of Mûbad. A variant, which is supported by the usually correct MS. B.M. Add. 6565, p. 322^a, line 9, gives Zû-l-Faqâr's designation as Āzar Sasânî.

There is, however, a statement in the Dabistân, p. 389 of the Calcutta edition of 1809, and vol. iii, 46, of the translation, which seems to militate against the identity of the author with Zû-l-faqâr Khân. It is stated there that the author received some information about the Raushânîs from Peri = Sultan Zû-l-qadr, Zû-l-qadr nizhâd, who now has the title of Zû-l-faqâr Khân. But I think Zû-l-faqâr here must be a mistake for Zû-l-qadr.¹ It is not likely that a man whose title was Zû-l-qadr would have it changed to Zû-l-faqâr, and moreover Peri Sultan is evidently the same man as the Pîrî (or Perî) Āqâ of the Pādshâhnâma, ii, 28, who is described there as having the title of Zû-l-qadr Khân. He was sent on a secret mission by Shâh Jahân to 'Alî Mardân Khân to induce him to surrender the fortress of Qandahar. He was employed in Afghanistan, and was long governor of Ghazni, and was just the man likely to be employed by Sa'id Khân in interviewing the Raushânî leader, as

¹ Since writing this I have found that it is Zu-l Qadr in the two MSS. of the Dabistân in the British Museum. See Add. 16,670, p. 327^a and Add. 25,849, p. 128^b.

described in the passage of the Dabistān already referred to. The words "a person from nature possessed of vigour and worth" in Shea & Troyer's translation are Troyer's rendering of *Zū-l qadr Zū-l-qadr nizhād*, but the expression really means that his name was Zū-l-qadr, and that he belonged to the Zū-l-qadr tribe. As stated by Blochmann, *Āin*, translation, p. 619, Zū-l-qadr is the name of a Turkaman tribe. Both Zū-l-faqār and Zū-l-qadr *Khāns* are frequently mentioned in the second volume of the *Pādshāhnāma*, and are quite different persons. I do not know when Zū-l-faqār *Khān* died, but it is stated in the *Maasiru-l-Umarā*, ii, 462, that Zū-l-qadr *Khān* died in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān (1647). But even if Zū-l-faqār *Khān* be the right reading in the Dabistān, there is no reason to suppose that Zū-l-faqār *Khān* and the plain Zū-l-faqār or Mir Zū-l-faqār, who is said to have written the Dabistān, are one and the same person. We are apt to forget the wide difference made by the appellation '*Khān*.' *Khān* was, in the old Moghul times, a title of great honour, and the author of the *Maasiru-l-Umarā* is always careful to record when the subject of any of his notices is made a *Khān*. There is no reason to suppose that the author of the Dabistān ever was an official or that he had the title of *Khān*. He was a wandering scholar, born apparently in Patna in Bihar, who visited Kashmir, Kabul, Mashhad, Surat, etc., and eventually settled at Chicacole in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. As he himself says, Fate tore him away from his Parsee friends and landed him among Hindus. Possibly inquiries at Chicacole (*Sūkākulam*) might lead to some further information about him. As Chicacole is in the Deccan, and the author of the Dabistān visited Haidarābad, the author of the *Maasiru-l-Umarā*, who was a Deccani official, had good opportunities of knowing who the author of the Dabistān was.

A NEW ORIENTAL QUARTERLY.

In July the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* began its career under the auspices of the *Scuola Orientale* attached to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Rome.

The founders of the new review, professors of the Faculty, believe, as they say in an introductory preface, that the aims of the Oriental School will be best served by a publication of the kind proposed. Besides, Italian scholarship needs fuller representation in the field of Oriental studies. This the *Rivista* promises to afford, with original memoirs, publication of inedited texts, and notices of the work done elsewhere.

The first part (numbering 167 pages) of vol. i begins appropriately with Abyssinian matter, the text and translation of historical legends of Abyssinia published by Professor Ignazio Guidi. Lanman's translation of the Atharva Veda is the subject of an article by Professor De Gubernatis, who, as Director of the Oriental School, presides over the new review. A Jain text, the *Vāsūpūjyacaritra*, of Vardhamānasūri is analysed by Signor A. Ballini. Chinese studies are represented by Professors C. Puini and L. Nocentini, the former publishing a translation of the Chinese version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*, and the latter a translation of a Chinese collection of maxims, known as the "Precious Mirror of the Pure Heart." There are useful biographical notes, and an obituary notice of Aufrecht. A feature of the number is an interesting *Bullettino* dealing with the latest publications on the languages and literatures of Africa. Similar bulletins are promised for Semitic, Indo-Iranian, and Central Asian subjects.

The *Rivista* is also charged with the duty of publishing the proceedings of the Italian Committee of the International Association for the Scientific Exploration of

Central Asia and the Far East, which Committee, by the way, has begun practical work by procuring the funds to send an Italian Sinologue, Dr. Vacca, on a mission to China.

The subscription to the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* is 20 *lire* per annum outside Italy. Foreign subscribers are supplied by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig.

MADHURA-VĀNĪ, THE SANSKRIT POETESS OF TANJORE.

Sanskrit scholars of the present day have to be congratulated on the discovery of an excellent and extensive poem, popularly known as the *Madhuravāṇī-Kāvya*, after the surname Madhura-vāṇī earned by the famous poetess of Tanjore, who calls it by the name *Srī-Rāmāyaṇa-Sāra*, and classes it as a Mahā-kāvya. It treats of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, and consists, as in the only palm-leaf manuscript available to us at present, of fourteen *sargas* to the end of the contents of the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa; and this comes to about 1,500 *ślokas* of various metres. There are, however, some additional verses at the end showing that the work had been completed by the poetess. The style is very simple and chaste, and the poem has throughout a melodious flow. The authoress was a court poetess of *Raghunātha Bhūpa*, who, it is said, ruled over Tanjore, and was himself the author of an *Āndhra Rāmāyaṇa*. This *Raghunātha Bhūpa* was the third Nāyak Prince of Tanjore, who ascended the throne in 1614 A.D., and the *Madhuravāṇī-Kāvya* may therefore be ascribed to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Prince's Court had reached its zenith.

The work richly deserves publication, as it is perhaps the first Mahā-kāvya coming to us from the pen of a member of the fair sex.

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

THE CHILD KṚṢṢṢA.

I had hoped that a perusal of Mr. Kennedy's paper¹ on "The Child Kṛishṇa, Christianity, and the Gujars" would remove certain difficulties as to the correctness of his main results which I felt bound to express on hearing the paper read; but as I still feel grave doubt on several points in Mr. Kennedy's most exhaustive and able argument, I propose briefly to indicate some considerations directly arising out of that argument which appear to me hardly to have received full weight in Mr. Kennedy's review.

Mr. Kennedy attempts to show *inter alia* that the identification of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu was late in date, and in certain parts of Hindustān at any rate was not complete by 300 A.D., and that the conception of the child Kṛṣṇa was introduced at Mathurā in the fifth or sixth century A.D. as the result of the meeting at that town of lax Buddhists and eager Hindus with Northern nomads who brought a child-god, a Christian legend, and a Christmas festival.

To prevent misunderstanding it may be as well to say at once that there is no good ground for denying the existence in the legends and cult of Kṛṣṇa of elements derived from the Christian faith.² The resemblances between the details of the lives and deeds of Christ and Kṛṣṇa pointed out in Weber's classical treatise on the Kṛṣṇajannmāṣṭami and summarised by Mr. Kennedy,³ cannot reasonably be ascribed to mere accident. But with regard to them two things must always be borne in mind: in

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 951-992.

² Similarly, I have never doubted that the modern doctrine of Bhakti contains Christian elements. What I regard as not proved, nor likely to be proved, is that the doctrine derived its origin from Christianity. The cumulative evidence of similarities in the later texts (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 493 sq.) is, of course, of no value in matters of origin.

³ p. 978.

the first place, many of the most striking similarities consist of details found only in apocryphal gospels and writings of uncertain date, and may quite as probably be due to borrowings by Christianity as by Kṛṣṇaism; and in the second place it is at least as easy logically to explain these similarities by the hypothesis that there existed in India an indigenous cult which resembled Christianity in certain respects, and which therefore naturally assimilated whatever Hindu taste found attractive in the new religion which was brought by missionaries and others from the West, as by the theory that the whole cult of the child Kṛṣṇa is borrowed.

To turn now to Mr. Kennedy's first theorem, the late date of the general recognition of Kṛṣṇa as identified with Viṣṇu, we find that the proposition rests on the terms in which, in the third book of the Mahābhārata, his contest with the Daitya king, Śālva, is described. Mr. Kennedy argues¹ that the poet ascribes to Kṛṣṇa, not the discus of Viṣṇu or the bow of horn, but the thunderbolt of Indra, and that he cannot therefore have regarded Kṛṣṇa as identical with Viṣṇu. He then proceeds to find an exact date for the passage by comparing the description of the siege of Dvārakā with Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the siege of Amida in 359 A.D., and concludes that the passage must date from a time—not earlier than the fourth century A.D.—after the Sassanians had learned from the Romans the art of besieging and defending fortified cities by mines, etc. The latter part of the argument seems to me to ignore unduly the possibilities of poetic invention in describing the conflicts of gods and demons, and if we must press history out of the passage, can it be said to be necessary to go as late as the fourth century A.D.? Or is there anything in the text which could not have been written in the first century A.D. by an Indian with some

¹ p. 963.

imagination who had heard by report of the modes of warfare employed by the Empire? But what is of more importance than the date of the passage, the evidence against the identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu is surely quite insufficient. Mr. Kennedy's own account of it appears to me to establish the identity of the two divinities in the most striking manner. He lays stress on the fact (p. 962) that the passage thinly veils the solar character of the god, and Kṛṣṇa fits "to his bowstring his favourite weapon of fire, which rises in the air like a second sun." Now I submit that the solar character of Kṛṣṇa is precisely the characteristic which marks him as identical with Viṣṇu. It seems to me as certain as anything in Vedic mythology can be that Viṣṇu was a sun-god, and that it was to that characteristic that he owes his gradual development to be a supreme deity.¹ It hardly seems possible to ascribe to Kṛṣṇa an original solar character. His name tells seriously against it: the 'dark sun' requires more explanation than it seems likely to receive, and the characteristics enumerated by Mr. Kennedy (p. 962) point with much greater likeliness to Kṛṣṇa having once been a vegetation spirit. If, then, we find Kṛṣṇa appearing distinctly as a solar divinity, we are fairly justified in saying that he was, in the poet's mind, not far different from Viṣṇu.

As evidence for the early date of the identification of Kṛṣṇu and Viṣṇu, it is useless to quote the Epic as long as doubts of a serious character exist as to its date.² But we have the evidence of Patañjali, which, though not conclusive, deserves fuller consideration than it has received from Mr. Kennedy. In discussing Pāṇini, iv, 2, 98,

¹ For the real importance of sun-worship in India, cf. Manucci's emphatic testimony (*Storia do Mogor*, trans. by Irvine, iii, p. 3).

² But Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, and Viṣṇu appear as identified in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, x, 1, 6 (see Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i, p. 78; xiii, p. 353), and the date of that passage can hardly be later than the third century a.c. It is probably much earlier, and any account of Viṣṇu must take note of it.

Patañjali distinctly says that Vāsudeva is a *saṃjñā* of the Bhagavant, and Weber¹ himself admits that, on the analogy of Śivabhāgavata, while the passage does not prove that Kṛṣṇa is identical with Viṣṇu, it does show that he was already far more than a Kṣatriya and was a higher divine creature. But, later on, Weber,² with his usual candour, makes another admission. In discussing the evidence afforded by the Mahābhāṣya for the early existence of the drama he notices the fact that the two legends mentioned as the subjects of representation are the Balibandha and the Kāṃsavadha, and he points out that, as the first of these subjects is undoubtedly taken from the legend of Viṣṇu, it is probably necessary to assume that already Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa stood in a close relationship. There seems, indeed, no ground whatever to deny that they were already identified, and that this was the case is indicated by the fact that the Mahābhāṣya³ tells us that in the Kāṃsavadha the Granthikas divided themselves into two parties, the one followers of Kāṃsa, the other followers of Kṛṣṇa, and that the former were *kālamukhāḥ* and the latter *raktamukhāḥ*. Weber⁴ was naturally puzzled to find that Kṛṣṇa's friends were red in colour, but the whole thing explains itself when we regard the contest as one of the many old nature rituals⁵ where two parties join in mimic strife, the one striving to rescue, the other to capture the sun. Such a ritual, in all probability, was the source of the drama in Greece, and traces of it are to be found in England. The supporters of Kṛṣṇa as

¹ *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, p. 352.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 491. For the importance of Viṣṇuism in the growth of the drama, cf. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, pp. 316 sq.

³ See Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 489, n. 3.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 355. Lévi (*op. cit.*, p. 315) inverts the attributions of colour, but this is quite illegitimate.

⁵ Usener: *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 297-313. Such a contest occurs in the Vedic Mahāvratā. Cf. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 444, 445, 506.

identified with the sun, Viṣṇu, naturally wear the red colour of the luminary as an act of sympathetic magic.

Nor does the evidence in favour of the second of Mr. Kennedy's theses seem more satisfactory. It is, of course, easy to prove anything by disregarding the references in the Mahābhārata and by assigning the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa to the sixth century A.D., but it is hardly legitimate, and in the case of the Harivaṃśa at least the date assigned is almost certainly wrong.¹ Indeed, Mr. Kennedy's own evidence seems inconsistent with his results, for the reference to Kṛṣṇa and Devakī which he (p. 976) quotes from the Bhitari Inscription of Skandagupta seems conclusively to show that long before the date of that record, which was composed soon after 455-456 A.D., Kṛṣṇa stood to Devakī in the same close relation which marks the legend of the child Kṛṣṇa. But surely the existence of the standing enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Kāṃsa, his uncle, of which the Mahābhāṣya² presents the most conclusive proof, essentially presupposes the existence of a legend of the youthful Kṛṣṇa? The relationship would normally be accompanied by friendship and protection: when the reverse is found, and the nephew slays the uncle, the similar legends found elsewhere justify us in thinking that tradition must have told some tale of the efforts of the uncle to remove from his path the unwelcome nephew. It can hardly be supposed that it was left for Christianity, as Mr. Kennedy seems (p. 980) to suggest, to find a justification for the killing of Kāṃsa in the massacre of the Innocents.

If, then, Kṛṣṇa was recognised as a divine child long before the contact of Christianity with the Hindus, it

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 681.

² On Pīṇini, iii, 2, 111: *jaghāna Kāṃsaṃ kila Vāṃsaterah*; on ii, 3, 36: *asādhur mātule Kṛṣṇaḥ*; and the Kāṃsavādha, on iii, 1, 26. See Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 353 sq. The connection of Kṛṣṇa and Devakī must be very old if, as seems most probable, the Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, iii, 17, 6, is a euhemerism.

remains to consider what character was attributed to the youthful god. The answer appears to be given by the epithet of Govinda which belongs to him in the Mahābhārata and probably in the Mahābhāṣya.¹ Mr. Kennedy himself considers the epithet early (p. 964), but seems uncertain what sense to ascribe to it. He renders it (i.e.) 'the herdsman of the fertilising rain-clouds,' but later (p. 979, n. 2) he seems to think it possible that the epithet has really nothing to do with cattle, but is equivalent to Upendra, 'the little Indra.' I confess that neither of these renderings seems to me satisfactory. There is no justification for transforming the cows into rain-clouds, and the word must surely be either *go-vinda*, an irregular² but not impossible formation from the root *vid*, 'find,' or a Prakritism of *gopendra*, 'chief of cow-herds,' as Wackernagel³ and Dr. Grierson take it. In either case the ordinary cow seems to have been associated from the first with Kṛṣṇa, and this well suits his character as a vegetation spirit, as early thought readily sees in the ox or cow the embodiment of that spirit.⁴ It is not, I think, practicable to distinguish between the elder Kṛṣṇa as an agricultural god and the younger as a pastoral god; and it must not

¹ Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

² Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², p. 424, and the form *gorinda*, *ibid.*, p. 444; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 115.

³ *Altindische Grammatik*, i, p. lii. The form might even be for *gopindra* (Pischel, *Prākṛit Grammar*, p. 72), and record the connection of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis!

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 933. This assumes that Kṛṣṇa was originally a vegetation spirit, and then by a natural transition (which has parallels in Greek religion, as in the case of Dionysos) the god who is sometimes incarnate in an animal becomes the deity which acts as guardian of the herds. Kṛṣṇa's birth in a stable may be derived from this side of his character, which, to some extent, justifies Barth's view that this point in his history is independent of Christianity (cf. Hopkins, *India, Old and New*, p. 165). Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 147) lays stress on the heroic element in the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, but though it is certainly possible that Kṛṣṇa is merely a hero who has grown into a great deity, it must be remembered that vegetation spirits often appear as heroes, as probably in the case of Erechtheus at Athens, Hyakinthos in Sparta, etc.

be overlooked that the cow is an essential adjunct of the life of an agricultural people. No doubt it would be a mistake to suppose that this agricultural or pastoral side represented the whole character of Kṛṣṇa. If the cowherds who worshipped him told of his sports with the Gopis and his love of the flute and the dance, his worship among the Kṣatriyas transformed his character into that of a warrior of great skill and cunning, traits which remind us of the Greek Apollo.

It seems, therefore, impossible to admit that the conception of Kṛṣṇa as a child or as a pastoral deity was due to a Gujar horde. It is a different question and one which must await further discussion how far the idea of the divinity of childhood is due to Christianity, for the belief in a child-god and the divinity of childhood are very different things.

As much of the above argument rests on the date of the Mahābhāṣya, it should be said that I adopt the middle of the second century B.C. as the probable date of that work. As against Mr. Kennedy this view is well grounded, since he accepts (p. 962) this date. But even if we reject the ordinary view, which has the weighty support of S. Lévi¹ among other scholars, it is impossible, I think, to assign a later date² than the first century A.D., a date by which it is practically impossible to suppose that Christian influences had affected the legend of Kṛṣṇa and Kamsa.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ *Théâtre indien*, p. 314; *Quid de Græcis veterum Indorum Monumenta tradiderint*, pp. 16, 38. So Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, p. 138.

² See Kielhorn, *Göt. Nachr.*, 1885, pp. 185 sq.; Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften*, p. 72. The only substantial argument yet adduced against the generally accepted date of Patañjali is the possibility that the examples whence the argument for his date is derived may be *mūrthā-bhīṣikta* (cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 319). The lower limit of date, 60 A.D., given by Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 319), cannot, however, be supported by the date of Abhimanyu, as the date of that king (if he ever existed) is quite uncertain. See also my *Āitareya Aranyaka*, pp. 21-25.

DR. HERTEL'S "DAS SÜDLICHE PAŠCATANTRA."

While calling attention (*supra*, July Number, 1907, p. 735) to a corrupted śloka in the prose text of the above work, I regret to have overlooked the fact that Dr. Hertel had already noted the verse as well as its equivalent in Haberlandt's edition.

F. W. THOMAS.

November, 1907.



NESTORIAN TABLET FROM SIANFU.

Mr. Frits V. Holm, who for some months has been engaged on a scientific expedition into the interior of China, has succeeded, after five months labour, under great difficulties, in having made an exact replica in stone of the ancient famous Nestorian tablet situated west of Sianfu, formerly the Imperial capital. The stone replica weighs 3,000 lbs., and Mr. Holm is arranging to have it brought to the coast with the intention of bringing it to Europe.

INDIAN MEDICINE.

The Publishers of Dr. Hoernle's book "Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India" offer to members of the Royal Asiatic Society, if a sufficient number subscribe, a special edition in paper wrappers at 6s. 6d. a copy, post free, instead of at the ordinary price of 10s. 6d. Any member wishing to subscribe is requested to communicate at once with the Secretary.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GREEK UNCIAL AND CURSIVE CHARACTERS INTO INDIA.

We have identified with the Babylonian goddess Êru, Êrua (Hêru, Hêrua), a goddess whose name is presented on a coin of Huvishka as  =  = Êro, or more freely Hêro, Hêru (see page 59 above). And we shall, no doubt, be able hereafter to carry back the names of some of the other deities on the coins of the Kanishka group to much more ancient times than those which have hitherto been contemplated. Meanwhile, some other questions suggest themselves in connexion with this matter. We cannot hope to offer final answers to them off-hand. But an attempt may be made towards a solution of them: and the hope may be expressed that other inquirers may be induced to join in the endeavour. It is to be borne in mind that the only logical explanation of the circumstances surrounding the Indian era commencing in B.C. 58 and the sovereignty of Kanishka lies in the view that Kanishka began to reign in that year and thereby founded the era: and, that that was the case, is, I think, now well established (see this Journal, 1907, 1048 f.). The phenomena of Greek palaeography on the coins of this group, and the other curious features found there, have to be considered in that light.

The coins with which we are concerned may be studied either in Gardner's Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, plates 26 to 29, or (and perhaps somewhat better) in Cunningham's *Coins of the Kushāns*, plates 16 to 24, = *Numismatic Chronicle*, series 3, vol. 12, plates 6 to 14.¹ But, with the treatments

¹ These plates mostly illustrate only the reverses of the coins; the reverses presenting the features which have been found so exceptionally interesting. The obverses remain to be fully illustrated: they deserve it from many points of view; and it is particularly necessary that they should be so treated, because it is amongst coins at present attributed

attached to those plates, there should be read, with a view to having the correct forms of all the names, particularly in connexion with the character $\text{p} = \text{sh}$, the articles by Stein in the *Indian Antiquary*, 17. 89 ff.,¹ by Cunningham in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 2. 40 ff., and by E. W. West, *ibid.*, 236 ff.

The questions which suggest themselves here are as follows.

In the first place, the coins of this group, dating onwards from shortly after B.C. 58, present a strange diversity of deities: or, speaking more accurately, the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka do so: the published coins of Vāsudēva shew only three names out of the entire list; and those three names all occur on the coins of his predecessors. From the Indian pantheon, we have Buddha, Śiva (mentioned as Oēsho), Umā,² Skanda-Kumāra, Mahāsēna, and Viśākha.³

to Kanishka or Huvishka that we may hope to find coins of Vāsushka, Vāsushka, or Vāsishka, regarding whom see this *Journal*, 1903. 325; 1905. 357. My surmise is that, in some case or cases in which part of the proper name does not lie on the coin, an initial uncial or cursive B has been misread as K: for $b = v$ on the coins of this group, note the words $\text{BA}\rho\text{O}\Delta\text{HO}$ = Vāsudēva, and $\text{BI}\rho\text{A}\rho\text{O}$ = Viśākha.

I must explain that, from want of the necessary types, it is still not yet practicable to shew the words cited just above, and others, in cursive forms.

¹ Adapted, with additions, from the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1. 153 ff.

² See Rapson, this *Journal*, 1897. 324.

³ Kumāra, Skanda-(Kumāra), and Mahāsēna are names of Kārttikēya, the god of war. Viśākha is a name of Skanda; also of a son of Skanda, or of a manifestation of Skanda regarded as his son. Patañjali mentions Skanda and Viśākha as separate gods, with Śiva, in his comments on Pāṇini, 5. 3. 99, — the well-known "Maurya passage," and again, without Śiva, under 8. 1. 15. The *Kaśikā* mentions them as separate gods under 7. 3. 21, and in the *Gaṇa dādhipāyasa* under 2. 4. 14.

Some of the coins present a single figure, with the name Mahāsēna: for various references for these, see this *Journal*, 1907. 1047, and note 2. Others present two figures, with the names Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha: Gardner, plate 28, figs. 22, 23; Cunningham, plate 20/10, fig. 16. Another presents three figures, with the names Skanda-Kumāra,

From Greek sources, we have Hēraklēs, Hēlios, Selēnē (written Salēnē), Hēphaistos, and apparently Pallas (or some counterpart of Pallas) under some such name as Ribū.¹ From Egypt, we have Sarāpis or Serāpis (the name is written Sarapo), and perhaps Hōru, Hōros.² From Babylonian or other Western Asiatic sources, we have Êru

Mahāsēna, and Viśākha : Gardner, plate 28, fig. 24 ; Cunningham, plate 20/10, fig. 17. From the last we must apparently assume that there were held in view two, if not three, separate manifestations of Kārttikēya.

It seems rather strange that no coin has as yet been brought to notice mentioning Vardhamāna, Vira, or Mahāvira, to whom, as we know from inscriptions, quite as much worship was paid as to Buddha in the time of Kanishka and his successors.

¹ For this coin, see Gardner, plate 28, fig. 20 ; Cunningham, plate 22/12, fig. 11. The name has been read by Thomas as Rias, or doubtfully Rirē or Ridē (this Journal, 1877. 213, No. 4), with the suggestion (loc. cit., 225) that "Rhea (Pallas Capitolina)" might be intended ; by Gardner as Riom or Rom, with the suggestion that we may have here an impersonation of the city Rome ; by Cunningham as Ridē, with a proposal to take it as denoting the Sanskrit Riddhi, good fortune, wealth, abundance, etc., personified as the wife of Kuvēra. Stein, accepting doubtfully Riom, considered that the type is Zoroastrian.

The word consists of four letters : and I really do not think that there could in any case be an allusion to Rome. The last letter seems to me a variety of the Υ form of upsilon which we have on others of these coins (for two instances, see this Journal, 1907. 1045, and note). The preceding letter seems to be a variant of the cursive *beta*, for which see Thompson's table mentioned in note 1 on page 185 below, col. 2, the last form but one. Apart from other considerations, the female figure precludes any suggestion in the direction of the Sanskrit Ribhu.

² For this coin, see Gardner, plate 28, fig. 32 ; Cunningham, plate 23/13, fig. 10. The name has been read by Thomas as Ōroē or Ōron, with the suggestion that the Indian Varuṇa is intended (loc. cit., preceding note, 213, No. 5, 225) ; by Gardner as Ōron or doubtfully Ōroē, with the remark :—"I am disposed to identify this figure with the Greek Uranus, though he may almost as well stand for the Indian Varuṇa ;" by Cunningham as Ōron or Hōron, with an endorsement of the view that Varuṇa may be intended. Here, again, Stein considered that we have a Zoroastrian type.

There is no question about the first three letters. The fourth might, as a capital, be either *eta* or *mu* : it may be taken as a cursive *mu* with the left limb unduly extended upwards. With Serāpis actually before us, it seems to me highly probable that Hōru, Hōros, may be intended here.

or Hêru, Nanā or Nanaia (both forms occur on the coins), Mîro (with variants), Mao, Athsho, Ardokhsho, and altogether some twenty different deities. And in every case there is given, not only the figure of the deity, but also the name.

Amongst all these personages, only Hêrakilēs and Pallas figure on any of the earlier coins of India and neighbouring territories: and Hêrakilēs alone can be recognized as having been worshipped as a god, and as having been well known by name, in any districts from which Kanishka, as a Kushan of the Yuē-chi, can have come, or through which he can have passed in making his way into India. Whence, then, did Kanishka obtain all the other non-Indian deities?

Secondly, the coins of the Kanishka group are the first amongst the coins of India and neighbouring territories to present the names of the deities shewn on them. What was it that started that new fashion?

Thirdly, the Greek uncial or lunar forms Ε, C, and Ω, which we have, mixed with the ordinary capitals, in the legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ on some of the coins of Kanishka (e.g., Gardner, plate 26, fig. 1; Cunningham, plate 16/6, fig. 1), appear, in or anywhere near India, for the first time on these coins: they are not found on the Bactrian coins: and in the Parthian coinage there is nothing, in the shape of an actual date or the personal name of a king, to carry back any distinctly appreciable use of them there to before A.D. 8, and so to suggest that they were taken into India from Parthia.¹

¹ The character C is apparently carried back, by attribution, to the period B.C. 138-128: see Wroth's *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, p. 17, Nos. 12 to 14: but it may be questioned whether a *sigma* is intended there; especially in No. 14, where we have both C and Σ, in CVΑΣ.

It appears, for *sigma*, on coins attributed to the period B.C. 88-77: op. cit., p. 39, Nos. 11, 13 (here the letter is reversed, and may be a careless Σ); p. 40, Nos. 23, 24. And it appears again, for *sigma*, on

This appearance of these uncial or lunar forms in India is remarkable enough. Still more so is the appearance of the fine type of Greek cursives, which we have in the words $\gamma\epsilon\pi\omicron$ and $\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron$ and in the legends on many other coins of this group, and then, but less conspicuously and not so well executed, on coins of the Kadphisēs group. The cursives are unique, as far as coins are concerned,¹ in or anywhere near India; being not found on either the Bactrian or the Parthian coins. How, then, did these uncial and cursive characters come to be known and used in India in the time of Kanishka?

In the fourth place, since we have in the word $\gamma\epsilon\pi\omicron$ = $\epsilon\pi\omicron$ on a coin of Huvishka a distinct use of the Greek rough breathing, why was not that sign employed in the treatment in Greek characters, on coins of the same group, of certain other words which I have had occasion to mention in a previous note (this Journal, 1907. 1045 ff.)?: why was it not used as an initial sign in

a coin attributed to a.c. 70-57, but in a name which is a countermark and may therefore be of later date: op. cit., p. 50, No. 47.

With omission of cases on pp. 25, 42, 48, which I learn from Mr. Wroth are misprints, and of doubtful cases on pp. 18, 25, the ϵ appears on a coin attributed to a.c. 88-77: op. cit., p. 40, No. 23. And it is read on a coin dated in a.c. 38-37: op. cit., p. 99, No. 1. In this case, however, the letter is very small and cramped: and I venture to think that it may equally well be taken as ϵ .

The ω appears on coins attributed to the period a.c. 57-54: op. cit., p. 63, No. 16; p. 64, Nos. 27, 28.

The three forms, ϵ , ζ , and ω , all together, appear first on the drachms of Vonônēs I. in the period a.d. 8-12: op. cit., p. 144 f.

They do not seem, however, to have caught the fancy of the Parthian minters even then; for they are found again, all together, only on drachms of Gotarzēs, in the period a.d. 40-51: op. cit., p. 165, No. 33.

¹ They seem to have been found in or near India, otherwise than on coins, only on the seal of Balia, son of Mitraśama, described and illustrated by Rapson in this Journal, 1905. 809, and fairly referable, as indicated by him, to the time of Huvishka or of Vāsudēva. But, are the characters of that legend really cursives, or are they uncials?: the *sigma* seems uncial rather than cursive.

ΗΦΑΙCTOC. ΗΛΙOC. ΗΡΑΚΙΔOC, and ΟΟΗΡΚΕ, and as a medial sign in the transliteration of the Indian name Mahāsēna ?¹

I have long held the view that some, at least, of the deities on the coins of this group were regarded as curiosities rather than as objects of actual worship; and that the figures and names of the non-Indian deities,² and, with them, the uncial and cursive Greek characters, were obtained from some illustrated manuscript, or something in the way of a picture-book with names attached to the figures shewn in it, which found its way, probably from Alexandria, to Mathurā, and so into the hands of Kanishka and his mint-masters, viā Broach, the great ancient emporium in the northern part of the western coast of India, at an early stage in Kanishka's career, when, being well established in his sovereignty, he was thinking of beginning to issue a coinage. There were possibly two such documents; one written in uncials, the other in cursives. At any rate, some such document seems to be demanded by the point, mentioned above, that Hēraklēs alone, among the non-Indian deities, can have been then well known in India. An Egyptian source for it is suggested by the fact that the list of deities includes at any rate Serāpis, if not also Hōrn, Hōros. At the other end, Mathurā, from which place we have so large a proportion of the inscriptions which mention Kanishka and his successors, is suggested, because the

¹ It may be convenient to quote here, as instances of the medial use of the original Greek aspirate Η in its full form, the words ΡΟΗΟΙΔΑΝΙ = Ροιῖδανι, ΛΥΗΙΠΡΟΝ = Λύιπρον, and ΗΑΓΗΗΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ = Ἀγῆστρατος, from inscriptions from Taenaros: see Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, part I. 266, 267.

An instance of the abbreviated form prefixed to an alpha is found in ΗΑ ΡΟΛΙΣ = ἡ ῥάλι in an inscription from Dodona: see *ibid.*, 275. For its occurrence with eta, see page 59 above.

² With an exception in the case of Hēraklēs: see page 184 below.

absence of Kharōshthī legends from the coins of this group, except possibly in one instance,¹—(and in this feature, also, these coins differ markedly from all the other early Indian coins),—is a strong indication that the mint was at any rate not in the Panjāb or anywhere in that direction. And I find corroboration of my view in the fact itself that, while we have the rough breathing in the name $\text{ἩῚρο} = \text{ἩῚΡο} = \text{ἩῚρο}$, Hēro, Hēru, on this coin of Huvishka, it is absent from the other words mentioned above.

The minters of the coins of Kanishka and his successors were not necessarily Greeks, though they cut or framed legends in Greek characters. And it seems at least doubtful that they were such. A Greek—at any rate, an educated Greek—would hardly have framed or approved so ungrammatical a phrase as that quoted on page 180 above, $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ}$, in which we have the genitive *Kanēshkou* against the nominative *basileus*.² And a Greek—at any rate, an educated Greek—would hardly have formed such a word

¹ The possible exceptional case of a Kharōshthī legend on the coins of this group is found in a coin exhibited by Cunningham in his *Coins of the Kushāns*, plate 18, fig. 15, from a sketch made in 1842: unfortunately, the coin itself was subsequently lost. He presented the reading:—*Jayatasa Hashtashkaśa* (op. cit., 44, No. 58), with the observation:—"In 1842 I read the name as *Hystaspes*, tentatively. But, with a very slight correction, it reads quite clearly *Huvishka*." And certainly, if we take two liberties, by supplying an *u* in the first syllable and shifting the position of the stroke across the upright limb of the second character so as to place it across the top stroke, we can obtain the reading *Huvishkaśa*. But we must not lose sight of the possibility that we may have here another in this group of names ending in *śka*,—*Hashtashka*.

² The intended construction is, of course, open to argument. But it seems likely, on the whole, that the nominative was contemplated, if we may judge by the way in which the names of the gods were treated. This detail, also, seems to call for consideration, and might possibly be instructive. Roberts has told us, in his *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, part I. 276, that "the names of deities are rarely found under statues in the nominative case."

as ΗΠΑΚΙΑΟ, for ΗΠΑΚΑΗC; whereas that is just such a form as a Hindū might easily give to a name the general sound of which, though not the exact spelling, must have been quite familiar in India in connexion with the representation of its owner on the coins of various rulers who preceded Kanishka.

If the minters of Kanishka and his successors were Greeks, and were putting together from their own knowledge the whole series of the names presented on the coins, then, using the rough breathing in the name $\text{ἥπο} = \text{ἥπο}$, they could hardly have failed to utilize the same sign in other words also. But it seems evident that, except in the case of the Indian deities, the names of the deities were copied, more or less mechanically, by persons who were not Greeks, and who, though able to decipher the Greek alphabets and to use them for general purposes,—including the transliteration of the names of their sovereigns and of the Indian deities, and the framing of the regal title ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ , Shaonano-shao (unless, perchance, that also was obtained by them in the same way with the names of the non-Indian deities),—did not know enough about the details of the Greek writing to understand and apply the sign in question. It seems equally plain that the names were copied from some such document as that which I have suggested, and that it was the general attractiveness of the pictures presented in it that led Kanishka to select some of them for his coins, and to direct his mint-masters to give the names along with the figures, and to treat in the same way such of the Indian deities as seemed to call for recognition. And it seems plain that it was by this means that the uncial and cursive forms were set running in India.

There can be no doubt about the possibility of such a document finding its way to India in the time of Kanishka: political intercourse between India and the

West may have ceased after the time of Aśoka, until it was revived in the days of Augustus; but trading communications must have always existed from an early date. And there is no difficulty about assigning to such a document a date appreciably anterior to B.C. 58. The Greek cursive writing—(perhaps not exactly in all the precise forms which are found on our coins, but in essentially the same type)—is carried back by papyri to as early a date as B.C. 260–250:¹ and the uncial or lunar Ε, C, and Ω are traced back to at least the same century.² As regards a particular point,—there is brought down to after B.C. 300 (see page 59 above) the use, with the capital type, of the rough breathing in the form Ϝ, written full-size on the line, and prefixed to the letter that it qualified: while the Bacchylides MS., which is referred to about the middle of the first century B.C., presents, not only the sign Ϝ already reduced to miniature size and placed above the letter, but also, and more usually, certain curtailed forms, similarly written in miniature and placed above the letter, which were still later stages in the development of the modern form.³ There must surely have been an intermediate stage, in which the rough breathing—(perhaps used irregularly, sometimes presented, sometimes omitted; and possibly used more irregularly with the capitals than with the other types of letters)—was treated in the more ancient style, in full size and on the line, in the uncial and cursive writings, so as to give us the combination which we have in the name Ϝεπο || ΕΗΡΩ. And all the conditions of the case are satisfied, if we refer to not later than B.C. 100

¹ See Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, table at p. 148. It may be noted that there is a lacuna between B.C. 110 and the first century A.D.; just the period to which our coins belong.

² See Taylor, *The Alphabet*, 2. 105 f., 148, note; Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, 207 f.

³ See Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, 30, 75.

the document or documents from which there were taken the details, new to India, which we find on the coins of the Kanishka group.

Alexandria has been suggested above, for a reason given there, as the place whence the document or documents started on the journey to India. But it or they might possibly be traced to an original source elsewhere, if we could only determine the inventors of the character ρ , with the value *sh*,—apparently foreign to any known Greek alphabet except in its use on our coins. There is somewhat of a temptation to look upon it as an Indian invention, made by a closed and rather stiff adaptation of the Kharōṣṭhī 𑀧 , *s*. That, however, would be inconsistent with the view that the non-Indian names in which it is found, $\text{A}\theta\rho\omicron$, $\text{A}\rho\Delta\omicron\chi\rho\omicron$, etc., came to India with this sign already in them: moreover, the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet had a sign for *sh* itself, and that sign might have been adopted without introducing any particularly incongruous appearance. It seems probable, therefore, that Stein was right, in finding the prototype of the ρ in the Greek *san* or *sampi*; though, to establish a similarity, he had to take an apparently somewhat late minuscule form of the *sampi*. But, who, exactly, can the people have been, who thought it worth while to compile the collection of non-Indian deities,—(doubtless an extensive one, from which we have only a small selection in our coins),—and to devise a new sign to denote an Asiatic sound which was foreign to the Greek phonetic system?

J. F. FLEET.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

In respect of the place which is mentioned as Tiyaṇi in the inscription on the Sohgaūrā plate (see this Journal, 1907. 522), there have been made to me two suggestions which may be put on record without marking either of them as final.

Dr. Barnett has suggested that Tiyaṇi might be completed into Tiyaṇi = Tiyaṇi = Tryāṇi, "the three-bazaar (town)," from *tri* + *āṇa*, 'market, shop;' for which, quite as well as for Tryavani, "the three-land," a modern name Tribēni might have been substituted. In support of this, we may note that Bühler has drawn attention to a softening of *p* into *v* in early Prākṛit, in *kassava* = *kāsyapa*, *kāravejja* = *kārāpeyyā*, *anuvattthāvēti* = *anuprasthāpayati*, and *vi* = *api* (EI, 1. 3; cited in Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 189). Müller has given us, in his *Pāli Grammar*, p. 37, *āvelā* = *āpida*, *thēva* = *stēpa*, *pōsāvana* = *pōsāpana*, and *vyāvaṭa* = *vyāprita*. And even in Sanskrit we have the two forms *kapāṭa* and *kavāṭa*, 'a door, a leaf or panel of a door.'

Professor Lanman has suggested that, just as by metathesis we have *āścharya*, *achchhariya*, **achchhayira*, *achchhēra*, so, taking *avani* in the sense of 'stream, river,' from Tryavani, "the three-stream (town)," we might have Tiyaṇi, Tivayani, and so Tivēni. From the last form, there could easily have been evolved a later Tribēni. And certainly such a process might account for this last name quite as well as does the usual derivation, *tri* + *vēṇi*, which entails assigning to *vēṇi*, 'a braid of hair,' some such metaphorical meaning as 'stream, current.'

As illustrating well the puzzles which confront us in the records of the class to which this one belongs, I may mention that another correspondent has asked whether it is certain that *triṇa* has the meaning of 'a place where

three roads meet,' and has observed that the word *Manuvasitikē* might be completed into *Mānavāsītikē* for "śi", "in the Mānava eighty (group of villages)." But, while such a meaning would be very admissible in a record some thousand years later in date, it is difficult to find authority for recognizing it as practicable in the record with which we are concerned. For the rest, I can only say that the record distinctly speaks of three roads; that a mention of the junction of those three roads, and of its name, would be quite natural and appropriate; and that Hēmachandra says, in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, verse 986:—*Chatushpathē tu samsthānam chatushkaṣṭripathē trikaṁ*; "a place at four roads is *chatushka*: (a place) at three roads is *trika*." This definition is given in a passage (verses 983 to 988) in which Hēmachandra explains the different kinds of roads and their surroundings. He uses the word *ślēṣha*, 'embracing, uniting,' for the actual meeting of roads: thus (verse 988):—*Ślēṣhas-trimārgyāḥ śrīṅgātāḥ bahumārgī tu chatvaram*; "a joining of three roads is *śrīṅgāṭa*; a *chatvara* is where there are many roads." And it may be the case, as seems to be sometimes understood, that verse 986 means to say that "a place at four roads is a square; a place at three roads is a triangle." But the result remains that *chatushka* and *trika* both mean what we call 'a junction,' in denoting respectively the area, the place, the locality, where four or three roads come in.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTE ON MO-LO-SO.

The problem as to the identity of the country represented by the Chinese *Mo-lo-so* (Hiuen Tsang) was practically solved by General Alexander Cunningham. He took *Mo-lo-so* to be the present Ladakh. I should not have thought it necessary to reopen the question had not

several later scholars, among them Vincent Smith, tried to find *Mo-lo-so* in quite other countries, for instance in Malva. Even if the ancient kings of *Mo-lo-so* bore Indian (Sanskrit) instead of Tibetan names, this fact would present no difficulty, for I have shown, with the help of Ladakhi archæology, that Indian names were used in Tibet between one and two thousand years ago. I am, however, in a position to strengthen General Cunningham's theory by several corroborative arguments. In the first place, there is no necessity to write *Mo-lo-po* instead of *Mo-lo-so*. The Chinese *mo-lo-so* does not correspond to the Tibetan word *mar-po*, 'red,' but to the Tibetan *mar-sa*, 'low-land.' (*Mar* occurs in the compound *yar mar*, 'up and down.')

Mar-sa is a synonym of *mar yul*, 'low-land,' the old as well as the present name of Ladakh. (The name *Mar yul* is found on seals of the last independent king of Ladakh.) In Tibetan names synonyms are often interchanged, as has been noted by several scholars. Thus, in the seventeenth century, the names *Mi pham ngon* and *Mi pham dbangpo* are used of the same person.

San-po-ho is also a name of Ladakh, as Cunningham correctly observes. It is the Chinese attempt to represent *ytzung-po*, 'river,' this being the ordinary name of the Indus in Ladakh.

The Chinese name *Lo-u-lo* refers to Lahoul, as the country is situated between Kulu and Ladakh. But I cannot believe that Lahul is the Indian equivalent of a Tibetan word *Lho yul*, 'south-land,' for I have never yet heard a Tibetan speak of Lahul as *Lho yul*. The Tibetan name of Lahul is *Garzha*, *Gazha*, perhaps even *dKar zha*. And the country was already known by that name in the days of Padmasambhava, as we learn from historical works which refer to that teacher's times. The name Lahul is used only by the people of Kulu.

A. H. FRANCKE, Moravian Missionary.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists will be held at Copenhagen from the 14th to 20th August, 1908, under the patronage of King Frederick VIII. It will be divided into seven sections, dealing with various subjects connected with the East. The first section is linguistic, and is devoted to Indo-European Languages; the second is for the Languages and Archaeology of Aryan countries; the third section is exclusively devoted to the languages and archaeology of the Far East; the fourth will be occupied with Egypt and the African languages and dialects; and the fifth will give its attention to Jewish and Assyrian subjects. The sixth and seventh respectively deal with Greece and the Ethnography and Folklore of the East. Politics and religion are outside the scope of the Congress, and the official languages, in addition to Danish, will be English, French, German, Italian, and Latin. The Congress is receiving extensive support in this country; among the scientific and learned bodies which intend to send representatives to Copenhagen being the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Academy, the India Office, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Organizing Committee consists of: — President: Dr. Vilh. Thomsen, St. Knuds Vej 36. Vice-President: Dr. Fr. Buhl, Österbrogade 56 A. General Secretary: Dr. Chr. Sarauw, Frederiksberg Allée 48. Members: Dr. Dines Andersen, Steen Blichers Vej 4; Dr. J. Östrup, Nørrebrogade 42; Dr. Valdemar Schmidt, Professeur à l'Université, Ny Kongensgade 14. Treasurer: M. I. Glückstadt, Privy Councillor, Landmandsbanken, Holmens Kanal 12.

The Committee will be glad if all members of the Society who have not as yet received copies of the Bulletins will

consider themselves invited to attend the Congress. The subscription to the Congress is £1, and the London Agents are Messrs. Probsthain, 14, Bury Street, W.C.

CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS.

The Third International Congress for the History of Religions will be held at Oxford from September 15th to 18th, 1908.

In accordance with the arrangements of previous Congresses, the meetings will be of two kinds: (1) General Meetings, for papers or lectures of wider import; (2) Meetings of Sections for papers, followed by discussion. The Sections will be eight in number:—

- I. Religions of the Lower Culture (including Mexico and Peru).
- II. Religions of the Chinese and Japanese.
- III. Religion of the Egyptians.
- IV. Religions of the Semites.
- V. Religions of India and Iran.
- VI. Religions of the Greeks and Romans.
- VII. Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs.
- VIII. The Christian Religion.

Members' tickets, entitling to admission to all meetings, receptions, etc., and to a copy of the Transactions, £1 each. Ladies' tickets, entitling to admission to all meetings, receptions, etc. (but not to a copy of the Transactions), 10s. each.

English, French, German, and Italian are recognised as the official languages.

Applications for membership and offers of papers may be sent to either of the Hon. Secretaries. It will greatly facilitate the work of the Committee if members desiring

to read papers will inform the Hon. Secretaries by May 31st, 1908. All papers must be sent in not later than August 1st.

All communications concerning the Congress should be addressed to one of the Local Secretaries—J. Estlin Carpenter, 109, Banbury Road, Oxford; L. R. Farnell, 191, Woodstock Road, Oxford.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

POPULAR POETRY OF THE BALŌCHES. By M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Two vols. Asiatic Society Monographs, vols. ix and x.

Whosoever is engaged in the study of the modern Iranian languages will know, I trust, that nobody else has done more for the knowledge of the Balōchī people and language than Mr. Dames. This part of the Iranian philology depends, indeed, chiefly on the materials collected and published by him in the most accurate manner. I feel therefore pleased to draw the attention of our colleagues to his newly published work, the "Popular Poetry of the Balōches," which comprises the result of the whole work done by him during the course of many years.

The first volume contains, in a good and legible translation, all the texts hitherto collected, chiefly by Mr. Dames himself. They are preceded by a valuable introduction on the character of the Balōchī poetry, on the metrical form of the poems, on the methods of reciting, on the age of the various texts, etc. This volume is of peculiar interest for folklorists, who will feel themselves attracted by that fresh and vivid open-air poetry, which is purely popular in its origin as well as in its content and outer form. All the poems collected by Mr. Dames circulate orally among the Baloch tribes, and they are sung, with the only exception of the so-called Dastānagh, by professional minstrels, who have learned the poems from the author or by oral tradition, and who accompany the recital on

musical instruments of two different kinds. The whole collection fills not less than 204 printed pages. First come the heroic ballads of the earlier period, which "form the oldest and most important part of the traditional lore of the Balôches." They deal chiefly with the war of the two great Balôchî tribes, the Rind and the Lâshârî. This war took place about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it ended with the destruction of most of the Lâshâris. The ballads, describing these events, were no doubt composed immediately after them; their language is more archaic than that of the other poems; they are also distinguished from the younger poetry by their blank verses. A second part comprises the later war-ballads and other tribal poems. I mention especially the ballad No. xxxiii, which is a good specimen of a controversy between rival poets of two contending tribes. First sings the poet Sôbhâ of the Khôsa tribe, and Gâhî of the Kalôî tribe answers; then comes Sôbhâ once more in a third poem, and Gâhî's reply makes the conclusion. Romantic ballads as Lêla and Majnâ, Dôstên and Shîrên, love-songs and lyrics, religious and didactic songs fill the third, fourth, and fifth part, pp. 111-181. The last part consists of short texts, as lullabies, rhymed riddles, etc. Among them the 'Dastânaghs,' short love-songs, are of peculiar interest, as they alone are sung not by professional minstrels, but by the Balôches themselves to the accompaniment of a flute or pipe, called *nar*. Mr. Dames has collected altogether thirty-four of these little specimens of popular poetry.

The second volume of Mr. Dames' work will excite the interest of the philologist more than that of the folklorist. It contains the original Balôchî text of the poems translated in vol. i. From the beginning Mr. Dames has used in his publications the Roman characters in transcribing Balôchî texts, and every scholar, I think, will approve this method. Had Mr. Darmesteter adopted it in writing down the popular songs of the Afghan people, instead of using the Arabic

alphabet, his work, "Chants populaires des Afghans," would look less elegant, but it would have become still more valuable from the purely scientific point of view. There is a difference, of course, as the Balōchi never was a written language, whilst for the Pashtō the Arabic alphabet is adapted in India. But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that it is quite impossible to render even the Pashtō words and sounds in an approximately correct manner by Arabic characters. Mr. Dames' method of spelling gives us a fairly good idea of the true pronunciation in Balōchi. The language of the poems, however, is rather difficult and obscure owing to many obsolete words and forms, and to a strange and unfamiliar syntax. The text may also be sometimes corrupt, and I think the oral tradition through centuries is the cause of such corruptions. It is not always easy to harmonise the translation with the original text, but it would lead us too far would we go into details, and I believe it will hardly be possible to correct Mr. Dames' translations in any but minor points. The author himself gives us some useful hints, ii, p. 180 et seq., which enable us to understand better the poetical language and its difference from the colloquial speech. He has also added a short glossary of rare and obsolete words. We find among them some of linguistic and etymological interest, as e.g. *gōbī*, 'discussion' (old Pers. root *gub*, P. گفتن گویم); *bōdh*, 'feeling, perception' (Skt. root *budh*, P. بوی بو); *-pān*, 'protecting,' in *dēmpān*, 'guardianship'; *gōphānkh*, 'cowherd'; *guarpān*, 'shield,' lit. protecting the breast (Skt. root *pā*, P. بان); *nawath*, 'felt' (Aw. *nimata*, P. نمد); *rakhtaghēn chham*, 'red or angry eyes' (Skt. *rakta*); *khil*, 'peg, nail' (Skt. *kīla*); *rōdhī*, 'apparent, visible' (Aw. *ruodha*, P. روی ور).

Finally, we have to thank the Folklore Society and the Royal Asiatic Society for giving Mr. Dames the opportunity of publishing his valuable work, and I may be allowed to

congratulate the author himself, remembering, after fifteen years, the day when in London I had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance.

W. GEIGER.

Erlangen.

October, 1907.

EARLY CHINESE HISTORY. By HERBERT J. ALLEN. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1906.)

Some people have an irresistible inclination to contradict any generally accepted opinion which is incapable of actual proof. More especially is this the case when the facts on which it is based lie in the dim and distant past. Mr. Allen is one of those so constituted. Being a Chinese scholar he has naturally studied the early literature of China, and, like St. Athanasius, he stands up *contra mundum* and boldly claims that the ancient Chinese historical texts are so many forgeries. In so doing he has attacked one of the strongest links in the chain of Chinese history, and one which has been riveted fast by Chinese scholars of all ages, both native and foreign.

The opportunity of instituting this heresy was given to Mr. Allen by the fact that the ancient classics of China were in the year B.C. 213, "with the exception of those treating of agriculture, medicine, divination, and the records of the Ch'in Dynasty," all burnt by Imperial order, and were not reproduced until the edict was revoked by the second Emperor of the following Han Dynasty in the year B.C. 191. At this later date the throne had passed into the hands of a more enlightened sovereign than he who ordered the holocaust, and a decree was issued calling on everyone who possessed copies of the classics or recollected their texts to produce them. In obedience to this order numberless volumes which had been hidden away in the walls of dwelling-houses and other places of

concealment were produced, a committee of scholars was appointed to re-edit the texts, and the works as we have them at the present day were the result of their labours.

This, briefly stated, is the account which has been accepted by all scholars, with the exception of Mr. Allen. The celebrated historian Sze-ma Ch'ien was the first to give public currency to it, and one of the chief arguments which Mr. Allen produces for his extraordinary theory is that in the pages of his history Sze-ma Ch'ien quotes largely from the texts of these early classics.

It is needless to say that this is no evidence whatever, and furnishes no sort of plea for the accusation which Mr. Allen brings against him of having forged the texts. By no well-established authority has Sze-ma Ch'ien's good faith been impugned, and on the contrary his assertions on the point have been generally accepted by every native scholar of note. And here the matter may be allowed to rest, since no independent authority would accept Mr. Allen's theory in opposition to the consensus of opinion of twenty-two centuries of scholars.

R. K. D.

LE PHILOSOPHE MEH-TI ET L'IDÉE DE SOLIDARITÉ. Par
ALEXANDRA DAVID. (1907.)

The period from the fifth to the third century B.C. was a time full of philosophical unrest in China. Confucius in the fifth century had elaborated a moral system for regulating government and the social relationships between man and man. A century later the more materially minded Mencius gave vent to his practical ideas on the same subjects, while in the interval between these two founders of schools appeared a host of lesser luminaries who desired to impress their ideas on the nation. Among these last was Meh-Ti, who came forward as the advocate of universal

love, thus advancing some strides ahead of Confucius and Mencius.

Together with all existing works of philosophy, Meh-Ti's lucubrations, which, like the Confucian literature, were committed to writing not by the master himself but by his disciples, were destroyed at the time of the burning of the books by the orders of the iconoclastic Shih Hwangti (B.C. 221-209). In common with these other works, the text of Meh-Ti's doctrines was recovered from oblivion by the diligent search of his disciples, and we find that at the beginning of the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 - A.D. 25) there were in existence seventy-one books containing the doctrines of the philosopher. Eighteen of these works have since been lost, but enough remain to give us a full idea of his teachings.

Confucius, when he was asked whether one should recompense injury with kindness, replied, "If you recompense injury with kindness, with what will you recompense kindness?" Meh-Ti occupied a higher standing-point, and taught that you should behave to others as you would they should behave to you. Love should be universal. Sovereigns should treat their subjects as they themselves would wish to be treated, parents should love their children as themselves, and all classes of the community should be bound together by an abiding chain of love.

So far it is impossible not to agree with Meh-Ti; but it is when he comes to the motive which should give rise to this universal love that he falls short of the highest level. A man should, he taught, love all others from no higher motive than that he may be loved by them in return. In this connection Meh-Ti's system was purely utilitarian. If different ranks of society, from the Emperor on his throne to the labourer in the fields, love one another, good government would exist, causes for disagreement would disappear, domestic friction would no longer find a place, and universal peace and quiet would be the result.

Against these doctrines Mencius inveighed strenuously, and showed how heretical they were when compared with Confucianism, in which filial piety occupies so large a space. Meh-Ti's idea that a man should love his friend's father as much as he did his own was abhorrent to him. And so on through all the ranks of society. Certainly there is much in Meh-Ti's system to be condemned, and certainly, also, some of the instances he quotes in favour of his ideas are grotesque and absurd. For example, he states that Kow ts'een, the King of Yueh, was fond of bravery. (We proceed to quote from Dr. Legge's version, which is practically the same as in the work before us.) "He" (King Kow ts'een) "spent three years in training his officers to be brave, and then, not knowing fully whether they were so, he set fire to the ship where they were, and urged them forward by a drum into the flames. They advanced, one rank over the bodies of another, till an immense number perished in the water or the flames; and it was not till he ceased to beat the drum that they retired. Those officers of Yueh might be pronounced to be full of reverence. To sacrifice one's life in the flames is a difficult thing, but they were able to do it because it would please their king." Or again, "King Ling was fond of small waists. In his time, his officers restricted themselves to a handful of rice till they required a stick to raise themselves, and in walking had to hold themselves up by the wall. Now it is a difficult thing to restrict oneself in food, but they were able to do it because it would please King Ling."

Such is the general tendency of the doctrines of Meh-Ti, whose views on public and private life, as well as the religious and philosophic opinions of his people, are contained in the present work. These are interesting as representing a phase of doctrine which was current in China in about the fourth century B.C. Though taken up and advocated by a certain school, it was never adopted

by any large section of the people, and is now regarded as a mental vagary rather than constituting a serious school of philosophy. In the work before us Meh-Ti's theories are fully elaborated, and we can recommend the volume as a useful compendium of a bypath of literature which was current in China in the later centuries before Christ.

R. K. D.

A VEDIC CONCORDANCE. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. x. (Cambridge, Mass., 1906.)

Professor Bloomfield's great work forms part of the larger scheme sketched in the *P.A.O.S.*, April, 1902, which contemplated the compilation of a universal word-index to the Vedas, and of an index of subjects and ideas in addition to the *Concordance*. That the latter work should have occupied much more time than was anticipated will be no surprise to anyone who has occasion to make critical use of the *Concordance*. It is quite impossible to exaggerate the labour involved in the preparation of an index to every line of every stanza of the published—and some unpublished—Vedic literature and to every liturgical formula (*yajus*, *praiṣa*, etc.) thereof. The indices to the *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Sūtras*, which we have hitherto had, have confined themselves to giving the *pratikas* of the first line of the metrical stanzas, and only in a few cases, as in Aufrecht's *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Hillebrandt's *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, and Knauer's *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra*, is note taken of the prose formulæ. Moreover, the *Concordance* registers the variants of mantras not wholly identical, and thus renders invaluable assistance to future editors of Vedic texts, while its references render much easier the use of the ritual texts as clues to the sense

of the mantras. We may not all feel as much confidence as does Professor Bloomfield that the *Concordance* will prove to be a most effective means of advancing our knowledge of the hymns and the ceremonies in their relations to one another, but at any rate to his labours and those of his pupils, whose help he acknowledges (p. xi), we owe it that in future we can easily ascertain what light, if any, the ritual has to throw on the texts.

Next to its completeness perhaps the most remarkable feature of the work is its accuracy, which can only have been secured by a prodigious amount of labour, as anyone with experience of similar work will testify. Many of the texts used are poorly edited (e.g. the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra), but in the vast majority of cases the author has succeeded in recognising the real forms of the mantras and in recording them in their proper place in the *Concordance*.

It is only because the work is quite indispensable and must always remain the standard authority for the Mantra literature that we think it worth while to offer the following criticisms of points of detail. It would be hypercritical and ungrateful to a scholar who visited Vienna for a month in 1902 simply in order to excerpt the material from Kāthaka Saṃhitā, ii-iv, to complain that the Paippalāda text of the Atharvaveda has not been used in the preparation of the *Concordance*. Nevertheless, the omission must be regarded as serious, and while the corrupt state of the text is a partial excuse, yet we may be allowed to express the regret that Professors Bloomfield and Garbe did not add to the photographic reproduction of the birch-bark MS. a transcript made from the original MS. The work must be done sooner or later, and though a beginning has now been made in the *J.A.O.S.*, it might well have been carried out six years ago.

Much more unfortunate is the decision not to print the accents, in view of the fact that the Vedic Mantra literature

is essentially an accented literature, and one in which difference of accent very often is the sole means of deciding the sense. No doubt, to reprint the accents would have added materially to the labour of compilation, and would have increased the cost of production, but these considerations can hardly have been decisive, for the additional labour and cost would have been insignificant in comparison with the labour and cost entailed in the production of the main body of the work. The omission to note the accents renders, of course, the enumeration of differences in parallel texts incomplete, and here and there it precludes the possibility of interesting comparisons. For example, it is noted (p. 227^b) that in the line *Indro nāma śruto gr̥ṇe* (Sāmaveda, i, 438^b) the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 7, 9, 5^b, and the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, xiv, 2, 13^b, read *gaṇe*, but it is not noted that the Sāmaveda accents *gr̥ṇé* (but *gr̥ṇe* at ii, 1118^b), an unusual accent, which, taken together with the (later) rare use of *gr̥ṇé* as a passive, adequately accounts for the easy correction *gaṇé*.

These exhaust our substantial grounds of complaint against Professor Bloomfield, but we may add a few corrections of oversights. It does not appear to have been noticed that in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 25, 3, we have a couple of ślokas of the same type as many in the Gṛhya Sūtras, which the *Concordance* duly notes. The verses, perhaps overlooked because Aufrecht prints them as prose, run:—

kṣatreṇa kṣatram jayati balena balam aśnute |
yasyaivam vidvān brāhmaṇo rāstragopah purohitah ||
tasmāi viśah saṃjānate sammukhā ekamanāsah |
yasyaivam vidvān brāhmaṇo rāstragopah purohitah ||

The same ślokas recur in viii, 27, 2, prefixed by—

tasya rājā mītram bhavati dviśantam apabādhate |

where the word *bhavati* must clearly be dissyllabic. More important is the failure to recognise as mantras the

sentences in Aitareya Āraṇyaka, v, 3, 2, which in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, edited by Oertel, i, 9, 10, are also printed as prose, but which are clearly in mixed *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* metre.¹ At p. 207* *Indraḥ karmākṣitam amṛtaṁ vyoma* is quoted from the Aitareya alone, but apparently as prose. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka has fared rather badly, for the obscure stanza *oṣṭhāpidhānā nakulī*, which appears in full at iii, 2, 3, is only (p. 315*) cited from the Sāma Mantra Brāhmaṇa and the Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, of which the latter has only the first Pāda, and the former the first two Pādas, the second in different shape (*dantaparimitaḥ pavih*, as against *dantaiḥ parivṛtā pavih*). Similarly, the Sānti section, ii, 7, which is also included in some editions and MSS. of the Upaniṣad, is overlooked, as it is also by Knauer, in his edition of the Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 4, 4, 8, where his reading *vedasya vāṇiḥ stha* is a mistaken correction of *vedasya vāṇī stha*, which in its turn is almost certainly a case of the usual Maitrāyaṇiya contraction of *va āṇī* (Knauer, Introd., pp. xxxviii sq.), where *v* is written by error for *m*, giving the Aitareya text *vedasya ma āṇī stha*.² If *vāṇiḥ* were original, the variant of the Aitareya, which is obviously more ancient, would be impossible of explanation. The dual is much more appropriate as a description of the functions of Vāc and Manas, and the chariot comparison is one of the most favourite in Upaniṣad literature, while the rare word *āṇī* would render correction of *māṇī* inevitable. At p. 777*, under *yasyedam ā rajo yujah*, it is hardly correct to cite Aitareya Āraṇyaka, v, 2, 1, as omitting *yujah*, since that word occurs in the next Pāda (see p. 431^b). At p. 300* the compound *ukthabhūtayah* is probably a mistake for *uktha bhūtayah*, nor is it noted that the names *ānobhadrīya* and *yajñayajñīya* are found

¹ The metrical character, e.g., of *ṛtaṁ satyaṁ vijyāyānaṁ viedcamaṁ* is beyond doubt.

² The parallel passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, vii, 1, differs.

as early as *Āraṇyaka*, v, 3, 2, while the technical expression *ukthavīrya* is not mentioned.

In *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xvii, 17, 1, the *Concordance* (p. 642^b) gives *premāṇ vācaṇ vadīṣyāmi* — *svargam iṣyantīm svargam iṣyan*, and in *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, iv, 2, 10, *svargam ayiṣyantīm svargam ayiṣyan*, but the parallel passage in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1, 5, 4, shows clearly that *svaṛ gamiṣyantīm*, etc., must be read. This is proved beyond doubt by the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, i, 8 (a text not used by the editor), which has *svaṛ hy eṣā vāḡ gamiṣyanti bhavati*. In *Śāṅkhāyana*, xviii, 3, 2^b, the MSS. read *tujo yujo vanam sahaḥ*, not *balam* as given at p. 431^b, which is no more than a plausible conjecture of Hillebrandt's; at ix, 6, 6^b, the reading is apparently *naḥ* in *yanti giro na saṃyataḥ*, not *na* (p. 761^b), and at xviii, 15, 5^c, *supraṇṭi*, not *supraṇṭi* (p. 998^b).

These are all minor errors, and even these are rare in the extreme. Misprints are apparently very few, and the form and appearance of the work reflect alike the greatest credit on the generosity of the late Mr. Warren and the taste of Professor Lanman. The mode of citation is extremely clear, the use of small superscript numbers for paragraph references in the text being fortunately dispensed with. It is perhaps rather a pity that in the abbreviations the forms accepted by Whitney and others in the case of the *Sūtras* should have been deviated from without appreciable saving in space, and the symbol MG., denoting the *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra*, edited by Knauer in 1897, has accidentally been omitted from the lists of texts used.

We must not, however, conclude with criticism, and we would offer to Professor Bloomfield and all those whose help he has had the most hearty congratulations on the completion of a work which must always rank among the greatest achievements of Vedic scholarship.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DOCUMENTS INÉDITS POUR SERVIR À L'HISTOIRE DU
CHRISTIANISME EN ORIENT (XVI–XIX siècle), publiés
par le Père ANTOINE RABBATH, S.J. Tome premier.
2^e and 3^e Fascicules. (London: Luzac & Co. Price,
6 francs each.)

Part i of this work appeared in 1905, and was reviewed in the J.R.A.S. for 1906, p. 249 ff. Parts ii and iii now lie before us, completing the first volume, and with it the first instalment of some 8,000 documents which the Rev. Father Rabbath, of the University of Beyrout, has collected regarding the history of Latin missions in the Mahomedan East. A few papers exceed this limit, and tell us something of India and Abyssinia; but the great mass of the papers published refers to Syria, Egypt, and Persia—more especially, as we might expect, to Syria. The documents are mostly in French; some are in Latin, Italian, or Spanish; a few in Arabic, and to these a translation is attached. Parts ii and iii cover much the same ground, geographically and chronologically, as part i; but they fill up lacunæ, add a good deal which is new, and embrace the history of the Carmelite and Capucin missions. The work has evidently been a labour of love to the Reverend Father; every document is preceded by a full and convenient summary; numerous notes give information regarding persons, words, and things; there are occasional introductions, as well as extracts from contemporary travels; and a chronological table and an elaborate index complete the volume. Of Father Rabbath's enthusiasm, and of his knowledge of his subject, at once wide and minute, it is difficult to speak too highly.

The documents contained in the second and third parts of the work fall chronologically into two great groups, if we omit a few stray pieces. The first opens in 1561 with an abortive mission to the Coptic Patriarch at Cairo, and it ends with the martyrdom of Father Abraham Georges,

a Maronite by birth and a Jesuit by profession, who sailed from Goa for Abyssinia, and was put to death by a renegade Turkish governor at Massowah in 1595. Father Georges was the last who sacrificed his life for the Ethiopian mission; after him the way suddenly became open, and a number of Jesuits made their way into Abyssinia until 1663, when they were finally expelled. We hope that Father Rabbath may have some further light to throw on the doings of that admirable missionary Father Paez and his companions.

The second group of papers commences with 1620 and ends about 1730. It contains very full details regarding Syria, and a nearly consecutive history of the Latin missions there. We have a very interesting account of the Capucin missions in India and Persia, as well as in the country of the Grand Turk, from 1626 to 1670; and a full account of the Carmelites (who came somewhat earlier) down to 1656. There is a good deal about Constantinople in the seventeenth century, and there are incidental notices of Smyrna, Cyprus, and some other places.

We pointed out in our former review what a profusion of light these papers throw on the condition of the Mahomedan East, the ways of the Governments, the relations of the Christians to the Mahomedans and to each other, the life of the Franks, and the difficulties and suspicions which the missionaries had to encounter. The volumes now before us deepen these impressions and add many details. Perhaps the most novel points which they suggest are the shiftiness of the Orientals, as illustrated by the two missions to the Coptic Patriarch, the insecurity of the Mediterranean, the condition of the Christian slaves—above all, the political interest which Europe began to take in the Levant. Of the pirates, Mahomedan and Christian, who infested the Mediterranean we have many incidental notices. In 1561 Fathers Rodriguez and Eliano spent a month in the voyage

from Venice to Alexandria. The Captain refused to sail while the Turkish fleet kept the seas, although there was peace between Venice and Constantinople; and Father Eliano gives a graphic account of the alarm on board the ship one moonlight night when two corsairs were sighted, the hot arming in haste, the cannoneers with their port-fires ready, the sailors carrying blocks of stone up to the yardarms to drop on the assailants, the passengers seizing lances, girding on swords, others wailing as if they were already slaves, a tumult of sounds, orders, shouts, prayers, lamentations, and curses, while gleams of moonlight fitfully lit up the dark sea and faintly revealed the dreaded sails on the horizon. Fortunately the corsairs did not give chase. Again, we hear of a Maltese galley which has seized a shipload of dervishes, and the Turks threaten to retaliate by imprisoning the missionaries. Or the Barbary pirates descend upon Alexandretta, the malarious port of Aleppo, which lies in a marsh surrounded by hills; and they make so clean a sweep of it that in the following year an Italian traveller finds only four houses standing.

Human booty was what these pirates chiefly sought; they descended on the shores of Sicily and Italy to supply the harems of Constantinople, and so terrible a devastation reigned on the shores of Greece that according to a French traveller of the seventeenth century there was not a house left inhabited within three miles of the seashore in the neighbourhood of Athens. Slavery was the fate of high and low alike, of the Grand Master of Malta and of that prince of pirates, Dragut; "*fortuna di guerra*," said the Grand Master when he captured Dragut, after having been himself a slave. Our documents tell us much of the fate of these slaves, at least of the men, for the women disappeared in the harems. The slaves in private houses had the happiest lot, although we come across one or two tragic histories. But in their converse with these domestic slaves the missionaries had need of caution, for, if the slave

escaped, the owner might demand that the missionary, as his nearest friend, should take his place. The public slaves at Constantinople (it is there we meet with them) were chiefly captives of the Hungarian and Polish wars. The nobles were confined in the famous Byzantine prison of the Seven Towers, while the black and horrible barracks, known as the *bagnios*, served for the common herd. Noble and simple alike wore chains; and the slaves in the *bagnios* were chained by the neck at night to a bar, so that they could not move, and the place reeked with ordure. Two small chapels in the prison served for their devotions, and they subsisted largely on the alms which the missionaries at Galata collected for them. The fate of the slaves who worked the gold-mines of the Red Sea in the second century B.C., as described by Diodorus Siculus, has always seemed to us the *ne plus ultra* of human misery, but the lot of these unfortunates in the *bagnios* of Constantinople was not much better. The Turkish fleets which sailed annually at the commencement of Summer were manned by 6,000 or 7,000 of these wretches (12,000 were freed after the battle of Lepanto), who toiled at the oar, naked to the waist and half-starved, under the tyranny of the lash, and a prey to the plague which never quitted the fleet; their only friend the devoted chaplain who accompanied them. But in all dealings with prisoners and slaves the greatest prudence was necessary, for any attention shown them was sure to excite suspicion or to aggravate the demand for ransom.

With the discovery of the sea-route to India the trade of Alexandria sank into insignificance; Aleppo became the chief commercial entrepôt of the East, and Father J. B. de Saint-Aignan, in his report to Colbert, gives an excellent account of its commerce. But Aleppo was a mean town even for the East, despite its size and its commercial activity. Turks and Greeks, Persians and Armenians, Arabs, Syrians, Chaldeans, Sabæans, even Hindus were

to be seen in its streets, but the bazars were mean, and the antiquated citadel in its midst chiefly owed its strength to a deep moat crossed by a single bridge. The native Christians lived in a suburb outside the town; and their churches, four in number, were in a retired enclosure, where they escaped observation, and could not wound Mahomedan fanaticism. A fifth church, which belonged to the Jacobite, or 'Syrian,' Patriarch, was the only one which could boast of its size or architecture. The Frank merchants and the missionaries lived at Aleppo, as they did at Ispahan, in the caravanserai; but the serai at Ispahan was large and commodious, much superior apparently to that at Aleppo. It has always been difficult for a foreigner to obtain a house in any of these Eastern towns. After the French the English were the most numerous. All foreigners alike, the Consuls included, were subject to the tyranny and caprice of the local governors and to the outbreaks of popular fanaticism. Occasionally a Turkish governor might take it into his head to do a little trading on his own account; we read of one who made a 'corner' in silk, and compelled the foreign merchants to accept his terms. Usually, however, the governors contented themselves with fleecing the merchants on the import or export of their goods, and extorting money from the native Christians on every pretext of a quarrel, or accusation true or false. These governors retained their position by gifts at Constantinople, and their rapacity was insatiable; everything could be arranged for money; and one writer goes so far as to say that the Turks would sell their Prophet himself if it could profit them. From one exaction, however, the Syrian Christians appear to have been free; we hear nothing in these papers of a supply of Christian children for the Janissary corps. The custom was falling into desuetude in the sixteenth century, and may have ceased altogether so far as Syria was concerned.

In one respect the action of the missionaries was entirely beneficent. The long-continued decay of Christianity in the East was due not only to political and social causes; it was due quite as much to isolation, ignorance, and barbarism. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the fortunes of the Eastern Christians were at the lowest ebb. In North Africa, Nubia, Socotra, Babylonia, and the regions east of the Tigris, Christianity became extinct. Tamerlane exterminated large Christian communities in Mesopotamia; throughout Syria and Asia Minor the Turks and the Kurds swept the open country, and isolated the communities which remained. It was only in favourable localities, mountainous regions such as the Lebanon, Armenia, and Georgia, that the Christians were able to maintain themselves. With the cessation of the Crusades Western Christendom had ceased to interest itself in the affairs of the East; and the Eastern Christians, isolated, neglected, and depressed, fast became a prey to the profoundest ignorance. The Latin missionaries arrested this decay; they opened schools, instructed clergy and laity alike, and revived the embers of what learning still remained. Nor did they do less for the spread of Oriental learning in Europe. In the middle of the sixteenth century there was no one in Rome who could read Arabic. The adhesion of the Maronites in 1578 led to the foundation of an Oriental College at Rome and the institution of an Arabic printing press. The Oriental seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, established about 1700, was due to the foundation of a rival school at Oxford. On the other hand, there was not a single printing press in the whole of the Turkish Empire until members of the Anglican Church imported Greek type for the use of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. Pocock's translations into Arabic of the Anglican Catechism and other works were circulated about the same time in Aleppo; and we have already referred to a proposed

Oriental school at Oxford. Some of the English non-jurors were attempting at this very time to form a union between the Anglican and the Greek orthodox Churches, and the papers published by Father Rabbath throw an interesting light on this little known episode of our history.

Although the East is the chosen home of religious speculation, it is a mere truism to say that ever since the days of the Roman Empire religion and politics have been almost synonymous in the lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Ganges. It was therefore inevitable that these missions should assume a political aspect. In the sixteenth century this side of mission work was not so prominent. The missionaries of that time were for the most part Sicilians and Italians, the Spaniards and Portuguese having abundant occupation in their new possessions, and the French in Tunis. The protection of the missionaries was left to the Venetian consuls as a rule, and although a pious consul might here and there invite the presence of the missionaries, the majority were too prudent or indifferent actively to encourage the missionary propaganda. The native Christians were suspicious of the strangers; they were little enamoured of a religion which was ill recommended by the loose lives and habitual indifference of many of its professors; and they saw with disgust that the Frankish merchants neither prayed nor fasted. If the name of Frank was distasteful to the native Christians, the name of Spaniard was hated by the Mahomedans. A new era commenced with the establishment of the Propaganda at Rome in 1622, or perhaps a little earlier. Henri IV had taken up the cause of the French missions in Tunis; Louis XIII zealously prosecuted those in the East. French missionaries of various orders, Jesuits, Capucins, Carmelites, established themselves in Persia and Turkey; they occupied the old stations and established new ones. The French ambassador at Constantinople and the local

French consuls exerted their influence with the Porte and the provincial governors in favour of the missionaries; and the Most Christian King became in deed, as well as in name, the recognised protector of the Latin churches in the East. The missionaries, as was natural under these circumstances, gained many adherents among the Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians; indeed, many of the so-called Greeks were descendants of Greek islanders or of Italians who had originally belonged to the Latin rite; while since the time of the Crusades one branch of the Armenian Church had been in communion with Rome. So far so good. But the missionaries also adopted a tempting but much more doubtful policy; they strove to place their converts and protégés at the head of the indigenous churches, and invoked for this purpose the aid of the Turkish authorities. Successful at the outset, this policy recoiled on the missionaries, and led to a century of quarrels and divisions, chaos, persecution, and strife. To follow the Latin rite was regarded as equivalent to making oneself a Roman or a Frenchman. In vain the missionaries explained that spiritual communion with the Pope did not imply temporal subjection to a foreign potentate. The Turks had profited pecuniarily by these quarrels at first; but some of them, even at the outset, had regarded the missionaries as emissaries of the Spaniards; they speedily came to look on them with suspicion; and, according to the humour or the pressure of the moment, they sometimes prohibited, sometimes condoned, all intercourse with the native Christians. The French ambassadors who had warmly espoused the cause of the missionaries in the beginning, became weary with these quarrels, and were inclined to blame this excessive zeal. It is an old, old quarrel—the quarrel of the diplomatists, whose business it is to keep things smooth, with the missionaries, eager to do what they believe to be their duty. Whatever sides we may take in this dispute, in one point, we think, the

missionaries were undoubtedly right. Submission to the Pope was in the forefront of the missionary propaganda. "Submit yourselves to the Holy Father, and you will find that all other difficulties will in time be resolved." "This doctrine is at the root of all the trouble," said the ambassador; "it awakens fear and jealousy: why not keep it to the end?" But surely all experience shows that it was the only point on which there was a chance of an agreement; if once the gates of theological disputation were opened, all hope of a consensus was gone.

The political history of these missions is especially worthy of study at the present time in face of the Russian propaganda. From its own point of view, the Porte is probably right in regarding all missions as equally dangerous; they enlighten the minds and secretly turn away the hearts of his subjects; and they afford foreign powers a pretext for internal interference. On the other hand, the native churches, distracted between all the claimants to their attention, remind us of the polygamist gentleman whose wives objected to his hair; one pulled out all the white hairs, and one all the black, until he rose up bald and naked.

We have tried to show what a wealth of material these volumes contain for the student of the times as well as for the student of missions. On this latter aspect of the work we cannot enter. But no one can rise from a study of these volumes without an increased admiration for men who brought succour to the slave and enlightenment to the degraded Syrian and Greek; whose devotion extorted admiration from the Moslem; who persevered in a seemingly hopeless task under every circumstance of poverty, privation, and physical danger; and whose learning was an important adjunct to their faith.

J. KENNEDY.

LE JAPONAIS PARLÉ. Par J. BERJOT. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1907.)

COURS PRATIQUE DE JAPONAIS. Par F. GUÉZENNEC. Fasc. i. (Leide: E. J. Brill, 1907.)

JAPANESE SELF-TAUGHT. (Thimm's system in Roman characters.) Edited by W. J. S. SHAND. (London: E. Marlborough, 1907.)

The first of these books is a mere pamphlet, quite inadequate for any purpose save that of giving a very cursory view of the nature of spoken Japanese. The second is the first instalment of a more ambitious work which is designed to enable the student to read modern Japanese—the Japanese of periodical literature made up of Chinese ideographs accompanied by syllabic signs which give a clue to the *Kun* (Japanese reading), when this is indicated, of the Chinese character. The author's system seems a good one. He says: "J'ai puisé mes exemples dans les livres employés officiellement dans les écoles de Japon; le style de ces livres est clair, concis, et de toute élégance, et ils ont le grand avantage d'amener progressivement à la connaissance du Japon et de la langue Japonaise." But why does M. Guézennec introduce his 'introduction' by the extraordinary statement that Japanese "semble d'origine malaise et avoir été importée par le célèbre guerrier Zinmu tennô devenu peu après le premier empereur du Japon." It is well to warn the student of written Japanese that several years of close study are needed to acquire any real command even of the comparatively easy modern periodical style.

Mr. Shand's work is much the most practical of the three. It is not, indeed, 'Japanese self-taught,' but a collection of words and phrases. But the collection is good, especially of naval and military terms. Every word and phrase is accompanied by a painfully elaborate

figured pronunciation, which is a mere travesty of the true pronunciation much more easily attained by simply reading the vowels in the accurately romanized text as in Italian and the consonants as in English (with a few special qualifications). Far more really useful would the book have been had the column headed 'pronunciation' contained a literal translation of the Japanese phrase with indications of its parsing, for, as Mr. Shand well observes, the Japanese equivalents of the English phrases are not translations, but "those which the same set of circumstances would draw from Japanese speakers." The real difficulty of Japanese lies in the fact that, practically, translation is impossible, equivalence alone can be attained, and the important thing is to show how Japanese words are ordered and manipulated to produce this equivalence. Thus the student may be trained to think in Japanese and *à la Japonaise*, and *pari passu* with his power to do both will his command of the language improve.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE AND HOW TO LEARN IT. A Manual for Beginners. By Sir WALTER HILLIER, K.C.M.G., C.B., Professor of Chinese, King's College, London, formerly Chinese Secretary to H.M.'s Legation at Peking, and sometime H.M.'s Consul-General in Korea. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1907.)

One turns eagerly the pages of a new manual for the study of Chinese by a past master of this difficult tongue to see if one can surprise the secret of his own remarkable proficiency in the colloquial art, in the successful practice of which, it was generally admitted, he had no rival among his contemporaries in China. But Sir Walter

Hillier has no royal road to suggest in his system of study, which, on the contrary, "presupposes in due course the services of a native *hsien-shêng*, for no one who has not the opportunity of studying with an instructor by his side can ever hope to speak accurately or to pronounce his words well. It will not be so difficult to acquire a paper knowledge of the spoken language, but the assistance of an expert is indispensable for obtaining a correct pronunciation and the rhythmic swing and intonation which are so essential to elegant speaking. A point should be made daily of reading, sentence by sentence, after the 'teacher,' and endeavouring to mimic his intonation and his style as closely as possible. Mimiery is the great element of success."

The present work, we are told in the preface, is especially intended for the use of army officers, of missionaries, and of young business men connected with trade interests in China who wish to commence the study of the language in England with a view to continuing it in the country itself. It contains a chapter on the written language, with a comprehensive sketch of its origin and subsequent development; another on the spoken language, with remarks on dialects, 'tones,' and pronunciation; and a table of sounds arranged according to the Wade system of transliteration, with their approximate phonetic English spelling attached. Next come the progressive exercises, which form the body of the book, together with sections on the recognized system of writing the characters and on grammatical particles and construction. In the exercises the Chinese text is not given with the English phrases, but by a happy device, which is a novel feature of the author's system, the literal translation of the Chinese equivalent is placed opposite to each sentence, with the idea of illustrating the Chinese order of construction. It is certainly a happy idea, and any kind of apology for suggesting that the student should feel his way to Chinese

through the channel of 'pidgin' English—for that is what it practically amounts to—is hardly required.

The table of radicals that follows is clearly arranged and classified, but one little point may be noticed here *en passant*. The primary meaning of *pei*, the 154th radical, should surely be 'cowry.' Its early form is a pictorial representation of the actual shell, and its use in the construction of so many ancient characters relating to barter, purchase, value, riches, and the like, points back to a time when cowries were the ordinary currency of the people who invented the script. It is one indication, among others, of the indigenous origin of the script, and tends to prove that it could not have come from Western Asia, or from any country where cowries were unknown in ancient times.

But to return to our book. The supplement of a thousand characters in fine bold type ought to be eminently useful; and it has been separately printed so that the student may cut out the written symbols and play with them, as he is advised to do, to his heart's content, until they become perfectly familiar. A final index of characters arranged under their radicals completes a work of light and learning which can be confidently recommended to those for whom it is intended. There is, besides, an introductory preface, in facsimile, contributed by H.E. Wang Ta-hsieh, late Chinese Minister in London, and the cover is inscribed with a Chinese title, specially written for the purpose by the same calligraphic brush.

S. W. B.

UTAMARO, von Dr. JULIUS KURTH. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1907.)

Kitagawa Utamaro is said to have been born in 1753 or 1754 at Kawagoye in Musashi, a quite uninteresting town some twenty miles north-west of Tōkyō. His real

name was Shioku Yûsuke; how he came by the name Utamaro I do not know. He described himself as belonging to the Tachibana, one of the four great clans, but all sorts of persons enrolled themselves after this manner. His father was probably quite a humble person. After his father's death, while Utamaro was quite young, his mother removed with him to Yedo (Tôkyô). There he attracted the notice of a famous artist, Toriyama Sekiyen, who was born in 1712. Sekiyen began as a Kano painter, but, about the age of 50, transferred himself to the Ukiyo, or Popular School, of which Hokusai is the master most known to the West. Utamaro himself, originally a painter, followed his master, and is perhaps the most graceful of the colour-print artists of the Popular School of the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. He is the very antipodes of Hokusai, whose brush swept the whole gamut of Japanese life, who lived a temperate life, drinking neither tea nor sake, and who busied himself rather with the manifestations of things, still and living, than with the beauty of the world about him. Utamaro, on the other hand, though he drew natural objects (as in his famous "Insect Book"), occupied the greater part of his life with drawing the courtezans of the 'green houses' of the Yoshihara in various groupings, attitudes, and occupations. He lived for a long time in his publisher's house, just outside the Yoshihara, within the barriers of which he spent most of his time. His pictures are extremely graceful in line and composition, and delight the eye by their shades and harmonies of colour, often brilliant but never crude. The Yoshihara colour-prints are not always unexceptionable, but the majority of those I have seen are not in the least 'erotic'—they are charming pictures of charming women, beautifully dressed, standing, talking, feasting, picnicking, playing, boating, and so forth. Nearly every artist of those days drew women of this order. Utamaro died in

1806, in his 52nd or 53rd year. His work was affected by the influence of Sekiyen, Kiyonaga, and—especially as to the delineation of women—of Katsukawa Shunsho. His first publication was in 1780, the so-called "Mussel Book," after which he signed himself Jisei Ikke—'Self-sustaining.' He may for a short time have held an official position—we know not what. Once he got into trouble by publishing a coloured drawing of the great Taiko (Hideyoshi) amusing himself with a bevy of his women. Dr. Kurth reproduces the picture, which seems harmless enough, but cost, probably, the author of it a year's imprisonment—i.e. a year in a wooden cage, among a crowd of criminals, within some jail, subject to the brutalities of irresponsible gaolers. Utamaro's principal work is the *Seiro Yehon*—"Book of Pictures from the Green Houses," in two volumes. Mr. Strange, in his delightful book on Japanese Illustration, gives a portrait of the artist at work upon a huge Hô or mythical Fêng bird. Dr. Kurth draws a most attractive and sympathetic portrait of the man—"Liebgewinnen aber kann den durch und durch noblen Menschen nur, wer sich immer wieder in seine schier zahllosen Werke vertieft. Um so schöner, das ihm nicht, wie vielen Grossen der Erde, der Zauber-mantel der Grösse um die Beine herunterschlottert, wenn wir von dem Meister zum Menschen kommen."

It is impossible to overpraise Dr. Kurth's monumental work. It is more than a monograph, more than a biography; it is both, but in addition a treatise on the Colour-print School, on Utamaro's position in it, and on the signification of his work. It is also a full and complete guide to the collector. Dr. Kurth describes over 500 specimens of the master's work, describes them fully, a necessary preliminary to their comprehension and appreciation, giving dates and publishers, and in a great number of cases adds translation of the legends and *uta* that so often accompany Japanese pictures, and must be read with

them to understand the real beauty of this marriage of two arts. Forty-five brilliantly executed reproductions in colour, and black and white, lend interest to the work, a small quarto volume of nearly 400 pages, excellently printed (in roman) and in every way admirably got up. Full indexes of marks, signatures, and names are added—in fine, the work is a monument of German research and faithfulness, and more than German enthusiasm over a singularly beautiful but extremely esoteric realm of art.

Two of Dr. Kurth's translations I cannot refrain from giving. One is Sekiyen's postface to Utamaro's "Insect Book," a characteristically Japanese composition mentioned in v. Siebold's *Archief*. "When one paints pictures natural forms should be conscientiously observed and reproduced with the brush. This is just what my scholar Utamaro has done in this book. In his earliest youth he observed natural objects most closely. If he got hold in a garden in Autumn of a grasshopper or a cricket he fully and delightfully examined it. How often did I warn him not to kill living things [Sekiyen at the moment did not understand Utamaro's artistic purpose]. Now when his genius has developed to its highest point bestows he this book upon the world. He has robbed the scarabæus of its lustre, and so overthrown the old manner of painting, arming himself, one may say, with the delicate antennæ of the cicada. He has borrowed the burrowing power of the common worm to get to the bottom of his matter, the delicate movement of the caterpillar to penetrate the secrets of nature, while he is illumined by the glow of the firefly, nor rests till, like the spider with his web, he has completed his task. Many masters of verse have assisted him with their humorous compositions. The Toissô wood-engravers have helped him in reproducing his drawings. Lastly, a word of excuse is offered for the shortcomings of these cherry-wood blocks. Seventh year of Tenmei (Period of Celestial Lustre), the year of the

goat (1787) in Winter. Written by Toriyama Sekiyen Toyofusa."

The other is a letter from his wife to the publisher of the book "*Yehon Wasai jōgō*" (a collection of somewhat free erotic colour-drawings), serving as a preface. "I trust that your honourable relations are well, despite this continuance of severe weather, and that you, too, sir, are in good health is my most earnest desire. [These are only common epistolary introductory phrases.] My husband has gone to Enoshima (near Kamakura) on the invitation of a distinguished friend. The sketches in this book have been coloured by me, though I am far from possessing his talent. For a lady such a task was highly embarrassing, but I am an artist's wife, and the devil's spouse must be something of a devil too. So has it come to pass that night after night have I worked at this task, a very grass-widow. There must be many failures that won't please you, but reflect, sir, how loving a pair we are, and how much the fact that the husband has drawn and the wife coloured these pictures adds to the reality of their union, besides being in excellent agreement with the contents of this volume. The sale will surely thus be promoted! Although I thought and thought, I have not been able to hit upon a good title. Following my own disposition I have called it a book for Lacquer-lovers. So do I beg you to publish it in the best way you can. Wishing you the best luck. The wife of Maro. To Matsumidori-ya (Pine-tree Greenery — name or sign of the publishing house)."

A word of caution must be added. It appears that the prices of good specimens of Utamaro's work fetch any sum from 30 to 3,000 marks. It may safely be said that no Japanese colour-print is intrinsically worth any approach to thousands of marks. They are the joint product of a number of hands, including pupils, and largely therefore the work of craftsmen. I possess a certain number myself,

and derive a very pure pleasure from their contemplation. But to enjoy them one must know what was the object and purpose of the artist. Of the life of old Japan we in the West know very little; very few of the new generation of Japanese know much. Pictures, vocal enough to their contemporaries, are largely dumb to us, who must guess, and often guess quite wrongly, what they are intended to mean. Moreover, the *genre* colour-print is extremely limited in range; within that range there is, of course, much variety in detail, nevertheless the sameness largely preponderates. Of all the 'generalised' faces, for instance, the features are represented by about half-a-dozen curved and closed lines. With a little practice these can be repeated *ad infinitum*, but always with very small significance. Thus the personality of the pictures is extremely slight; they are rather decorative than pictorial, but *quid* such are inimitable. The esoteric collector, however, will not be content with such a judgment as this; he gradually learns to detect a thousand beauties of a peculiar if slight and sketchy kind, and in German, as in English and French, finds language insufficient to express his raptures. This is uncritical, and the Japanese who laugh at our Western enthusiasm are not perhaps wrong. What I have written does not altogether apply to Hokusai, who has preserved for us the whole world of old Japan, but who aims rather at depicting nature and life than at decorative beauty.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

MUNDARI GRAMMAR. By J. HOFFMANN, S.J. (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903.)

In the October number of the quarterly review published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and entitled *The East and the*

West, there is an article by the Rev. K. W. S. Kennedy, M.D., on the educational work done by missionaries, in which the writer lays stress upon the importance of a scholarly knowledge of the non-Aryan languages for those whose lot is cast amongst the aboriginal tribes of India. In the course of his remarks he says: "I have in my mind a Jesuit missionary whose great intellectual powers had for many years been exercised as Professor of Philosophy in one of the most famous educational institutions in India. He was transferred, with apparent reckless ignoring of his powers, but real wisdom, to a lonely outpost among an aboriginal tribe. He is now, owing to his unsurpassed knowledge of their language and customs, not only a power among the tribe, but able to influence, almost at his pleasure, both the legislation and administrative acts of Government." No one who is familiar with the conditions of Chota Nagpur will be in any doubt as to who is the missionary referred to in these warm terms. He is the author of the work under review, and, if I may venture to add a word to complete the picture, in that book Father Hoffmann's learning is illumined, even when apparently concealed, by that genuine modesty which is the mark of the true scholar.

Mundari is called by its speakers *Hārā Kājī*, the language of *Hārās*, or 'men.' As in many other aboriginal languages, the word for 'man' is also the word employed to designate a member of the tribe which uses it. It is the vernacular of about half a million people in Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring districts, and is commonly looked upon as an independent language; but in the Linguistic Survey of India it is, rightly I think, classed, along with Santali, Bhumij, Ho, and other cognate forms of speech, as a dialect of one great language which we have named Kherwari. Of these dialects Santali and Mundari are the most important. Attention was first drawn to them by Hodgson some sixty years ago, and

eight years later Max Müller, in his famous *Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages*, identified them as members of a distinct linguistic family, to which he gave the name of 'Munda.'¹ Since then they have been examined by several scholars, of whom we may mention Logan and Kuhn; and their relationship to Mon-Khmer, which has been finally proved by Pater Schmidt, is the subject of a review that appeared on pp. 187 ff. of last year's *Journal*. Several grammars, more or less complete, have been written of each. Of these Skrefsrud's is the best known for Santali and Nottrott's for Mundari, but, until Father Hoffmann's work appeared, the only attempt at a scientific analysis of any Munda form of speech was Boxwell's luminous paper *On the Santali Language*, which appeared in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1885-7. Buried there from the ken of Indian students, it remained known to few who were not personal friends of that brilliant genius, and has been practically lost to Oriental scholarship.

The Munda languages are typical examples of agglutinative forms of speech, and would make excellent subjects for the tentative application of Sir Richard Temple's "Theory of Universal Grammar."² In them we see perhaps more clearly than in any other group of connected tongues that the unit of speech is the sentence, not the word. A number of stems are grouped together under certain rules so as to unite the ideas represented by each into one mental picture, and then, by a further effort, the reality of the picture is affirmed by the addition of what Boxwell happily called "the categorical *a*," and what

¹ This letter was published in 1854. Twelve years later Sir George Campbell gave the family the name of 'Kolarian,' a term which is not only misleading in appearance, but is also based on alleged facts which have since been proved to have no existence. I hence make no apology for reverting to the original name given by Max Müller.

² Last explained by him in the *Indian Antiquary* for July, 1907.

Father Hoffmann calls "the copula." The sentence, it is true, is built up with what, for want of a better name, we must call words, but none of these, by itself, has any definite meaning. Any of them may be a noun, a verb, or a particle, and the exact function that it performs in any particular case is fixed by the association with the other words which together with it help to form the mental picture. No word in Mundari can be classed under any of our parts of speech; we can only say that in a particular case it there, for the nonce, *performs the function* of a noun or of a verb or of a particle, as the case may be. Take, for instance, the Mundari word *orok'*. According to its incidental function, it may be used as a conjunction meaning 'and'; as an adjective meaning 'more'; as a substantive or pronoun meaning 'more'; as an adverb meaning 'again'; as a verb meaning 'to do again' or 'to ask for more'; as a verbal noun meaning 'the act of doing again' or 'the act of asking for more'; or as a noun of agency meaning 'one who does again' or 'one who asks for more.' In all these functions the word *orok'* remains unchanged, and the particular function is defined by means of help-words or by its collocation in the sentence. Even words which from their signification are primarily what we should call nouns can perform the function of verbs. Thus *gitiorak'*, 'a village dormitory,' can be used as a verb 'to-village-dormitory,' i.e. to sleep in one. So *munda* means not only 'a village chief,' but can be conjugated, like one of our verbs, in the sense of 'to-village-chief,' 'to act as a village chief.' Hence—*akan* being what we might call the suffix of the past participle—we can say *munda-akan-a-e*, viz. *e*, 'he,' *munda-akan*, 'village-chiefed' (participle), *a* (categorical *a*). Here the categorical *a* indicates that the mental picture of so-and-so being a village chief is an actual fact, and the verb so formed must be translated 'he acts as a village chief.' Nay, further, even a whole

sentence can, taken as one unit, be treated as part of a larger and more complex sentence-unit, and perform the function of a noun or of a verb. Thus, *dal-lak-ko-niak'orak'* means 'the house of the one that struck them first.' Treated as one subordinate unit, this may perform the function of a verb meaning 'to-be-in-the-house-of-the-one-that-struck-them-first,' and can then be, as we should say in Aryan grammar, 'conjugated' throughout in all its voices, moods, and tenses.

I have dwelt at length on these points in order to show how, before we can approach any Munda language, all our acquired presumptions of Aryan grammar must be thrown overboard. As both Father Hoffmann and Sir Richard Temple—the one dealing with a special language and the other with the general question—insist, the only point in which Munda is at one with an Indo-European language is that which is a necessary element of all speech—the enunciation of a *Subject*, i.e. the matter to be discussed or communicated, and of a *Predicate*, i.e. the discussion or communication. Munda allows us to use these terms, and these terms only, of Indo-European grammar. Any other such terms, if used, must be distorted from their current signification before they can be applied.

Previous grammars of these forms of speech, whether full, like Skrefsrud's treatise on Santali, or one of the many sketches which have issued from the press in later years, have failed to recognize this, and have hence failed to draw a proportioned picture of the language dealt with. They have overladen it with difficulties caused by the method of presentation and not by the subject itself. Munda grammar has enough difficulties of its own, in all conscience, and Father Hoffmann has materially lightened his own task and that of the learner by recognizing the facts and describing the language as it really is. He has brought to it an unequalled knowledge of his subject, controlled and illumined by his philosophic training. In

his general scheme of arrangement he places at the disposal of other students a model of the lines which should be followed in analyzing the structure of any agglutinating form of speech. So entirely does this scheme differ from that to which we are accustomed in dealing with Aryan languages that space will not permit its being described in detail, and the above general statement must suffice.

One minor point may be alluded to before closing this notice. Munda languages are well known to possess a series of 'checked' or half-pronounced consonants. These are, I have little doubt, consonants on, so to speak, the road to elision. We find them in the next stage in the so-called 'abrupt tone' of Indo-Chinese languages. Here the consonant has disappeared altogether, but the fact of its elision is shown by the short, abrupt tone with which the preceding vowel is pronounced. It has been customary hitherto to indicate the Munda checked consonants by a diacritical mark, thus *k'*, *c'*, *t'*, and *p'*. In the Mundari dialect the *k'* and the *c'* have apparently achieved their final fate and have undergone complete elision, leaving only, as in Indo-Chinese, the abrupt tone behind them. Father Hoffmann therefore omits the consonant, and represents both without distinction by a simple apostrophe. Thus *oro'* instead of *orok'*, *la'* instead of *lac'*.¹ From the practical point of view of teaching the correct pronunciation to a learner I am ready to admit that he is correct, but, as a student of comparative philology, I may express the regret that his method of spelling does not permit us to say whether *oro'* was originally *orok'* or *oroc'*, and whether *la'* was originally *lak'* or *lac'*. Such information coming from an authority like Father Hoffmann would be of the greatest value in

¹ As a matter of fact he employs an acute accent instead of an apostrophe, but in the above remarks I have retained the older apostrophe to avoid confusion.

dealing with the general question of the history of the Munda languages and of their connexion with Mon-Khmer. The other two checked consonants have hitherto been usually written *t'* and *p'*, i.e. as checked surds. It is very difficult to determine the exact sound of these letters. I believe that no foreigner has ever yet succeeded in mastering their perfectly correct pronunciation. Phonetists in Europe who have studied the question maintain, and apparently with reason, that they are surds; but some Indian authorities, and amongst them Father Hoffmann, prefer to show them as sonants, *d'* and *b'*. We hesitate to doubt the authority of one who is more familiar with the language than any other European, especially when he is a scholar like Father Hoffmann and is backed up by the statements of Mundaris themselves, but I may quote a parallel instance to show how doubtful the matter is. A friend who has an exceptionally well-trained ear, and who has made a study of the similar checked consonants in the cognate Kanauri language of the Punjab, says that they strike *his* ear as sonants, but that they *may* be surds. Other scholars in the Munda area, too, maintain strongly that the sounds are surds. I draw attention to this, not by any means to prove that Father Hoffmann is wrong, but to prevent difficulties being felt by students who may compare his work with that of his predecessors.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

STUDIES IN THE MEDICINE OF ANCIENT INDIA. Part I:
OSTEOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.
By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E.

This handsome volume, which has been published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press and subsidized by the India Office, is another instalment of Dr. Hoernle's valuable

recent studies in the field of ancient Indian Medicine, with which the readers of this Journal are familiar.¹ It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of detail by which Dr. Hoernle's present work is distinguished, equally with his previous contributions to the history of Indian Medicine, and I can only point out some of its leading features.

The introductory part is chronological, and contains the important results of the author's elaborate researches into the history of some of the principal medical writers of India. A great deal of new light is thrown on the relation in which the original textbooks of Charaka and Suśruta stand to the recasts due to Dṛdhabala and Nāgārjuna (?). Dṛdhabala is shown to have been probably a native of Kashmir. With reference to Dṛdhabala's activity as a supplementor of Charaka, it may be mentioned, perhaps, as a confirmation from an independent source, that a Nepalese twelfth century MS. of Charaka, a transcript of which has been recently procured for me by Haraprasad Shastri, closes with the words *parīkṣitaṃ dāryhabalaṃ* (r. *dāryhabalaṃ*) *aṣṭamaṃ sthānaṃ samāptaṃ*, i.e. "Here ends the supplement composed by Dṛdhabala, the eighth section." Vāchaspati's 'Mahamada Hammira' is happily identified by Dr. Hoernle with the Amir Muizzuddin Muhammad, the celebrated Muhamed Ghori of Delhi. 'Vāgbhaṭa I' and 'Vāgbhaṭa II' have also been placed in a new light, and if I still hold that the medical authority referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Itsing (seventh century) is Suśruta, not Vāgbhaṭa, it is not because I mistake the force of the argument taken from the title of Vāgbhaṭa's work ("Summary of the Octopartite Science"), but because the details mentioned by Itsing seem to point to an acquaintance with the contents of Suśruta's standard textbook rather than with Vāgbhaṭa's more recent composition.

¹ See this Journal, 1906, 283-302, 699-700, 915-941; 1907, 1-18, 413-417; also Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, i, 29-40 (1907).

The second part, entitled "The Records," contains a very full discussion of the three different systems, in which the theory of the ancient Indians regarding the skeleton may be said to have been transmitted. In tracing the rise and history of this theory, the author has not confined his investigations to medical literature, but has ransacked the lawbooks, Purāṇas, and Vedic literature as well. None of the three versions of the Indian system of Osteology is free from glaring faults and incongruities, in his endeavours to elucidate which Dr. Hoernle had to grapple with formidable difficulties. No pains have been spared to procure available MSS. from India and elsewhere. Thus the osteological sections of Charaka, of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, of the Viṣṇu-smṛti, and of Suśruta, have been edited, respectively, from 9, 16, 17, and 12 MSS., besides the printed texts, in the fourth part of the work, entitled "Apparatus Criticus," in which all the principal Sanskrit texts bearing on Osteology have been collected. This part furnishes a fine specimen of textual criticism, but it is in his remarks on Gangādhar's apocryphal version of Charaka's Osteology, which version has unfortunately gained general currency, and has passed into all the more recent editions of Charaka's textbook, including the handy Bombay edition by Sankara Shastri, that the author's critical skill and acumen are displayed to special advantage. The remarks on the original version of Suśruta's Osteology, which has also been replaced, at an early period, by a falsified substitute, are equally interesting.

The third or anatomical section consists of a careful survey and discussion of the entire anatomical system of Indian writers, compared with modern anatomy. Indian anatomists enumerate and describe no less than 360 or 300 bones, which large excess over and above the 200 bones or so in the adult human skeleton is chiefly due to their counting processes or protuberances as if they were separate bones. Dr. Hoernle's identifications of the

sometimes very curious Sanskrit designations of the bones in the human body, of which the lucid discussion of the term *jatru*, 'windpipe,' hitherto wrongly explained as denoting the clavicle or collar-bone, may be quoted as an example, seem to be well founded, particularly as he has made a special study of human anatomy, and has also enjoyed the benefit of expert advice in writing this essay. Sanskrit lexicographers should study his remarks as well as students of Indian Medicine, quite a number of difficult terms having been first cleared up by him. Thus the new etymology of the puzzling term *ghanāsthikā*, as being derived from Prākṛit *ghāṇa*, 'smelling,' or 'nose,' and meaning literally 'the smelling-bone' (p. 65), is very striking. The value of the anatomical section is greatly enhanced by copious and excellent illustrations, for most of which the author declares himself indebted to the skilful hand of his son.

In discussing the 'non-medical version' of Ātreya's System of Anatomy, Dr. Hoernle has found reason to reverse the hitherto prevailing theory of the dependance of Yājñavalkya's lawbook on Viṣṇu's, at least as far as the section on Osteology is concerned. The analogies between Viṣṇu's list of bones and the anatomical theories of Vijñāneśvara, in his commentary on Yājñavalkya, are indeed surprising. However, might it not be sufficient to say that the list of bones has been remodelled by Nandapaṇḍita, in accordance with Vijñāneśvara's theories, instead of attributing its first introduction into the text of Viṣṇu's lawbook to Nandapaṇḍita (seventeenth century)? Viṣṇu's theories on non-anatomical subjects are generally more archaic than the corresponding statements of Yājñavalkya, while the groundwork of both books is to a large extent identical.

Avinās Chandra Kaviratna's edition of Charaka is characterized as a simple reprint from the Berhampore edition of Charaka (p. 21). So no doubt it is, but, in

justice to Avināś Chandra, it may be observed that in the very recently published anatomical part of his English translation of Charaka (p. 805) he inveighs very strongly against the "erroneous readings of Gangādhar," and calls his list "entirely incorrect."

In view of the great rarity of MSS. of Chakradatta's Commentary on Charaka, it seems worthy of remark that a MS. of "Charakavyākhyā Chakradattīyā" is mentioned as existing at Alwar, in S. R. Bhandarkar's just published Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (p. 57).

The great question regarding the originality of Indian Medicine and its relation to the medical theories of other nations of antiquity, notably the Greeks, has been touched upon in the Preface, which also contains an interesting osteological summary, of admittedly Greek origin, from the Talmud. A final solution of the problems connected with the origin of Indian Medicine will not be possible till every part of it has been investigated in the same thorough manner as Indian Osteology has been examined in the volume under notice. It is much to be hoped, therefore, that its author will soon be enabled to publish a sequel of this first volume of his "Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India."

J. JOLLY.

THE VĀSAVADATTĀ - KATHĀSĀRA, with two Appendices useful to candidates preparing for University Examinations. By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., Central College, Bangalore. (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1907. Price 3 as.)

The author of this little work, a master at the Bangalore College, known as editor of the *Dinacaryā*, with commentary (1905), essays to adapt to educational uses the

slender thread of story which trickles through a jungle of puns in Subandhu's work. One hundred and thirty-two verses, composed in the *Āryā* metre and its sub-species (*Gīti*, *Udgīti*, *Upagīti*), suffice to convey the narrative, chiefly in the words of the original, and not without a taste of its paronomasiac savouring. Mr. Narasimhiengar writes Sanskrit with the ease of one to whom the language is a living one; the verse flows, and the reader is pleasantly introduced to the features of the *Kāvya* style. The word **मुखपत्र** in v. 96 is to be regretted, and we must also protest against the constant use of **ऊ** in place of **ल**, a South Indian peculiarity; so too **ड** for **द** in v. 12. I also doubt whether **मप्रमन्यः** in v. 62 is justified by Pāṇini iii, 2. 83, and in v. 5 **हिमकरोद्घोतः** should be read in place of **रबोतः**.

Some features of the grammar and style (allusions, puns, etc.) are usefully collected in Appendix A (pp. 23-32), and Appendix B consists of a paper of model examination questions relating to the work, its author, and its literary interest.

F. W. THOMAS.

November, 1907.

A STUDY OF THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SHANTARAM ANANT DESAI. (Bombay, 1906.)

The Professor of Philosophy at the Holkar College, Indore, has in this volume expanded some addresses delivered at the Central India Brahma Samaja, Indore, into a concise, clear, and suggestive account of the chief Indian philosophies, mainly having in view the relation between the metaphysical ideal and the ethical attitude which should logically be taken in accordance with it. The book marks the change which has been brought about by the intercourse of East and West, and could not have

been written fifty years ago. It is, indeed, partly Western in its standpoint, and Browning's views of life have evidently been an inspiration to the author. The account of the *Gītā* does not follow the traditional interpretations, and, as Mr. Desai says, will certainly not be accepted by everyone. He always gives the original Sanskrit on which he bases his statements, so that the book contains an admirably chosen assemblage of sayings on the most important parts of Indian philosophy, and is worth possessing for that reason alone. But, as no one would acknowledge more readily than Mr. Desai, an assemblage of quotations depends on the choice of the collector, and the reader must turn to the originals to judge for himself what is the spirit of the whole work. As a suggestive, and indeed fascinating, introduction to Hindu philosophy, the book is to be recommended, especially to European students of Hindu philosophy; but it is one which must be taken as a starting-point for a thorough and independent examination of the systems themselves. For his own countrymen, the important part of Mr. Desai's work is in a chapter called *The Gita and progress—a possible criticism*, objecting that the ideal of indifference, of freedom from hate, love, and desire for results, would allow of no progress in social life as we know it. This criticism he promises early in the book to refute in later chapters, but he has finally put off answering it to another volume, which he says is already prepared. One cannot help feeling he would like the criticism to sink in before he attempts to remove it. Part—but part only—of the obvious answer is that the indifference aimed at differs as much from that of obtuseness as the simplicity of a clown differs from the simplicity of a prince, which is the finest result of knowing every complexity. The souls that have seen through the weak and selfish elements that beset human aims and passions in their first instinctive state are like strong ships that leave far behind tiny boats.

tossed by every wavelet, and carry their burden safely through the waves of this troublesome world to the further shore. This special glory of Hindu philosophy is its contribution to the knowledge of the soul and its powers, and India will have lost much when such objections, though worth stating, are felt to be final.

C. M. R.

RAMTANU LAHIRI. BRAHMAN AND REFORMER. From the Bengali of Sivanāth Sāstri. Edited by Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE. (London, 1907.)

If the deeds and character of ancestors are, as Thucydides says, a possession to their descendants, the subject of this biography started life with a noble inheritance and followed the advice of Pericles in leaving it augmented and not diminished for those who came after him.

The Lahiri family were Brahmans, who for generations had served the Rajas of Nadia at Krishnagar, and had been connected with the Dewani of Krishnagar. On a division of the family property between Ramgovinda, the great-grandfather of Ramtanu, and his brother, all the valuable possessions were set on one side, and the image of the family deity with a small piece of land on the other, and Ramgovinda chose the deity, and bore cheerfully the poverty that accompanied his choice. The youngest brother of Ramtanu was a generous physician, loved by the poor. "A cartload of straw" on one of his prescriptions puzzled the dispenser, till the doctor explained that till the patient's roof was mended medicine could not cure him, and he therefore made a present of the straw. The mother of Ramtanu was also of honourable birth, but she chose to live in poverty with her husband, working with her own hands rather than that he should lose his independence by using the Kulin Brahmans' privilege of

living with his father-in-law. Ramtanu was first sent to the local pathsala, where, as in our English dames' schools, much chastisement made up for little learning, and the masters favoured those boys who made them most presents. Krishnagar was at that time no good place for bringing up a child, and little Ramtanu was sent to his eldest brother Kesava, who, with the proceeds of a small office, in which temptations to increase his narrow income by indirect means were common, managed with unfailing integrity and great self-denial to bring up his younger brothers and help to support his parents. Ramtanu was admitted as a free scholar, after much patient importunity, at the school founded by David Hare to give Western knowledge to the Hindus. His relations with his school friends, and not only with them, but, different from English ideas on the subject of Hindu ladies, with the mothers and sisters of his school friends, were very happy. A charming tribute to home influence of the kind we most reverence in England is given by Ivara Candra Vidyasagara, in speaking of the mother of a friend: "In the whole range of my experience I have never found one equally loving, kind, courteous, and amiable. He who has personally come under the benign influence of a woman like Raimani cannot help adoring the sex to which she belonged." In 1828 Ramtanu was admitted to the Hindu college.

Two streams flowed together to swell the desire for improved education, the one fed by the generous desire to bestow the blessings of Western education, inspired by such men as Grant, Carey, Marshman, and Rammohun Roy; the other rising from scholars like Sir W. Jones and Wilson, who revered Sanskrit, and desired to deepen the knowledge of the pandits, then generally limited to grammar, logic, and Hindu theology, but not including Veda, Vedantas, or Purāṇas, or the Gītā. The East India Company, urged by Lord Minto and the Sanskritists, sought to develop Sanskrit learning, while Dr. Duff added

his strength to the missionary and patriotic zeal of those who desired Western knowledge.

At this moment of new ideas Ramtanu fell at college under the influence of Derozio, who "introduced a new epoch in the intellectual and moral history of Bengal." His generous enthusiasm and great talents had an undying influence on his pupils. It is, however, to be regretted that the zeal for high ideals inspired in them was accompanied by lack of discrimination, and that the eating of beef and drinking of wine were essential parts of Western discipline to his young hearers, many of whom caused just scandal to the orthodox Hindus by getting drunk in honour of Western civilisation. "How," said one, "shall we Indians be civilised, and how will our country be free from the tyrannical sway of error and superstition, if we abstain from wine?" "Break down everything that is old, and rear in its stead what is new," was their cry. But the zeal first shown as to food found a nobler outlet in the feeling of young India as to social and religious reform. Derozio's instruction gained them honour in literature and science, but what is more, "they were all considered 'men of truth,' and there was then a saying: 'So and so cannot lie, because he is a Hindu College boy.' Incidentally we see a point of view differing from our own in a criticism of the author's as to the previous decay of truth among the Hindus, due partly to flattery of their Mahomedan conquerors, but also, he says, to the spirit of setting truth at naught which the English courts shewed. It is said that these courts had no regard for actual facts, if they were not borne out by evidence. Truth was not esteemed by them in itself, but only when it was supported by witnesses." This remark is given for what it is worth, but it is not a criticism that is obvious to the Englishman at home.

We must refer readers to the book itself for the account of Ramtanu's work as a teacher which earned him the

title of the Arnold of India; or the share he and his friends took in supporting the founding of the Calcutta Medical College, the Calcutta Public Library, the giving freedom to the Press, the abolition of sati, the education of girls, and the question of re-marriage of widows. In all questions he was too modest to put himself forward, but earnestly though quietly supported his friends. Persuaded that it was hypocritical to advocate his advanced views on religion and yet carry out the ordinary habits of a Brahman, he gave up his Brahmanical thread, and not only suffered persecution himself, but endured the patient and unrepining grief of his father for his heresy. Such was his love of liberty, when old and weak, that the quotation of a great speech on liberty was as a spark to set his thoughts on fire. We have in him the picture of one who combined simplicity and gentleness with unflinching truth, the type of that Rāma from whom his name was derived. No country can have been richer in noble lives than India during the last century, and it is of interest to compare the great men whom England sent out—Nicholson, Sir Herbert Edwardes, the Lawrences, Mr. Hare, and Dr. Duff, with those noble Hindus who met them in their efforts to bring help to the country of their adoption.

The book has been dealt with at length, because it is typical, especially in its earlier parts, of a life that Europeans do not know, and which can hardly survive the conditions of the present century: alike as a picture of life and as a portrait of a noble character, it is worth reading for all who care for India.

C. M. R.

ORIGINES BOUDDHIQUES, par E. SENART. (Paris, 1907.)

We always look in the work of M. Senart for the results of scholarly research illuminated by wide learning,

scrupulous fairness, and charm of expression. These qualities do not fail us in *Origines bouddhiques*, where M. Senart, like the Happy Warrior, is able to assure us that his long experience has in the main (albeit with some modifications) confirmed the view of his earlier years as to the story of Buddha. He traces the convergence of several ideas; he sets forth Māra as representing the Mrtyu of the Upaniṣads with his host of darkness on the one hand, and Kāma on the other hand. He explains the mingling in Buddhism of personal devotion with a philosophic theory of uncompromising nihilism, by influences of which the Yoga system forms the bridge between Buddhism and that cult of Vishnu which developed in the sect of the Bhāgavatas. From the Yoga system, he says, Buddhism learns to set its highest value on the *jñāna* produced by *samādhi*, which was foreign to the original merely ethical aim of the system. Buddhist nihilism is a natural result of transferring the moral tendencies of Yoga into the sphere of metaphysics, proceeding by self-mortification and cultivation of indifference to outward things to the denial of their objective existence. To the Sāṃkhya philosophy he attributes very slight affinity with Buddhism, except in so far as in its more fluid state it had affected Yoga, and he thinks that it is from secondary notions or tendencies common to the Indian nature as a whole that scholars have been inclined to see a connection between Sāṃkhya and Buddhism. It is impossible in a few lines to do justice to the careful working out of so important a subject; but this short pamphlet is full of the insight into the meaning of religious ideas which gives light where verbal and superficial likenesses often tend to mislead; and those who do not agree with the results cannot fail to feel the suggestiveness and charm of the treatment.

C. M. R.

THE CLOUD-MESSENGER. A Translation into English Verse of KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTAM. By S. C. SARKAR. (Calcutta, 1906.)

Mr. Sarkar has made a literal translation in verse of the Meghadūta. It is hardly to be expected that a translator into a language not his own should have the knowledge of his instrument or the instinct which can give charm or render beauty. The scansion is weak, but the translation, to judge from various test passages, is careful, and in fairly good English; and an introduction about chronology and authorship, together with explanatory notes at the end, dealing more with allusions than with language, should make it useful for those candidates for examination who have not learnt to despise a crib.

ANCIENT KHOTAN. Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan, carried out and described under the Orders of H.M. Indian Government. By M. AUREL STEIN, Indian Educational Service. Vol. I, *Text*, with descriptive list of antiques and appendices by various authors; Vol. II, *Plates* of photographs, plans, antiques, and MSS., with a map of the territory of Khotan from original surveys. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.)

These two sumptuous volumes contain a full record of the copious archaeological materials gathered by Dr. Stein during his remarkable explorations carried out in 1900-1, under the orders of the Government of India, in the southern districts of Chinese Turkestan, and particularly in the territory of Khotan. Published at the Clarendon Press under the auspices of the University of Oxford, it goes without saying that they are admirable in their

typography and wealth of illustration. The title-page is really quite a work of art, with good type, well sized and well spaced, and an artistic vignette of Pallas Athene carrying ægis and thunderbolt in the centre, penned from an intaglio seal-impression in clay that was found attached to one of the Kharoṣṭhi documents on wood discovered at Niya.

It is unnecessary to insist here on the unique importance and far-reaching interest of Dr. Stein's discoveries, which are now presented in the fullest details, with an annotated description and delineation of all the objects gathered and preserved. A summary sketch of his explorations was first published in the *Preliminary Report on a journey of archaeological and topographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, India Office, London, 1901; and a more popular account in his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, Personal Narrative of a journey of exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, of which two editions have appeared, and which, the author tells us, is "a useful and even necessary preliminary to the present work." Dr. Stein is distinguished alike as explorer, scholar, and author, and it would be a presumption on our part to criticize his methods, or do more than recommend his work to the admiring appreciation of Oriental scholars. The book has already been justly characterized by an appreciative reviewer in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* as "a model of scientific antiquarian inquiry, reasoning, and description." It is most appropriately dedicated to a former distinguished President of our Society, and an eloquent passage written by the author at the foot of the mighty Kunlun, on his way back to the deserts of Khotan, may be quoted in our pages:—

"During that happy year of travel through the mountains and the deserts which once saw the passage of Hsüan-tsang, the great pilgrim, of Marco Polo, and of him 'who sought lost Cathay and found Heaven,' the thought of the great scholar who had first with true critical intuition traced their tracks and those of many another

early traveller through Central Asia was ever with me. From his immortal volumes, which have accompanied me everywhere, I never failed to derive guidance and encouragement, whether I turned to them in camp after long hours of rough travel, or in my improvised study after desk labour yet more tiring. In dedicating this work to the memory of SIR HENRY YULE, I claim no small privilege. But if the interest of researches on ground that was cherished by the Master, and the endeavour to carry them on in his spirit, can atone for whatever there is of defects and dryness in the presentation of their results, I hope that this tribute will not be deemed inappropriate."

Dr. Stein is first of all historian and archæologist rather than pioneer in new and unbeaten tracks. He had, however, the trained assistance of an Indian surveyor to carry on a continuous system of surveys during the whole of his travels, which he has supplemented by photogrammetric survey work of his own in the mountainous regions between Kashmir and Kashgar, and in the Kunlun ranges bordering the Tarim basin. The results are to be found incorporated in the excellent and useful "Map of the territory of Khotan and adjoining regions," on the scale of 8 miles to 1 inch, which accompanies the Report, and which gives the position of most of the ancient sites now abandoned to the great desert of Taklamakān.

The chief 'find-spots' taken in their chronological order are Niya, Yotkan, and Dandān-Uiliq, and the remarkable character of the art is easily followed in the pictures of its relics as one turns over the pages of the second volume. The strength of the classical tradition which came from Greece to India, and thence to Chinese Turkestan, is very evident as we glance at the wooden remains from Niya, and at the pottery and little clay *genre* figures from Yotkan, while the wooden chair-legs in plate lxx are in the shape of the foreparts of sphinxes, with a headdress that reminds us of the triple horn on the heads of Assyrian bulls. Niya's art came from Gandhāra, and Gandhāra's from Selencia on the Tigris. Chinese intercourse with

these parts was started in the second century B.C., when Chang Ch'ien was sent as an envoy by Wu Ti of the Han dynasty to the Yueh-ti or Indo-Seyths, whose capital was then on the northern bank of the Oxus River. A travelling merchant at this time may have known the banks of the Tigris, Oxus, and Tarim equally well, and we seem to see how classical art influenced that of China by way of the civilisation of which Dr. Stein has revealed some of the remains in Turkestan. Khotan occupied an important position on the ancient trade route from China to the Oxus basin. There are unmistakable indications of imitation of Persian art in the Buddhist paintings recovered from the shrines of Dandān-Uiliq, and the curious find of a Judæo-Persian document on the same site, written in Tabaristan in the ninth century of our era, shows the continuity of these relations.

The literary finds of Dr. Stein are so manifold and important that it is impossible to do more than glance at them here. Among the most interesting is the mass of Kharoṣṭhi 'documents' on wood and on leather recovered from the Niya site. Specimens of these were presented by Professor Rapson to the 1905 Congress of Orientalists, but their full publication, for which Professor Rapson, we are told, has secured the assistance of two distinguished *savants*, M. E. Senart, Membre de l'Institut, and M. l'Abbé A. Boyer, "has had to be reserved for a separate volume which is to follow this report at a date that cannot yet be specified." The MSS. and documents written in Brāhmī characters, and showing texts partly in Sanskrit, partly in two non-Indian languages, have been intrusted to Dr. Hoernle, and are promised to appear immediately under the auspices of the India Office. The finds of Tibetan MSS. and graffiti are all happily published here (Appendix B) under the joint editorship of two competent scholars, Dr. Barnett, of the British Museum, and Rev. A. H. Francke, of Ladāk.

Dr. Stein is really most fortunate in his *collaborateurs*,

notably in the case of Professor E. Chavannes, Membre de l'Institut, who has with masterly clearness analysed his many finds of Chinese documents and inscriptions in Appendix A, and whose scholarly aid is generously acknowledged by the author in almost every chapter of his book. Most opportune in this connection was the publication of Professor Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, Saint-Petersbourg, Academie des Sciences, 1903, which is constantly cited. Dr. Stein, indeed, makes every use of Chinese sources of information, which shed much light on his own archaeological discoveries, while the finds, on the other hand, often afford a remarkable confirmation of the authenticity of the Chinese annals. See, for example, the exact confirmation of the cyclical day of the tenth month of the fifth year of the Tai-shih period, A.D. 269, from historical texts, on p. 537; and the clever analysis of the Chinese general Kao Hsien-chih's memorable march over the Pâmirs and across the Hindukush in the year 747 A.D., when he led his army in three columns advancing by different routes against the Tibetans, and gained such a decisive victory in the defile leading to the Barôghil Pass (p. 9). The current addition of the actual Chinese text to the names in many of the extracts is of service to the critical inquirer, and is generally remarkably correct, only two slight slips having been noticed, viz., Turfau for Turfan (p. 167), and the arbitrary split of the character *chi* into its two component parts (p. 171).

A word of praise is due for the bibliography and for the copious and excellent index, and it only remains to congratulate Dr. Stein on having successfully completed such a worthy record of his first expedition, and to wish that his present official journey in the far eastern deserts of Chinese Turkestan may be as fruitful in its results. We have already received news of his discovery on the borders of the province of Kansu of thousands of Chinese documents written on bamboo slips during the century preceding the

Christian era, of many pieces of silk of the same period inscribed with Indian Brahmi and Kharoṣṭhī, and of a number of writings in an early Aramaic script, presumably records of ancient traders to the distant *Seres*.

S. W. B.

KABIR AND THE KABIRPANTH. By G. H. WESTCOTT.
(Cawnpore, 1907.)

The Rev. G. H. Westcott's studies on Kabir have appeared at intervals in a magazine issued by the S.P.G. Mission at Cawnpore, and are now published in a revised and complete form. It is a pleasant book to read from many points of view, and not the least of its charms is the sympathy and tolerance which an Indian religion has received at the hands of a Christian missionary. For missionary work the book is of far more importance than its comparatively few pages would suggest, for it is an instance of the breaking off from the old and mistaken traditions that are still almost universally accepted by Europeans both in India and in England. There are few educated Englishmen—I may say there are even few missionaries—who are aware of the great Indian reformation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even those who have been in India, and who have heard of 'reformers,' seem to be unaware that they created a reformation—nay, a religious revolution. Far be it from me to say one word against our great Sanskrit scholars, but we have been sitting at their feet too long. They have written graphic and luminous accounts of Sanskrit literature, and of the religion illustrated by it, but have miscalled them histories of Indian literature, which they are not. Their knowledge of India, great as it is, stops with the birth of the vernaculars. The British public knows nothing of this, and has accepted as pictures of

present-day belief accounts of what was true a thousand years ago, but which is as dead as the doctrines of Anselm are in 1907.

The religious reformation of India was not carried out by learned men who wrote in Sanskrit, but by prophets, often of the lowest castes, who used the homely speech of the multitude. Their teaching smells, not of the lamp, but of the pleasant acrid smoke that hangs over an Indian village as the cattle wend their way in the early morning to the fields. It was full, not of pantheistic speculation, but of concrete truth; and, greatest of all, it swept like one mighty wave over the plains of the Deccan and of Hindostan, and is still the moral and spiritual guide of nine-tenths of our Indian fellow-subjects. All this is ignored by most people who write about Indian religion. Wilson, alone of our predecessors, realized it, and even he, giant that he was, found the task too great and barely touched its fringes. It is easy enough to put down what one, *à priori*, assumes to be the religion of India, but it is no light thing to describe the beliefs, the actual moving spiritual forces, of two hundred and fifty millions of people. The first thing to do is to find out what these beliefs really are, and, so far as I know, no one has yet even attempted to do this for India as a whole. Take one book as an example—issued under the authority of the Religious Tract Society, and written by a veteran whose name we all revere—Murray Mitchell's *Hinduism, Past and Present*. It contains about three hundred pages. Of these, twenty-five are devoted to what the author calls the "Hindu Sects," and the greater part of these twenty-five is filled up with catalogues of the names of sects and of the caste-marks worn by their votaries, while just two and a half somewhat unsympathetic pages are given to *bhakti*, the central doctrine of modern Hinduism. The rest of the book deals with the religions of Sanskrit literature, which is followed—or half-followed—only by

a few highly educated people who can read and understand what is set before them.

We cannot dispose of modern Hinduism by labelling it as a bundle of sects. Granted that it is, the sects are there, and the existence of a sect necessarily implies spiritual life. If a missionary wishes to convert the members of a sect, or if a layman wishes to understand them, the profoundest knowledge of Vedantism or of the older Purāṇas will be of little help. All these sects are based on one common idea—that of a God who became incarnate to save mankind, and who is now in Heaven still saving those who desire salvation. Till this is grasped by a missionary, be he as eloquent as Apollos or as inspired as Paul, he will only fight the air.

What is wanted is a thorough investigation of the origin and tenets of each important sect, based on original research, and not on magazine articles or sketches of "Hindu Sects," and herein lies the importance of Mr. Westcott's little book. He gives us a study of the life of Kabir, a very fair account of the great reformer's teaching, and a description of the cult and ceremonial as it exists and is carried out at the present day. There are copious extracts from the scriptures of the sect, and the author does not hesitate to deal with these, as I have already said, in a sympathetic spirit and to draw attention to the many beauties which they contain.

Mr. Westcott seems to be of the opinion that Kabir was not a disciple of the great Rāmānanda, as is the popular tradition. In defence of his opinion he quotes the verse from Nābhāji's *Bhakta-māla*, which purports to sum up Kabir's sainthood, and does not mention his teacher. This only shows how great is the want of a translation of Nābhāji's difficult work, for it happens that in another verse, in the catalogue of Rāmānanda's twelve apostles (p. 81 of the Lucknow edition), Kabir is specially mentioned as one of them. Moreover, the same fact is stated

in the Sanskrit commentary to the *Rohasya-traya* of Nābhāji's own preceptor, Agra-dāsa. The fact that Kabir was by bringing-up a Musalmān need offer no difficulty. In those days of religious exaltation the profession of Islām was no bar to becoming a Hindū *Bhakta*. Some of the greatest *Bhaktas* of Vraja were originally Musalmāns,¹ and their hymns are still sung in Vaiṣṇava congregations. Kabir's eclecticism is prominent in the extracts given by Mr. Westcott. Christianity, Śūfism, Vēdantism, combined and refashioned by Kabir's wonderful originality, can be traced again and again in his pages.

I trust that Mr. Westcott will soon have another opportunity of giving us still more information concerning this most interesting religion.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

A PRIMER OF PERSIAN. By G. S. A. RANKING, M.A.,
University Lecturer in Persian. 72 pages. (Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1907.)

This small work has been both well conceived and well executed, and is admirably suited for its intended purpose. After nineteen pages of elementary grammar, most of the remaining space is given to exercises in reading and translation from Persian, followed by passages for translation into Persian, each furnished with a vocabulary on the well-known Ollendorf plan. A most commendable innovation is the selection of matter from modern sources, the late Shah's Diary, private correspondence, and recent Persian newspapers.

¹ For instance, Ghulām Nabl, whose beautiful poetry was written under the Hindū name of Rasa-līla.

THE ADVENTURES OF HAJI BABA OF ISPAHAN. Translated into Persian by HĀJĪ SHAIKH AHMAD-1-KIRMĀNĪ, and edited with Notes by Major D. C. PHILLOTT, Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Calcutta. (Calcutta: published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1905.)

Although probably intended primarily for examination candidates, this edition of a Persian version of Morier's "Haji Baba" is in many other respects a most meritorious work. It is composed, as the Persians themselves have testified, exactly as they now write and now speak. Thus it is most valuable as an introduction to the living spoken language of the country. It has been produced at the cost of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and most ably edited by Colonel D. C. Phillott, whose residence in Persia has enabled him to throw great light on the obscure modern colloquialisms so frequently found in the text. The inclusion of such a work in the list of books set for examinations in India will be a great improvement, quite in accordance with the policy which has for some years prevailed, as proved by recent recourse to a work of the same modern type, the *Diary in Europe* of the late Shah Nāṣir-ud-din.

It may be doubted whether the Persian translator always grasped fully the meaning of the English text, but he succeeds sufficiently well in catching its humorous, sub-ironical spirit. When he sees an opening, he has the habit of interpolating an excursus in the Persian manner quite regardless of the English text. His occasional imitations of the ornate openings of Mahdī Khān's *Durr-i-Nādirī*, dealing with the imagery of Spring, add an additional spice of Orientalism to his version.

The sad end of the translator, a Bābī, is told in Colonel Phillott's Introduction. In 1887 Hāji Ahmad had gone to Constantinople, where he studied languages and engaged

in literary pursuits. He and his companions interfered, however, in Persian politics, and the Shah requested their surrender. The Sultan hesitated, and intended to obtain their pardon; but meanwhile Shah Nāsir-ud-din was assassinated on May 1st, 1896. This event alarmed the Sultan and sealed the fate of the captives; they were murdered at Tabriz on July 16th, 1896.

A FEW NOTES ON WA. By Captain G. DRAGE. (Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1907.)

The Was are an uncivilised race of head-hunting hill-men who inhabit portions of the Burmese Shan States. Linguistically they are of considerable interest because their dialects, together with those of the Palaung and Riang tribes, occupy a middle place between the Khasi language of Assam and the great Mon-Khmer family of speech. Their connection with both the one and the other has been proved by Professor W. Schmidt, and they form an important link in the great chain of allied tongues that extends from Central India right through Indo-China and beyond.

Up to the present time the Wa dialects have been very imperfectly known; in fact, nothing but relatively short lists of words had been recorded, together with a certain number of sentences, until the publication of the present work. This also is but a preliminary survey, as its author modestly proclaims. But it represents a considerable advance in knowledge, and will doubtless lead the way to the composition of a completer and more systematic grammar and dictionary of the language.

In some respects the Wa language differs rather remarkably from most of the cognate tongues. For instance, it makes use of tones, and it may be presumed that this peculiarity is due to the influence of the surrounding toned

languages, particularly Shan. It is somewhat to be regretted that the author has not marked these tones throughout the book; no doubt their precise sound can only be learnt orally, but nevertheless, in the present stage of Indo-Chinese linguistic study, the importance of the tonal system is so fully recognised as a clue to etymological research that it should be regarded as an indispensable part of the description of any language in which it exists. Captain Drage should have remembered that though his work may have been written primarily for the benefit of frontier officers, it might also fall into the hands of other students who have not the advantage of being able to supplement it by oral lessons on the spot.

It is rather curious that the verb usually precedes the subject, except when the sentence is negative, in which case the negative comes first, then the subject, and next the verb. This is quite different from the typical Mon-Khmer syntax. Less strange but still worthy of notice is the fact that the pronouns have a dual as well as a plural number, and that the first person plural possesses an exclusive and an inclusive form. This has many parallels in other languages, particularly those of the Malayo-Polynesian family.

It is an ungracious task to find fault with a piece of pioneer work like the present, the compilation of which under great difficulties and through the medium of another foreign language (Shan) must have given immense trouble, and certainly reflects great credit on its author. But one must really protest against the utter absence of order in this little book. The words it contains are indeed classed into sections, roughly divided according to their subject-matter (such as 'Man,' 'Cultivation,' 'Forest Products and Fruits,' and the like), but within those sections there is not the slightest system of arrangement, alphabetical, logical, or other, and nouns and verbs are mixed up together anyhow. This makes it exceedingly difficult to find any

word that may be wanted in a hurry, and detracts from the utility of the work. Also in some cases the equivalents of Wa words are not given in English, but in some unspecified foreign tongue (presumably Shan or Burmese), which is decidedly inconvenient from the point of view of all but local students. Lastly, there are many misprints, as unfortunately is very often the case in books printed in the East.

In spite of these defects, the author is to be congratulated on having produced the first monograph on the Wa language, and it is to be hoped that it will soon reappear in a revised, enlarged, and more systematic form. One must, in the meantime, accept it gratefully as an instalment towards a more perfect production.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

STORIA DO MOGOR: OR MOGUL INDIA, 1653-1708. By NICCOLAO MANUCCI, Venetian. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM IRVINE. Vol. iii. (London: John Murray, 1907.)

In writing his history of Mogul India, Manucci the Venetian was as discursive as was the earlier traveller and empyric, Pedro Teixeira, the Portuguese Jew, in writing the history of Persia; and all the more interesting and valuable are their works on that account. In this third volume we have only an occasional page or two devoted to the varying fortunes of Aurangzeb and his forces in their campaign against the Mahrattahs, the remainder being occupied with curious information gathered by the author during his long residence in India. The first half of the volume contains the concluding portion of part iii of Manucci's work. The first 75 pages are devoted to an account of the Hindu religion, manners and customs, and government,

as the writer met with them in South India. This description is quite a popular one, not over correct; and it is evident that Manucci's knowledge of Tamil was of the slightest, judging by his extraordinary spellings of words and his erroneous explanations of their meanings. In connection with his statement that "They say that this same Brahmā writes in the head of every man what he will do throughout his life," I may point out that Captain Robert Knox, in his *Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*, published in 1681, says of the Sinhalese: "They hold that every man's good or bad Fortune was predetermined by God, before he was born, according to an usual Proverb they have, *Ollua cottaula tiana* [*oluvē koṭālā tiyanāvā*], *It is written in the head.*" Further on Manucci gives a description of Muhammadan weddings and funerals. In an appendix to part iii Mr. Irvine gives a number of extracts from the Venice codex xliv (Zanetti), consisting of matter not contained in the Phillipps MS. 1945. Among these is a brief account of Ceylon and Portuguese doings there, in which are some gross errors, due, probably, to the writer's mixing up facts related to him. The second half of this volume comprises the first portion of part iv of Manucci's work, to which, Mr. Irvine thinks, Catrou did not have access when he wrote the third part of his *Histoire Générale de l'Empire du Mogol*, published in 1715. A good deal of this portion is taken up with an exposure of the questionable methods adopted by the Jesuits in South India in order to make converts, and a long description of the persecution and trial by the Inquisition at Goa of Father Ephraim of Nevers, who had settled at Madras. We also have recorded various historical events, such as Sir William Norris's unfortunate embassy to the Mogul in 1701-2, the Muhammadan attack on Cuddalore in 1698, etc. Manucci's account of the latter affair, as in other cases, Mr. Irvine supplements by interesting extracts from the factory records, which largely substantiate

our author's correctness. In this part Manucci is not anecdotal, as he is in the later portion of part iii, but confines himself almost entirely to historical narrative. With regard to the said anecdotes, of course it is impossible to authenticate all of them, many relating to persons of more or less obscurity; but this is not so in all cases. For instance, João Pereira de Faria, spoken of on pp. 113 and 206 of this volume, was the son of a well-known and highly esteemed Portuguese resident of Madras, mentioned often in the factory records. Then, the story of the murder of the brothers Luiz and Manuel de Mendoça by the brothers Francisco de Mello and Diogo de Mello de Sampaio, as well as the poisoning of the commissary João Alvarez Carrilho, who was sent to Bassein to arrest them (ii, 144, 228; iii, 294), is historically accurate, as proved by documents printed in the *Arquivo da Relação de Goa*. The same applies to Manucci's account (iii, 164) of the lawlessness prevalent in Goa and other Portuguese towns in the second half of the seventeenth century. And so in other cases that I might cite. We may, therefore, I think, consider Manucci the Venetian a writer *de bonne foi*, and not a mere fiction-monger like Fernão Mendes Pinto, or whoever wrote the famous *Peregrinação* that passes under his name. True, he made mistakes (some of them ludicrous); but he seems to have been on the whole an honest fellow, and his naïveté is charming. As in the first two volumes, so in this, Mr. Irvine's footnotes add much to the value of the work, notwithstanding an occasional inexactitude. Personally, I confess, I have greatly enjoyed reading Manucci's discursive narrative, and look forward to the further pleasure of reading the fourth and concluding volume of this truly *magnum opus*.

DONALD FERGUSON.

PRIMITIVE TRADITIONAL HISTORY. The Primitive History and Chronology of India, South-Eastern and South-Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe, and the Colonies thence sent forth. By J. F. HEWITT, Late Commissioner of Chutia Nagpur. Two vols. (James Parker & Co., 1907.)

In this work Mr. Hewitt pursues his favourite study, and attempts to prove that the ancient traditional history of the ruling races of antiquity, carefully preserved in many centuries and by many races from generation to generation, had been for thousands of years divided into the epochs of successive year measurements.

His object is, he informs us, to prove that one of the most reliable guides to the ascertainment of trustworthy knowledge of the sequence of the stages of progress made in the struggle of the pioneers of civilization against chaotic barbarism, is to be found in the history of the computation of annual time. He holds that the chronology of the early periods of racial growth not only furnishes a sound basis for calculating their duration, but also gives a clue to the primary sources whence national religion rose. This he seeks to prove on the lines that the idea of God underlying all religions is that of the all-pervading Will, who as measurer of time ordained the changes of the seasons which marked the periods that made up the recurring years.

He traces the methods of year-measurement at different periods in different countries, and by aid of the tribal historical legends, symbols, ritual, and national customs, he follows the peoples themselves as they passed from the state of wandering savages to that of strongly organized nations of civilized men. He takes this narrative as constituting a reliable guide to truthful conclusions.

Southern India is, if we read him aright, the birthplace of most of the myths and the starting-point of the great

dispersion, and he draws largely upon the Vedas and the two great epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa for the material which goes to build up his theories as to the astronomical character of the early gods.

Whether Mr. Hewitt's theories are accepted by scholars or not the book will serve a useful purpose inasmuch as it contains a vast collection of facts relative to tradition and ritual. A new and interesting feature is the importance he assigns to the Dravidian race, whose influence in the culture of India has been ignored because the literature which records the development of religion in that country was the work of a hostile priesthood, whose only object was to magnify its own pretensions.

ANCIENT SINOPE, an Historical Account, with a Prosopographia Sinopensis and an Appendix of Inscriptions.
By DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., Associate in Classical Archaeology in the Johns Hopkins University.
(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906.)
[Reprinted from the American Journal of Philology, vol. xxvii, pp. 125-153, 245-279, 294-333.]

This is a very complete account of that town on the Black Sea which attained so much importance anciently as the capital of its district. Though in all probability small at first, its advantages must soon have become recognized, for it possesses a double harbour. Its neighbourhood is a remarkably fertile one, and this also brought it to the fore, with what effect may be seen from its being so often spoken of by Greek and Roman authors. Recognized as a geographical centre, other cities in the same tract were referred to as being "near Sinope," though not in reality so very close. Its position on the coast gave it great advantages, and its commerce was, therefore, very extensive.

The author is of opinion that the Assyrians had something to do with its early history, and this is not improbable, as their armies penetrated into all the countries around them. To all appearance they were once the masters of the district of Kaisarieh, but how far their influence reached is uncertain. That Sinope should contain the name of the god Sin (the moon) as its first syllable is possible, but the question is, what is the origin of the word? The author regards "the legends that the nymph Sinope was the mother of Syros, from whom the Syrians got their name, and that she was carried off from Assyria," as pointing to the correctness of this view. "The name Sinope," he says, "evidently antedates the Greek settlement." Ps. Scymnus, he adds, speaks of "Sinope, a city . . . which formerly the native-born Assyrians inhabited," so that the theory for which he contends is well supported. Naturally etymologies could be found for the name, but any that might be suggested would be open to suspicion. It does not appear that the worship of the moon was ever very prominent in the city, where many deities were honoured, and the cult varied from time to time.

But the monograph is important and interesting. Sinope, the author says, must have existed before 756 B.C.—30 or 35 years earlier than that date at least. This would leave a few years of prosperity before the Cimmerian inroad in 782 under Habrondas, who was probably killed.

The book has a useful list of names with biographical notices, and descriptions of the Greek and Latin inscriptions discovered at Sinope and in the neighbourhood.

T. G. PINCHES.

SĀMARRĀ, AUFNAHMEN UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR
ISLAMISCHEN ARCHAEOLOGIE. VON ERNST HERZFELD.
(Berlin: Behrend & Co., 1907.)

Sāmarrā lies on the Tigris, about 50 miles N.N.W. of Bagdad, in a pebbly tract. According to Dr. J. Ross, it enjoys a climate celebrated for its salubrity. The ruins extend along the east bank of the Tigris for about 20 (Ross 30) miles. These are called Mutawakkilieh, Eski Bagdad (Old Bagdad), and Shnās. The central ruin is a palace, of which a good plan and description are given, and the ornamentation is described. The principal ruin, however, is the great mosque with its minaret. Like the other monuments, it is built of brick, with a special decoration, the upper part of the walls, as they now stand, having square sunken panels with cup-like recesses in the middle. The building is rectangular, and about 260 m. long by 180 m. broad. Great doors alternate rhythmically with small ones, and the whole is built in the manner of a turreted fortification. Colonnades were built on all four sides, 10 'naves' being on the south, 3 on the north, and 4 on each of the other sides.

Most interesting of all, however, is the minaret, *el Malwiah*, 'the spiral,' situated at the northern end of the mosque. This is a pointed tower built on a square base, but itself circular in form, and provided with a spiral ascent, ending at the top in a staircase. The author judged the height to be 60 metres, but Commander J. F. Jones made it to be 163 feet as near as possible. The ascent goes round the structure five times. This monument leads the author to speak of the Babylonian towers in stages, which, though square, and not circular in plan, were provided with ascents upon the same system, angular instead of spiral, on account of their form. The most

perfect of these ancient temple-towers (*zikkurāti*) is that of which the remains were found by the French explorers at Khorsabad, which was built by Sargon of Assyria. The same system is shown by the square tower of Gûr-Firûzâbâd, figured by Dieulafoy, the summit of which was reached in four circuits. Structures like these are not depicted in Assyrian bas-reliefs, and the author is of opinion that the representation of a building of a different form, but suggesting a tower in three stages, is in reality not of this nature. The reconstruction of this building by Sir Henry Rawlinson, preserved in the National Museum at Washington, he regards as due partly to a wrong explanation of the bas-relief in question. It is to be noted that Perrot and Chipiez have understood this relief in much the same way, but Chipiez has "placed Rawlinson far in the shade." The reader will probably say that one is just as probable as the other. To discuss this question would take too long, and would probably not be conclusive. Thus much, however, is certain, namely, that for a tower in stages it would be very low—only three, including the lowest.

Midway between the two forms, the minaret of Sâmarrâ and the Babylonian *zikkurāti* upon a rectangular plan, is the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Tulûn, at Cairo, of which a good sketch is given. The lower part of this is a solid square, with a staircase going round each side until the top of that part is reached, when it assumes a spiral form for the upper part of the tower, which is cylindrical. The two elegant upper stories, with which it is crowned, are described as of later date, but replacing something similar which must have crowned it at first.

The work contains an interesting discussion of these and other similar structures, together with descriptions and plans of many ruined buildings of considerable interest. The literary traditions concerning Sâmarrâ (pp. 47-80) are very interesting. Besides sketches in the text, others

are given in the plates at the end, including an excellent half-tone photographic reproduction of the spiral minaret.

T. G. PINCHES.

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale* for 1907, No. 4, M. F. Thureau-Dangin publishes several interesting articles. His *Fragments de Syllabaires* are portions of four bilingual lists and one syllabary. The first gives names of date-palms and their parts, and is one of the texts from which lines were extracted and transcribed into Greek characters (Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology, 1902, pp. 109 ff., 121 ff.). The second text, which has names of pots and vessels (Assyrian character), gives parallels to the text published in the *Journal* of this Society for October, 1905, fragment 81-4-28, front, lines 28, 30, and 43 (in the last the broken word would seem to have been 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *hubšakū*). The third, which contains nouns of relationship, is part of a student's practice-tablet. The fourth has explanations of words, but is not in list-form, and the scribe has noted now and then "a recent break," or that the group was "imperfect on the tablet." In the syllabary-fragment most of the signs explained are broken away, but that in the left-hand column of the back was probably 𐎶𐎵 (*su*), 'blood,' 'self,' 'body,' 'corpse,' 'family,' 'kindred,' etc. (lines 10-13), as is also shown by the group 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 = *massū*, 'ruler' or the like, in line 16.

In an article entitled *Inscriptions Diverses du Louvre* he gives (1) the dedication of a bronze statuette by Šamsi-Bēl to Ištar of Arbela. (2) Two Babylonian contract-tablets of the time of Tiglath-pileser III, referring to *ulušinnu* (see the *Journal* for October, 1905, p. 826) supplied as the drink of the "mid-palace women" (SAL-ŠAG-ÊGAL). M. Thureau-Dangin translates *ulušinnu* as 'vin de grains,' but in the first inscription

it is described as *likar suluppi*, 'date-wine,' probably owing to "une distraction du scribe." They are both dated in the king's first year. (3) Two small tablets, one dated in the reign of An-am and the other in that of Ura-dimdim, both probably ancient rulers of Erech.

Of special interest is his *Incursion elamite en territoire sumérien à l'époque présargonique*. This is inscribed on a mutilated tablet, similar to those of the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina (c. 4000 B.C.), found by Commandant Cros at Tel-loh (Lagash). It appears to be a letter from Lu-enna, priest of Nin-mar, to [E]n-e-tar-zi, priest of Nin-Girsu, stating that 600 Elamites were carrying off spoil, and that Lu-enna attacked them and put them to flight.

Finally, he publishes some *Contrats archaïques provenant de Šuruppak*, the first on stone, and exceedingly archaic. It refers to deliveries of cattle, oil, and stuff for garments (*lamḥuṣṣū* in Semitic Babylonian—J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 828). The others are a deed of gift and contracts of sale. The analogies between these and the obelisk of Maništusu, the author points out, are striking. In the case of the first document he notes that the unit used in the inscription suggests the mark which a finger impressed in clay would leave. ' $\frac{1}{2}$ ' is represented by the same sign written horizontally instead of vertically.

The whole makes a noteworthy series, well and learnedly treated.

T. G. PINCHES.

UMAYYADS AND 'ABBASIDS, from G. Zaydān's "Islamic Civilization." Translated by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. (Gibb Memorial, vol. iv.)

In publishing a translation of the work of a modern Oriental the Gibb Trustees have made a new departure; and, as works of this kind are little known in Europe,

the publication serves a useful purpose by affording us an example of what Mahommedan scholarship at the present day is; but it is as well that in the long list of forthcoming publications issued by the Trustees no more modern works are included. The author is a Syrian, resident at Cairo, and he is clearly a man of wide learning and liberal mind; but, as this volume is only the fourth of a large work of which the other volumes are not translated, it is by no means easy to criticise it, and it is unfortunate that the translator does not give us some explanation of the plan and contents of the earlier volumes. As giving us the opinions of an educated Mahommedan, the book is of great interest; but it can hardly be called critical from a European standpoint. Professor Margoliouth tells us that the author has taken pains to acquaint himself with the works of European scholars; but few signs of such knowledge are to be found in the book, in which there are no references to modern writers, and the editions of ancient writers used are all Eastern; and, although the references are copious, they are mostly to the anecdotes of late authorities, while very little use seems to have been made of the early historians, and the most important of all, Al Tabari, is apparently wholly unknown to the author. Mr. Zaydan is inclined to be garrulous, and frequently repeats himself; and, though no fanatic, he shows a strong partiality for the descendants of 'Alī. Occasionally he repeats absurdities, as where he says that a certain man had thirty sons and eleven daughters by one wife (p. 44); but the statement that the first Turkish leader suckled a wolf (p. 215) must surely be the result of a slip or a misprint. When the author ventures into Western history, he makes strange blunders, as when he says that Stephen the freedman and Solomon the eunuch ruled the Roman Empire (p. 227). The odd statement that in the Empire the practice of marrying slave-girls was common (p. 13) seems to be only a case

of an incorrect use of terms, since the same assertion is made of the Arabs on p. 15; and we have perhaps a similar instance on p. 10, for the case of Ziyad was surely not one of adoption but of fictitious relationship. Mr. Zaydan seems to be especially weak in explaining legal points, for the method of manumission set forth on p. 15 is unintelligible, and the statement as to the rights of patrons at p. 18, l. 9 seems inconsistent with that at p. 19, l. 32. There is a stranger inconsistency between p. 32, where 'Umar is said to have kept the Kuraish in Medina, and p. 60, where he is said to have sent them away. In several places the composition is careless: thus on p. 132 Sabians and Magians are apparently classed among Christians; at p. 193, l. 13, 'the two' has no reference (four persons having been mentioned), nor has 'their' at p. 196, l. 25; and the sentence about 'the Caliph being on the winning side,' at p. 222, l. 7, is incomprehensible. This last may, however, be due to the translator, as is certainly the confusion at p. 57, l. 20, where 'who' can only refer to Mu'awiya, though it is meant to refer to his 'father and brethren,' and the use of 'question' for 'request' at p. 183, l. 9. Also, at p. 254, l. 28, 'free-thinking' surely conveys a wrong notion. It seems odd, again, in a translation from Arabic to find the word 'chauvinism' constantly used: 'exclusiveness' would apparently express the meaning.

As the translation must be meant for others besides Arabic scholars, it is to be regretted that Professor Margoliouth has not added notes on matters which to such readers must be unintelligible, e.g., 'Market of 'Ukáz' (p. 12), 'founded upon salt' (p. 159), 'Shu'úbis' (p. 186), 'Amaleks' (p. 187), '*khutbah*' (p. 206), 'son of the road' (p. 255): nor can every reader be expected to know that 'marzubáns' are Persian governors and 'Kisras' Sassanid kings, and that Fustát is the ancient representative of Cairo.

In the use or omission of the article in the proper names there seems to be no system at all, the same name being written sometimes with the article, sometimes without. I have noted misprints at p. 126, l. 21 ('us' omitted), and p. 225, l. 3 from bottom ('Ja'kúb' for 'Ya'kúb').

E. W. BROOKS.

SOME RECENT ARABIC PUBLICATIONS.

1. THE TRAVELS OF IBN JUBAIR. Edited from a MS. of the University of Leyden, by WILLIAM WRIGHT. Second edition, revised by M. J. DE GOEJE, and printed for the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial. (Leyden and London, 1907.)
2. KITÂB MA'ÂNI AL-NAFS. Buch vom Wesen der Seele von einem Ungenannten. Auf Grund der einzigen Handschrift der Bibliothèque Nationale herausgegeben mit Anmerkungen und Exkursen versehen von I. GOLDZIEHER. (Berlin, 1907.)

The works of the two greatest living authorities on the Arabic language are above ordinary criticism, and even compliments to either editor might be resented as presumptuous. The first of the two mentioned above is a new edition by Dr. de Goeje of the familiar Travel-book of the Spaniard Ibn Jubair. It would seem that Wright's work was so well done that extensive alterations were not required, though doubtless the text has profited by the revision of so experienced an editor. There would seem to be a MS. of the work at Fez, which, however, was discovered too late to permit of its being utilized for the new edition, even if such utilization had been allowed.

The following observations are meant to do no more than indicate that the reviewer has read some pages of the book.

Page 7, l. 14. *ولا يظهر الوجد الا اكتتامًا * ولا نلغظ القول الا سرارًا*.

The first hemistich is unsatisfactory. Perhaps it should be corrected *ولا يظهر الوجد الا التثامًا*. *وجه* and *وجد* are frequently confused.

Line 17. *ولولا مهابته في النفوس * لثمننا الثرى. التزمننا الجدارا*.

التزمننا is not good enough. Perhaps the author meant to write *استلمننا*.

Page 8, l. 7. *فما ضل من بمسراك اهتدى*. This is unmetrical.

The reading of the Cairo edition *من بسراك* suits the verse.

Page 9, l. 3. *انظر ترى للشمس عند طلوعها * زهوا يعجب بهجة*.

يعجب appears to give no satisfactory meaning. In the next line *تعقب*, "causes to follow," occurs in the same context. For *يعجب* perhaps we should read *يعجل*, "hastens on."

Line 8. *كفاك بشكوى الناس اذ ذاك انها * تسر عدوا او*.

كفاك seems to be unnecessary, and the sentence is imperfect without a *ḥal* after *اذ ذاك*. Examples are given in Wright, ii³, p. 161. Hence we should perhaps read *كفاك بشكوى الناس اذ لا آتيا*, "complaining to mankind is a sufficient humiliation in that in it pleases an enemy and vexes a friend."

Page 9, l. 12. *ان شرف الانسان * فيشرف واحسان*, "if

a man be noble, he is so by nobility and beneficence." This is too tautologous. Read *فيصرف*, "he is so by lavish expenditure."

Page 10, l. 1. *ما لهم في غير ميدانها استباق. ولا لسوى هداها*.

For *هداها* read *مداها* = "its goal." Cf. Makrīzī, ii, 225, 9 a. f.

- لو كشف الأسرار. لما كان هذا الأسرار. The sense is poor. Probably we should read هذا الأسرار, "this obstinacy is wrong-doing." Compare Hariri, p. 299: الأم مداومة اللهو. ومواصلة السهو. وطول الأسرار.
- Line 4. لكن استولى الغنى على البصائر. Read التعمى.
- Page 11, l. 11. عنى بالآداب قبل بلغ الغاية فيه. Read الأدب or فيها. Cf. p. 12, l. 9.
- Page 12, l. 19. في رقعة كالصبح أهدى لها * يد المعالي مسك. "on a leaf white as dawn whereon the hand of eminence has bestowed the musk of the night of ink." The "musk" appears to be a mistake. Probably we should read منك = "thine" for مسك.
- Page 13, l. 14. كتب عن السيد أبى سعيد . . . و جدده لأمه. Read القاضى أبو محمد أبى محمد.
- Line 15. لم يبلغ الخمسين فى سنه. The invariable expression appears to be من سنه. These two prepositions are constantly confused.
- Page 18, l. 3. محن فى الغرب ويجرى ذكركم * بغروب الدمع يجرى. ههنا. We should read تجرى for the second.
- Page 21, l. 9. عبرت على غدر الزمان وجعده * وشاب لى. السم الذعاف بشهده. scarcely gives a meaning. Apparently the opposite of غدر, "treason," is wanted. Perhaps جوده.
- Page 30, l. 4. وكم بقيت حبسة فى الظلوم * وتلك الذخيرة فى. الداخر. The verse is rather obscure. "How long has she (Meccah) remained an appanage of the unjust one, and . . . ?" Perhaps الداخر will make the second hemistich a little clearer, "and that treasure of the vile one."
- Line 18. فاقبح به حادث أنه * يقبح أحداثه الذكر. It would seem that the syntax requires حادثنا.

Line 20. وَأَثْرُكَ الْعِزَّ تَغْنَى بِهَا * وَتِلْكَ الْمَآثِرُ لِلْأَثَرِ. This line is left as it stands, as being hopelessly corrupt. The first words should probably be emended مَآثِرُكَ الْغَرَّ تَبْقَى بِهَا, and be taken after the word نَاشِرٍ with which the preceding verse ends.

Page 31. وَإِنْ كَانَ نَظْمِي لَهُ نَادِرًا * فَقَدْ قِيلَ لَا حُكْمَ لِلنَّادِرِ. We should read نَادِرًا and لِلنَّادِرِ. "If my verse-making is rare, then it has been said that a rare case furnishes no rule."

Line 10. يَزْهَى وَيَزْهَى عَلَى الرُّوضِ غَيْبُ الْحَمِيَا. Apparently يَزْهَى is preferable.

Page 35, l. 19. فَاطْلَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْنَا فِي حَالِ الْوَحْشَةِ وَانْغْلَقَ الْمَجْهَاتُ بِالنُّوْءِ فَلَا نَمَيِّزُ شَرْقًا مِنْ غَرْبٍ مَرْكَبًا. It is interesting to have Professor de Goeje's opinion to the effect that such a word as انْغْلَقَ could count as a negative, and so take the subjunctive after ف.

3. The most interesting Arabic publication of recent times is the Concordance to the Koran by 'ALAWIZÁDAH FAID ALLAH AL-HASANI of Jerusalem, which bears the title *Fath al-Rahmán li-tálíbi Áyât al-Kur'án* (Beyrút, 1323: Ahliyyah Press). It differs from earlier works of the same sort in giving the sentences in which the words occur, with references to the numbers of the verses, while the Surahs are quoted by abbreviations of their names. The author states in his preface the principles on which his Concordance is constructed, its purpose being rather to facilitate the finding of verses than to register the number of times each form occurs. It is simply indispensable to Arabic students, and it is rather surprising that its author should be first in the field. Since Moslem writers, e.g. the contributors to the *Manâr*, have taken to quoting the Koran by chapter and verse, strangely

assuming that their readers will not know it all by heart, it is likely that the 3,000 copies printed will soon be exhausted. The author deserves hearty congratulation and warm gratitude from his fellow-students for providing them with so valuable an aid. He points out in his preface some curious mistakes made by Flügel, who, as his Hājji Khalifah shows, could accomplish great things in this line. In his Latin preface to the Koran he quotes a letter to himself from a Turk, which he translates in such a way as shows little skill in dealing with Oriental rhetoric. The Turk wrote: بونه طبع ایدن ذبات بو سودادن فارغ اولسه بدئندن فارغ اولمسی اولادر طبع مستقیم بو مثللو طبع ستیمی قبول انمز دوستم. This Flügel renders: *Qui Coranum typis describunt, hanc phantasiam aliquando abiecturi, si statim ab initio deponerent, melius esset. Natura enim sana eius modi aegrotam naturam non recipit, mi amice*. It should have been obvious that the two senses of فارغ and طبع were played on. The Turk meant: "If the persons who are printing this would abandon their vain desire, the end would be better than the beginning. A sound nature cannot approve such unsound printing, my friend."

4. An older work of great utility dealing with the Koran is the Koranic dictionary of RĀGHIB ISPAHĀNĪ, ob. about 500 A.H., called *al-Mufradāt fī Gharrīb al-Kur'ān*, printed at the Maimaniyyah Press, Cairo, 1324, pp. 576, large 8vo. Several of this writer's works are now accessible; his moral treatise called *al-Dharī'ah ilā makārim al-sharī'ah* was published in 1308; his *Tafṣīl al-nash'atāin* in 1319; and his great Adab work in 1287. His dictionary is arranged in the order of the first letters of the roots, and offers a most convenient conspectus of the vocabulary of the Koran. Apparently the work from which Baiḍāwī borrowed was not this, but a commentary by the same author.

5-7. The SAYYID AL-BAKRÎ has issued several works this year, which do not appear to be in the market, but which he generously presents to those whom they are likely to interest. His pamphlet on the Future of Islam (*al-Mustakbîl lilislâm*) was discussed by the present writer at the Church Congress at Yarmouth of last year. A work of a very different style is his *Ṣaḥrîj al-Lu'lu'*, printed at the Hilâl Press, with date 1907 (*sic*). It is what in Latin would be called a *Satura*, in prose and verse, describing the author's travels, on sea and land, to Constantinople, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere, interspersed with odes and reflexions of various kinds. In Arabic perhaps the *Makâmas* of Ibn al-Wardî offer the closest parallel. Although the book is accompanied by an ample commentary, the work of the Shaikhs Aḥmad Shankîṭî and Muḥammad Lutfî, the style is perfectly clear and limpid, and the language, though *recherché*, by no means difficult. It may be expected that the Arabic reading public will not be satisfied till this book is rendered more accessible, and it will assuredly perpetuate the author's name among the *udabâ* of our age.

A work in some ways of greater importance than the last mentioned is called *Bait al-Ṣiddîq*, and was printed at the Muayyad Press two years ago. It is a treatise on the house of Abû Bakr, whence the author derives his name, and contains an autobiography, an account of his distinguished predecessors, lists of the Ṣūfî communities, and of those which are represented in Egypt. To students of Ṣūfism this work will be of great value.

8. Of the monographs on the early heroes of Islam called *Ashḥar mashâhîr al-islâm*, by RAFIḤ BEY AL-'AZAM, four parts have now appeared, the first having reached a second edition. The persons with whom they deal are Abû Bakr, 'Umar, Abû 'Ubaidah, Sa'd b. Abî Wakkâs, 'Amr b. al-'Âs, 'Uthmân b. 'Affân, 'Abdallah b. 'Âmir, and Ḥabîb b. Maslamah al-Fihrî. The author

has used MS. as well as printed authorities, and his presentation of the careers of these persons is probably both fuller and easier to follow than any that has previously appeared. These monographs have already won him a high place among the Arabic writers of the time.

D. S. M.

DIE LITTERATUREN DES OSTENS IN EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN.

Vol. VI. P. HORN: GESCHICHTE DER PERSISCHEN LITTERATUR. 228 pp.—C. BROCKELMANN: GESCHICHTE DER ARABISCHEN LITTERATUR. 265 pp. Leipzig, 1901: C. F. Amelang's Verlag.

Vol. VII, 2. GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN LITTERATUREN DES ORIENTS. C. BROCKELMANN: DIE SYRISCHE UND CHRISTLICH-ARABISCHE LITTERATUR. — F. N. FINCK: GESCHICHTE DER ARMENISCHEN LITTERATUR. — J. LEITPOLD: GESCHICHTE DER KOPTISCHEN LITTERATUR. — E. LITTMANN: GESCHICHTE DER AETHIOPISCHEN LITTERATUR. Ib., 1907. 281 pp.

Two popular manuals of Oriental literature, written by well-known authors, who have gained their reputation in the field of Oriental science. The object of this series, of which the above form only two volumes, is to popularise among the German reading public a better, and at the same time a thoroughly reliable, presentment of the literatures of the East. The aim, therefore, of the various authors—who are not bound down to one scheme in the treatment of their subjects—is to pay greater attention to the poetical literature than to any other part of it; and also not to encumber their pages with too many references to literary sources. Happily the writers do not all agree on this point. Professor Horn, who writes on the Persian literature, which he divides into two sections, old (*Avesta* and *Pehlevi*) and modern, beginning

with Firdusi, deals almost exclusively with the rich poetry of the Persians, referring to German translations in preference. Interesting is his attempt to pourtray the historical background and the environments in which the poet lived and worked. He also points out some parallels in European medieval poetry, without accepting the view that Europe, and notably medieval Europe, was indebted to Persia for any inspiration. Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," e.g., is a striking parallel to Ferideddin Attar's "Journey of the Birds."

Professor Brockelmann, on the other hand, recognising the enormous importance of Arabic science for the history of civilisation, includes in his section the whole of the Arabic literature, paying equal attention to theology, art, science, and poetry. In his literary references he is somewhat fuller than Professor Horn. Both print a good number of German translations, and refer to German books, because they are more easily accessible to the German reader. This book is a simplified abstract of the larger history of Arabic literature. It is divided into eight chapters, starting with the pre-Islamic period and finishing with the modern aspect of Arab literature, which is beginning to undergo a serious change under the influence of the new conditions prevailing in Egypt. Good and full indexes increase the serviceableness of this volume.

On the initiative of Professor Brockelmann a band of scholars have united to write the history of the literature of the Christian East, and they have accomplished their task with conspicuous success. With the exception of the section on Armenia, written in a somewhat exaggerated strain of admiration, the rest of the book is a sober, and in many cases quite novel and fairly exhaustive, treatment of the subject. The literary references are more copious than in the preceding volume, the matter very lucidly grouped, and fair justice is done to the most prominent representatives

of each period and of each nation. The Syriac and Arabic literature is described by Professor Brockelmann. Wright and Duval had to a certain extent paved the way. The same cannot be said of the chapter on Coptic literature by Leitpold, whose contribution is the first attempt at sketching the development of the Christian literature on the ancient soil of Egypt. Professor Littmann offers here also the first comprehensive and yet not too discursive sketch of the Ethiopian literature. Much of the old literature of Ethiopia is still preserved only in MSS., the legendary material far outweighing the historical. But Professor Littmann makes excellent use of all the available material. He pays special attention to the popular literature, which is better known through the labours of modern scholars and explorers. Each and all of the contributors to this volume give also translations of important and characteristic text. Good indexes complete these exceedingly well got up volumes.

M. G.

B. MEISSNER. KURZGEFASSTE ASSYRISCHE GRAMMATIK.
v, 80 pages. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich's, 1907.

A concise grammar on the Elements, Forms, and Inflections of the Assyrian language of the period after Hammurabi, to which the majority of the best-known texts belong, has been prepared by Professor Meissner as vol. iii of the Manuals for the knowledge of the old Orient. As was to be expected, the subject is systematically arranged and scholarly treated. It is to help the beginner, and contains therefore only those forms and inflexions which have been firmly established, and on which no differences of opinion among scholars exist. There are no quotations of examples from the texts. Archaic forms are generally omitted; they would

only contribute to confuse beginners. But in their stead there are ample paradigms of verbs and nouns, and a list of the words used in these paradigms. It is to be regretted that no specimen of cuneiform writing has been added; it would have been of great help when dealing with the alphabet and system of writing. An English translation would be very desirable. It is to be hoped that in that case the price would be kept as low as that of the German edition, which is 3s. 6d. The printing is not close at all, and the type is beautiful.

M. G.

JAMES ALAN MONTGOMERY. THE SAMARITANS, THE EARLIEST JEWISH SECT, THEIR HISTORY, THEOLOGY, AND LITERATURE. 8vo; pp. xii, 358. (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907.)

This book that comes from America is a comprehensive, scholarly, and reliable compilation, and is the best description yet available of the history and literature as well as of the theology of the oldest Jewish sect in existence. And withal, the author is fully aware of the limitations and shortcomings of his work, for, as he rightly remarks, "Samaritan study still lies in the primary stage of manuscript investigation, and the student who has not access to the original documents must recognize that at best he can only be an encyclopædist in the subject." Though without access to the original manuscripts, still, one may safely say, not a single printed document or book has escaped the author's diligent search, and he has given us a most vivid and clear picture of the Samaritans and the vicissitudes through which they have passed from their first establishment to this very day. After a description of the land and people of Samaria, the

author gives us as full a history of the Samaritans from 586 B.C. as he could gather from many sources, and from divers information scattered through Jewish, Christian, and Muhammedan writings. The geographical distribution through the countries and towns of the East is then traced with the help of this same material. All the references to Samaritans in the apocryphal and New Testament literature, as well as in Josephus and the Talmud, are then grouped together, and the whole late Talmudic treatise "Kuthim" is given in an English translation, based chiefly on Nutt, and with notes taken mostly from Kirchheim. This forms the larger portion of the book (pp. 1-204), and is at the same time the best. All the available sources have been utilised with critical discrimination and scholarly insight. Unless quite new chronicles with more ample information should ever be discovered, very little could otherwise be added to this history of the Samaritans. After a careful examination of *all* the manuscripts in the possession of the Samaritans at Nablus, it may be stated that no such further source of information is to be found among them. The "Chronicle," to which reference is made here (p. 308), is now in my possession, and, without as yet going into details, I may state that in general outlines it contains very little more than the other texts hitherto published.

Not the same meed of praise can be bestowed on the second section of the book, though not through any fault of the author. He has been equally painstaking in his researches and skilful in the use of the material at his disposal, but he was hampered by the inaccessibility of the manuscripts, in Samaritan and in Arabic, of which many are still in the hands of the Samaritans, which have not yet been published, and which are sure to contribute very materially to a clearer perception and a better judgment of the theological teaching of the Samaritans, of their beliefs and practices. Not even the whole of their liturgical

poetry has as yet been printed. Any conclusions based, therefore, upon this rather scanty material must needs be to a large degree hypothetical. I have seen there a huge volume of Markah's poems, the majority of which is not as much as mentioned in Heidneheim's *Bibliotheca*. Besides the scarcity of the available material there is still the problem of the age of the writers of liturgical pieces. To determine the one would be to determine the development of the Samaritan theology. Dr. Montgomery has not ignored this problem. On the contrary, he is fully alive to it, but under the circumstances he accepts the results on which most of the scholars agree. We are still a long way off from a history of the Samaritan liturgy, and consequently from a history of the inner development of Samaritan dogmas. In his exposition of their angelology, eschatology, etc., the proofs rest mostly, if not exclusively, on quotations from the liturgy, as much or as little as has hitherto been published. He has done justice to the exalted conception of Moses among the Samaritans, and has shown that all the attributes of a Saviour are applied to Moses, as the centre and aim of Creation. Some of the views on the theology and beliefs of the Samaritans will, I am convinced, undergo some change after the publication of the whole manuscript literature, the liturgical and non-liturgical poetry, the commentaries on the Bible, the Books of Precepts, and other writings which I found among them. But all that could be done with the existing material has been done, and well done, by the author. He has also given a full sketch of the literature thus far known, with exhaustive references. In this respect also I am certain we may anticipate in the near future some important additions. More than one little known or quite unknown book has been acquired by me, and also some very curious documents which may prove of value for the history of the development of Samaritan dogmas, and may contribute a chapter on the hitherto unknown

mystical literature of the Samaritans. A complete bibliography and a large number of exceedingly well-executed illustrations of documents and monuments, and also three indexes, make this book indispensable to the student of the Samaritans and of their pathetic history.

M. G.

ABYSSINIAN LITERATURE.

1. ETHIOPIC GRAMMAR by AUG. DILLMANN, late Professor of Theology, Berlin; second edition, enlarged and improved (1899) by CARL BEZOLD, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Philology, Heidelberg. Translated by JAMES A. CRICHTON, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate, 1907.

Is there any student of Ethiopic who is unacquainted with German? This question necessarily suggests itself to the reviewer of Dr. Crichton's work, and if that question be answered in the negative, some regret must be expressed that the "minute and conscientious accuracy, combined with sound scholarship," which Bezold justly attributes to the translator, have not been employed on some work of which the utility is more obvious. Since the first edition of Dillmann's Grammar bears date 1857, and was a close imitation of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar, it is no depreciation of Dillmann's merits to hold that his work ought not to be regarded as up to the level represented by the scholarship of fifty years later, which has before it quantities of fresh material, and has for its basis canons which are materially in advance of those followed by Ewald. Is the following half-page of etymologies (p. 45) better suited to the present age or to that of Varro's *de lingua Latina*?

"Thus Λ often stands in Ethiopic as first radical in place of *Kaf*: $\Lambda\Omega\zeta$ 'old woman,' alongside of كبير , while the

pronunciation ከብረ in Ethiopic bears rather a spiritual (figurative) sense, ለረገ 'to be old,' beside كَرَج, ለለደ, 'to gather,' with كَلَد, كَلَر; farther, in several Ethiopic words ሐ, ኀ are very commonly exchanged for ከ, e.g. ሐፀሐ and ከፀሐ 'to stir,' ረሐሐ and ረኩሐ 'to be unclean,' ነሕነሐ and ነከነከ 'to shake,' ዝከር and ዝነር 'monument,' ሰሊኖት and ሰሊከ 'cassia'; ተከዚ 'river' belongs to ወሕዘ, ሐረሠ 'to lie in'—to ከረሠ, ሐሰወ 'to tell a lie'—to كَذَبَ (خاس). More rarely ሐ or ኀ corresponds to a *Geml*, ሐመደ 'snow'—to جَمَد (in contrast with which ሐመደ 'ashes' belongs to خَمَد), ማኅበብት 'vat, pit'—to وَب, وَب, ሕንብርት 'navel'—to بَجَرَة, ሕንብርብረ 'scab'—to وَب, وَب. Still more frequent is the substitution of the rougher gutturals for *Qaf*, e.g., ኀሰረ 'to be short,' قَصَر قَصْر (حصر), ሐረሠ 'to rake up,' رَقَب, رَقَب (but ح in Arabic also), ጸሕዋ 'beard,' رَقَب, ዓዋዓዋ 'swamp,' مَقَام, ዐጠነ 'to fumigate with incense,' عَطَرَ, عَطَرَ, قَطَرَ. On the other hand, the simplification of a sibilant into a mere guttural breathing is not so common in Ethiopic, though perhaps ሐረ 'to go' may be ranged with the Arabic سار, and ረትዐ 'to be straight' with سَدَل; the language in other cases prefers to keep by ጸ and ጠ even where other tongues admit ሂ in place of them."

If this paragraph did not come to us with the authority of Dillmann and Bezold, it would meet with scathing condemnation. What, e.g., is meant by 'substitution,' 'correspondence,' 'being ranged with,' etc.? If these words mean anything definite, they should have reference either to 'ursemitisch' or to some particular dialect; but the words here are compared unmethodically with other Ethiopic words, and with other Semitic dialects indiscriminately, as though there were no laws of sound-correspondence between them. Surely it is agreed that

sound-correspondence is uniform, and only disturbed by cross-currents. Supposing, therefore, these etymologies were correct, they would be of the same value as the observation that in English *ct* is sometimes softened into *sh*, as for example in *faction*, which is to be 'ranged with' *fashion*—an observation worthy of the infancy of etymology rather than of its maturity.

But, in fact, this observation is much better than those in the paragraph quoted. It is agreed that the Arabic كبر means 'great,' and, where the context implies it, 'a man of great age.' But the context must imply it; عجز كبير means 'an old man,' and *perhaps* عجز كبيرة 'an old woman'; but without the words شيخ and عجز before them or the word يرق after them they do not mean 'old.' Now this word 'great' has an obvious cognate in Ethiopic, meaning 'great' in the sense of 'glorious.' How 'great' as applied to position is more 'spiritual' or 'figurative' than as applied to age does not appear; for 'an old woman' does not suggest greatness in the material sense. But to connect ለቢር with كبر when that root is already otherwise represented in Ethiopic, and solely on the ground that some Arabic analogue must be found for it, appears to be following antiquated methods.

The next etymology is even less satisfactory. The Arabic كرج does not mean 'to be old,' but 'to be green or mouldy' of bread. In the Dictionary Dillmann abandons this rather wild shot, and makes some other suggestions.

The next sentence, "in several Ethiopic words ሐ, ኀ are very commonly exchanged for ስ," leaves something to be desired in point of clearness. Does it mean that the following words are alternative forms of the same, and differ merely in spelling? This does not appear to be true; the two words for 'to be unclean' seem to be

distinct, and no more confounded in the consciousness of those who used the language than 'foul' and 'vile' are with us. But since 'several' is less inclusive than 'commonly,' it is difficult to interpret the words otherwise.

In what follows the better light of the Dictionary has not been used to correct the statements of 1857. In the Dictionary the supposed connection between ሐረግ and ከረግ is rightly given up. The former word is written there ሐረሰ, 'parturire,' rightly connected with the Arabic خُرس, 'cibus paratus ob mulieris partum.' Examples of the occurrence of this word are given in *Maṭālī' al-Budūr*, ii, 44.

If ሐሐወ can be connected with both خاس and كذب, it can only be so as the result of a complicated historical process. The history of the obscure roots خوس and خيس suggests no connection with a verb meaning 'to lie'; the old grammarians know little about either; apparently خيس first appears in connection with camels—Ibn Hisham, 173, بازل بين السديس و خيس, said to mean 'not allowed to go to pasture'; *ibid.*, 458, ان مطايا القوم لا تخيس; afterwards 'to emaciate,' *Aghānī*, viii, 190, و خيسن حتى و خيس نافتن, which comes near the sense 'to be valueless.' Probably the *Lisān al-'Arab* is correct in giving خاس the sense 'to remain in one place,' whence the senses 'to be stagnant,' 'grow corrupt' arise; and the beginnings of the sense 'to deceive' are found in the expression خاس ميعادك (*Yāqūt, Irshād*, i, 313). But the connection of this verb with كذب must be described as a wild shot.

In the year 1857 this paragraph was probably unobjectionable; in 1907 it is deserving of censure. It is therefore to be regretted that Dr. Crichton's abilities have not been devoted to some better task than the reproduction of antiquated German work. A grammar of the Ethiopic

language compiled by himself in accordance with the newest lights would be far more creditable to British scholarship, and such a task it is not too late for him to undertake.

2. PROVERBES ABYSSINS, traduits, expliqués, et annotés par JACQUES FAITLOVITCH, Docteur ès lettres. Paris: Geuthner, 1907.

The opening out of Abyssinia has led to some demand for works dealing with the modern dialects spoken in that country. M. Faitlovitch's collection of proverbs will be generally welcome, as a help both in acquiring the Amharic language, and in learning to understand the spirit of the people, of which only one side, we may hope, is known from the work of Ruppell. The Abyssinian outlook on life would from these specimens appear to be similar to that of other nations, for most of the proverbs can be paralleled quite near home, though the illustrations employed sometimes differ; thus, where we speak of shutting the stable-door after the horse has been stolen, the Abyssinian thinks of the dog barking after the hyæna has gone by. The editor has given the proverbs in the Amharic script, with transcription, translation, and commentary, and has added a useful introduction, dealing with the bibliography of the subject and the territorial expansion of the Abyssinian dialects.

3. PROBEN AUS AMHARISCHEM VOLKSMUNDE. Mitgeteilt von EUGEN MITTWOCH. Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Jahrgang X, Abteilung 2.

This is a collection somewhat similar to the last, only more varied in character, containing stories and songs, as well as proverbs and jests. Dr. Mittwoch obtained them from Aleka Taje, teacher at the Seminar für Orientalische

Sprachen. He has bestowed great pains on the nuances of the pronunciation, and has endeavoured to reproduce these in his transliteration; learners will derive great help from his labours, though the words at first look somewhat unfamiliar in consequence. His collection of proverbs appears to be quite distinct from No. 2.

4. EXZERPTE AUS DEM KORAN IN AMHARISCHER SPRACHE. Mitgeteilt von EUGEN MITTWOCH. As above, Jahrgang IX, Abteilung 2.

This is a collection of passages translated into Amharic for the use of the native scholar mentioned in the last review by two Moslem friends. The Arabic texts were transliterated into Amharic characters and then interpreted in the Amharic language. The translators were not quite equal to their task, and even in the familiar لا ريب فيه mistake ريب for عيب. This chrestomathy is, however, a very welcome addition to the literature of the Amharic language.

5. ABESSINISCHE GLOSSEN, von E. LITTMANN. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XXI.

This is a collection of three glossaries—Tigré-Turkish, Tigré-Arabic, and Ethiopic-Amharic. The second is by far the longest, and is interesting as a monument of Egyptian Arabic. The first, consisting of eight glosses only, contains three puzzles: the Turkish for 'there is' is given as *yöl*, for 'go away' *binâ'âdam*, for 'he is gone' *daldâl*. Since the first of these words is the ordinary Turkish for 'way,' the second somewhat like the Turkish for 'a thousand paces,' and the third something like the Turkish for 'plunge, plunge,' perhaps the glossator was mistaken or the glosses have got attached by accident to words to which they were not originally assigned.

INDIAN THOUGHT: A Quarterly devoted to Sanskrit Literature: edited by G. THIBAUT and GANGANATHA JHA. Allahabad: 1907.

This new Journal, of which there have come to hand Nos. 1, 2, and 3, pages 1 to 334, of vol. i, for January, April, and July, 1907, promises to be of considerable interest. The object of the editors, who have various scholars co-operating with them, is to devote it partly to the translation into English of important Sanskrit works,—chiefly of the philosophical class, but including also grammar, astronomy, law, and other departments,—and partly to original papers dealing with the literature of India in all its various branches, and with its antiquities. And reviews are to be given of any works falling within the scope of the Journal.

In the three parts now before us, we have instalments of translations of the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakāḍya* of Śrī-Harṣa which probably dates from before the eighth century and is presented to us as being the most famous and important of those Vedānta treatises which emphasize the negative or sceptical side of that system, and of the *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha* of Vidyāranya-Mādhavācārya which exhibits in a concise form the contents of Prakāśātman's *Vivaraṇa* or elucidation of Padmapādācārya's *Pañcapādikā* or gloss on Śaṅkarācārya's great commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. And we have also the first three instalments of an Historical Survey of Indian Astronomy by Professor Thibaut, than whom no one is more competent to instruct us on that interesting topic: in the introductory note to this, a graceful tribute is paid to the memory of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, whose early death removed a scholar who was competent to take a leading part in this line of research.

The editors announce that they have in course of preparation translations of the *Nyāyamajjari* and the *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa*, an analysis of Kumārilaḥṭṭa's

Ślōkavārttika, and a new translation, with a full commentary, of the Sūrya-Siddhānta, based on an original commentary by Pandit Sudhakara Dvivedin who is already well known as Professor Thibaut's collaborator in editing the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. And they notify that translations are contemplated of the Mādhyama-siddhāntasāra, the Nyāyabhāṣyavārttika, the Dhvanyālōka, the Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, and, in the department of law, the Viramirodaya and the Mitākṣarā.

With this programme before us, and with the sample of performance given to us in the first three parts, we may cordially commend this new publication to the favourable consideration of our readers.

INDIAN HISTORICAL SERIES: Vol. I, EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOLANKIS, Part I, by GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA. Ajmer: the Naidika Yantralaya Press: 1907.

This is the first result of a commendable undertaking begun by Mr. Ojha with a view to imparting to his compatriots, in the Hindī language, a knowledge of the ancient history of their country. As is indicated in the introductory note, the work is, of course, chiefly based on the inscriptions edited by European and Native scholars in the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and other publications. Mr. Ojha shews, however, that he has not simply taken over the results arrived at by others, but has weighed the epigraphic bases for himself, as also the translations of the writings of 'Maigesthiniz, Ārian, Kartias Rūfas, Plutārk, Dāyodōras, Jastin, Tālamī, Fāhiān, Huentsang, Sungyung, Ukaung, Itsing,' and others: and he has not hesitated to express opinions of his own when he has found reason to differ from the views arrived at by other inquirers. As regards the scope of the present

instalment,—the term Solanki is used as the established vernacular form of the name which in the inscriptions is presented as Calukya, Cālukya, Caulukya, and in various other forms; and Mr. Ojha has exhibited here the history of the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi (about A.D. 550 to 757), of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi (A.D. 973 to 1189), and of the Eastern Calukyas of Veṅgi (A.D. 615 to about 1146). We wish him success in his undertaking, and hope that he may arouse an interest in antiquarian research which will result in the bringing to light, from a part of India which must possess many such remains, ancient inscriptions which, without local assistance, are beyond the ken of even the most zealous searchers.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1907.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

November 12th, 1907.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mrs. Blanche Eleanor Dutton,
 Miss Shaila Bala Das,
 Sir C. A. Elliott, K.C.S.I.,
 Sir J. Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.,
 Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of Kanika,
 Mr. Tirjugi Narayan Chadha,
 Mr. Alexander Smith Cochran,
 Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.,
 Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S.,
 Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hasan,
 Mr. Gustav Theodore von Holst,
 Qazi Talammuz Husain,
 Maulvi Sakhawat Husain,
 Maung Ba Kyaw,
 Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed,
 Colonel John Pennycuik, R.E. (ret.),
 Shaikh Abdul Qadir,
 Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia,
 Mr. Lovat George Fraser,
 Mr. C. W. McMinn, I.C.S. (ret.),

Rev. H. Anderson Meaden,
Rev. W. Sutton Page,
Srimán Muttusvāmi Sivānandhi Vaidyeśvara
Mudhaliyar.

Sir Mortimer Durand read the following paper :—

NADIR SHAH.

We have seen in the course of the present generation a great stirring of the dry bones in the East, and among the nations which seem to be waking to a new life is the ancient monarchy of Persia.

I need not go into details with regard to the remarkable movement which has swept over the face of the land, but it is one which has shaken the established order of things to its foundations. Fourteen years ago, when I went to Tehran, Persia was an Oriental monarchy of the old type. The Shah, Nasr ed din, was an autocratic ruler who could do exactly as he pleased, and there was not a semblance of popular rights, or the least desire on the part of the people to put any check upon his power. As in Russia a few years ago, the people in general regarded the monarch as their God-given ruler, to whom they looked for protection against ill-treatment on the part of Ministers or provincial Governors. His word was as the word of God Himself.

It is true that the Shah was obliged to pay some regard to the feeling of his priesthood, who, though not beloved by the Persians, had yet considerable power of giving trouble. It is true also that, like other Oriental rulers, the Shah had, for his own convenience, entrusted the administration of the country, with very full powers, to his Wazir, and this Wazir, the late Sadr Azem, believing himself to be indispensable, behaved towards the Shah at times with much arrogance; but everyone knew that if it came to a serious conflict between the Shah and the Mullahs or

between the Shah and his Minister, and the Shah chose to exert himself, his will would certainly prevail. This was shown when Nasr ed din's son and successor, a much weaker ruler than himself, suddenly deposed the Sadr Azem in 1896. Neither the Sadr Azem nor his friends the Mullahs, whose support he had always studiously cultivated, made the slightest attempt at resistance.

In every Oriental monarchy there always remains the one check which nature has imposed upon despotic power, the possibility that the nation may revolt against intolerable tyranny, and Persia was no exception to the rule, but practically there was no other check upon the omnipotence of the Shah.

The position now is very different. There has been a sudden upheaval, and, as in Russia, the autocratic power of the monarch has been overthrown with extraordinary suddenness. A representative assembly sitting in Tehran now dictates to the Shah on all sorts of matters, turning out ministries, and refusing taxation, and behaving generally as if it were the strongest power in the country. The Shah has subscribed to a new Constitution, granting to all classes of his subjects rights which they would not have dreamt of claiming ten years ago, and the most powerful and popular Minister Persia has seen for the last fifty years has been murdered on suspicion of being opposed to the reform movement. Not only that, but the murder is openly defended in Tehran, and the Shah's own entourage, if the newspapers are to be believed, have signified their adhesion to the party of reform. It is enough to make old Nasr ed din turn in his grave!

What will be the outcome of this upheaval no one can venture to predict. It may end in foreign interference, or a return to autocratic rule, or the permanent triumph of democracy. It may end in the regeneration of Persia. But one thing is certain, that the Persian nation has been deeply stirred.

In these circumstances it has occurred to me that it might be of some interest and advantage to turn back to the last occasion upon which there was a great upheaval in Persia, and to see what the Persian people is capable of doing.

You all know the history of the great soldier Nadir Kuli, who raised himself from the position of a penniless adventurer to the throne of Persia, and swept with his conquering armies all Western Asia from Bagdad to Delhi and from Khiva to Muscat. I need not enter into the details of his career. What I wish to point out is that he was a Persian, and that he made the Persians once more for a time the strongest power in Asia. He was, it is true, a Turkoman by descent and language, not a Persian-speaking inhabitant of Fars. But Iran, or Persia as the world has chosen to call it, consists of a number of different populations and tribes, among whom are several tribes of Turkomans, for example the Afshars, to which Nadir belonged, and the Kajars, who have given Persia its present dynasty. The members of all those populations and tribes consider themselves as Iranis. Nadir, though a Turkoman, was an Irani, just as much as if he had been born a Bakhtiari or a Feili Lur, or a Beluch from the Eastern provinces, or an Arab from the Karun Valley, or a Kurd from the western border. All these tribes and many more are still included or represented within the borders of Iran. I can myself remember hearing a Bakhtiari chief, who had the greatest contempt for the Persians of the cities and plains, speak of himself as an Irani. And when I asked him whether the Bakhtiaris generally spoke of themselves by this designation he answered: "Chira, Sahib? Why not? We are Bakhtiaris, but we are Iranis of course. All the Iliat, the nomad tribes, are Iranis. Some of us are Deh Nishin, sitters in villages. Some are not, but all are Iranis." Whatever distinctions one may draw between the various inhabitants of Persia, they are all Iranis—

Persians. Nadir was a Persian, and in the main it was the Persians to whom he owed his wonderful success.

Now, without going into great detail, what were his achievements?

When his name first began to attract attention he was a freebooter, a *rah san*, or striker of roads, in the Khorasan province. He had been in the service of the Governor of Khorasan, and had distinguished himself by beating off and dispersing a large force of Turkomans from the steppes, the dreaded 'Adam farush,' or man-sellers. The reward of his courage and capacity had been jealousy and hatred on the part of other Persian officers, the men who had been jobbed into military commands by influence at Court, and they had brought about his disgrace. The conqueror of the Turkomans was even subjected to the ignominy of the bastinado. Then he turned against his persecutors and took to the road. Very soon the cowardice and incompetence of the people about the Court achieved the ruin of the country, and when Nadir had established himself as a professional bandit with a following of two or three thousand free lances Persia had fallen to the lowest point she has ever reached. An army of Afghans, contemptible in numbers and with no organisation, had overrun the western half of the country and set up an Afghan dynasty in the old capital of Ispahan. Tehran and Kasvin also were in their hands. The Turks had advanced from the opposite direction and seized the Eastern provinces, until Turk and Afghan met. The Russians had come down from the north into what is called the 'silk country,' and were established in Gilan. The wretched successor of the Persian monarchs was a fugitive in the jungles which lie between the Elburz range and the Caspian coast, and of all the once mighty empire of Iran nothing remained to him but a few poor and almost inaccessible districts in Mazanderan and Irak. We have been accustomed to regard the Persia

of our day as a decadent kingdom, melting away, as a Persian statesman put it, like a piece of sugar in a saucer of water; but the Persia of our day never sank so low as the Persia of 1727. Yet what followed? In that year the freebooter offered his services to the fugitive Shah, who accepted them gladly, and soon afterwards made Nadir his commander-in-chief. Nadir at once proceeded to attack the Afghans, whose real weakness he saw from the first. His Persians fought well when well led and well paid. In a year or two the Persians were once more masters of Khorasan, Ispahan, and Shiraz. Then the victorious general, to whose standards the Persians flocked with enthusiasm, dethroned the Shah and turned upon the Turks. We all know what soldiers the Turks are. Yet after one success they were beaten by the Persians in great battles and driven back to the walls of Bagdad. Finally, such was the fear inspired by Nadir and his Persian army that the Russians evacuated without firing a shot the provinces they had occupied. In 1736, nine years after the freebooter had offered his services to the Persian monarch, he was himself crowned Shah, and found himself the ruler of an Iran which stretched once more from the Tigris to the Afghan border and from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly what proportion of Nadir's army was then drawn from Persia. Some of the beaten Afghans had entered his service as soldiers of fortune, and he had enlisted in Khorasan some of the nomad Turkomans and some Uzbegs from Balkh, but certainly the bulk of his force was Persian, and it was supported entirely from the revenues of Persia. Up to that point, at least, the regeneration of Persia was mainly the work of her own sons.

Then Nadir Shah's ambition lured him on to schemes of foreign conquest. First he turned upon the Afghans and made them pay dearly for their raid into Persia.

Candahar was taken after a long siege, in which the Bakhtiaris from Central Persia greatly distinguished themselves. Then Kabul fell, and Nadir established there a garrison of his Kizlbash, the descendants of whom remain to the present day. They were Persians. Possibly they were in part Turki Persians from the more warlike tribes of the north. The very word is Turki. But the word was in use before Nadir's day to describe the soldiers of the Persian monarchy. These Kizlbash were undoubtedly Iranis.

Having made himself master of Kabul, Nadir marched on to India, and you all know what followed. The Indian armies, disheartened by the incompetence and treachery of their leaders, made little resistance, and the Mogul emperor was soon a prisoner in his own capital. After two months stay in Delhi, Nadir Shah marched away again, loaded with colossal plunder, and having annexed to his dominions all the provinces of the Mogul Empire west of the Indus.

It is very interesting, by the bye, to study Nadir's way of making war. The Persian army in its advance on Delhi was covered by cavalry riding sixty to eighty miles in front, after the manner of Napoleon, and his methods were described by a contemporary writer in words which might have been applied to Napoleon, or his American imitator, Stonewall Jackson. Hanway writes of him: "In the conduct of his wars he ever preferred stratagems to force. His marches were always amazingly rapid, and his progress so irregular and contrary to the ordinary rules of war that he confounded his enemies."

The Persian army which took Delhi was a more heterogeneous force than the armies which had beaten the Afghans and Turks in Nadir's earlier campaigns. As he conquered fresh territory Nadir incorporated with his troops contingents from the conquered populations, readily attracted to his standards by high pay regularly disbursed, and by the prospect of plunder under so mighty a leader.

The Persian troops, though still generally spoken of as Kizlbash, included not only bodies of horse and foot from among the Georgians and Bakhtiariis and Kurds and Turkomans from Iran, but also a considerable number of Afghans and of Uzbegs from Balkh, whose Mongolian faces and savage ways struck with horror the more polished and gentle Indians. Yet in the main the conquering host was an Irani force under an Irani leader.

Having conquered India, Nadir proceeded to establish his power in the countries which we now call Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and then turned his arms against the Khanates of Turan and his old enemies the 'Adam farush.' He conquered Bokhara and Khiva, and returned to Persia by way of Merv, having signally defeated the Turkomans of the steppes on their own ground. In this expedition he was accompanied by a large contingent of Afghans, among others by several thousand Yusufzai foot-soldiers, who suffered severely in the Turkoman desert. On his return his army was swollen by many thousands of Uzbegs from Bokhara, Khiva, and Samarcand, and by some of the Turkoman nomads.

This was the zenith of Nadir's life. Until his return to Persia in 1741 his career had been one of almost unbroken success, with just enough of hardship and reverse to temper his character. His conquests had been dazzling in their rapidity and astonishing in their extent. In the short space of twelve years he had carried his victorious standards into capital after capital over a tract of country two thousand miles from east to west, and more than a thousand from north to south—a tract about equal in extent though not in population to that overrun by Napoleon two generations later. Like Napoleon he had done all this by the power of his own genius, rising to the heights of empire from the position of an obscure soldier of fortune. And in the main he had during that time shown himself to be as just and moderate and liberal as he was bold and skilful in war.

Shortly after his return to Persia, as he was marching from Meshed through the mountains towards Tehran, an attempt was made to assassinate him, an attempt from which he narrowly escaped. Rightly or wrongly he was led to attribute this to his eldest and favourite son, Reza Kuli, and not long afterwards Reza was blinded by his command.

It is difficult to say precisely at what date he gave this terrible order. When I was in Persia I tried to collect as much information as I could about Nadir's life, and I was struck by the paucity and contradictory nature of the information available. The traditions in existence among the Persians, whether written or oral, I found to be quite untrustworthy, and the standard works on Nadir's life are full of difficulties and contradictions. As an instance I may mention the account given by the English merchant Hanway, who was in Persia in 1744. When he is writing about events of which he was an eye-witness Hanway seems to be very careful and trustworthy, but when he writes from hearsay he makes some astonishing errors. For example, when he takes up the story of Nadir's life at the point at which Fraser's history ends, after his expedition to India, Hanway makes Nadir march his armies from Peshawar to Kabul, from Kabul to Sind, from Sind to Khorasan, from Khorasan to Balkh, Bokhara, and Khiva, and from Khiva back to Persia by way of Merv, all in the space of six or seven months. From a rough computation this would mean marching over ten miles a day — perhaps nearer fifteen — without a day's halt. The Persian official historian Mirza Mehdi is equally impossible to follow. He seems to skip a year altogether. Malcolm and Maynard have apparently worked out these puzzles in a more or less satisfactory manner, but much remains to be done before the events of Nadir's life are arranged in accurate sequence, if indeed this can ever be done now. I confess that after working at Nadir's life on

and off for several years I have found it quite impossible to reconcile the bewildering contradictions with regard to this question, the date of Reza Khan's blinding, which was the real turning-point of Nadir's career.

However, the question of date is one of no great importance. In any case, not long after Nadir's return from his conquest of India and the Central Asian Khanates, his fortunes began to decline, and his character seemed to undergo a surprising change. About the same time that he blinded his son he entered upon his expedition against the Lesgian mountaineers of the Caucasus, about whom the Persians had a proverb, "If any Shah is a fool, let him march against the Lesgis." They had incensed him by defeating and killing his brother. The great army which Nadir set in motion for this unfortunate expedition—Nadir's Moscow—is said to have amounted to 150,000 men, and it is certain that a large part of it consisted of Afghans and other foreigners. The advanced guard of the army, the first to attack the mountaineers, was an Afghan contingent. It is none the less true that the bulk of his army consisted of Persians or Iranis.

The expedition was disastrous. Nadir did indeed penetrate the Lesgian mountains, and established himself in their rear at Derbend on the Caspian. He tried hard, with the aid of a brave but unfortunate English sailor, Elton, to organise a Caspian navy, so as to turn the Caucasus entirely. But his troops suffered many defeats, and lost heavily in numbers and confidence in the course of their mountain warfare. The result was not only to disorganise and discourage them, but to bring upon Nadir a host of other difficulties. The Russians, alarmed for the safety of their own frontier, gave moral, if not material, support to the brave mountaineers. The Turks, smarting under their many defeats at the hands of the Persians, and apparently regarding as a serious menace Nadir's boast that one day he would plant his

standards on the shores of the Bosphorus, began to make large preparations for war. Worst of all, the news that Nadir's career of conquest had at last been checked spread like wildfire throughout his own dominions, and the tribes of Iran, weary of incessant warfare, which was draining the country of its men and its treasure, began to show a mutinous spirit. The funds required for the payment of the troops became more and more difficult to raise, and soon, from north and east and south, came news of risings and revolts. All these misfortunes coming together, enraged Nadir Shah to the verge of frenzy. Remorse and sorrow for the fate of his son had already made him gloomy and fierce. A dropsical disease which had attacked him in India grew more serious. He began to lose the moderation and justice and sense of humour which had hitherto distinguished him. The exactions necessary for the support of his army, which cost him about £5,000,000 a year, became intolerable. The punishments he inflicted grew year by year more unsparing and savage. The country behind him was gradually depopulated, and the admiration which he had inspired among the Persians changed into fear and hatred.

Nevertheless, for a few years more he fought on with fine courage and skill against his enemies, foreign and domestic. In 1744 he quelled the revolts in Persia with fearful slaughter, his veteran troops, weary of war as they were, falling upon the rebels with a cool and ordered rage which no untrained levies could withstand. At the same time he marched against the Turks and completely defeated them, until at last they took shelter within the walls of Kars. When he made peace with them he stood out once more as the greatest soldier of his time, and the lustre of the Persian arms, which had been momentarily tarnished in the defiles of Daghestan, was again resplendent.

The Englishman Hanway visited his camp in 1744 and has left on record a detailed statement of the composition of the Persian army. It is interesting to study his figures

and see what proportion of the force was Irani. He relates a conversation which he had with a leading merchant of Kasvin when on his road to the camp. This man said to him: "Who was it that restored the Persian Empire but the Persians? and who assisted the king to conquer India but the Persians? He has now a foreign force and governs us with an army of Tartars." This was a picturesque exaggeration. It is known that during this time Nadir was levying recruits from Persia in large numbers. The city of Ispahan alone gave him a thousand yearly. Hanway, who saw the faults of the Persians clearly enough, says of them that they "are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers." Still, the proportion of foreigners was undoubtedly large. Hanway mentions in his list "fifty thousand Afghans," "six thousand Ouzbeqs, Tartars of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand," and "six thousand Turkuman Tartars of Turkomania." It is evident from what he says that this was not all, and it seems likely enough that at this time not far from a half of Nadir's army was non-Persian.

It is unnecessary to linger over the closing year of Nadir's life. The picture is a sad one, for no one can help admiring Nadir's character in his earlier days. The possession of uncontrolled power was fatal to it, as it seems always to be fatal. And he had had a hard life. As Napoleon said: "*On vieillit bien vite sur le champ de bataille.*" By this time, to quote Hanway, "from an incessant fatigue and labour of mind, attended with some infirmities of body, he had contracted a diabolical fierceness, with a total insensibility of human sufferings." His countrymen were now his enemies. He had begun his career by alienating the Persian priesthood, and he had now alienated the rest of the people by the hatred which he showed to them, a hatred so fierce that Hanway believes he would have gladly cut off the whole nation at one stroke if he could have done without them. After a year

or more of fearful horrors inflicted upon them, horrors which make one feel that the great conqueror's mind was now thoroughly unhinged, they became persuaded that he did in fact contemplate a general massacre of his Persian troops with the aid of his Afghans and Tartars. The Persian officers in his army thereupon decided to save themselves by the only means in their power, and in June, 1747, Nadir was assassinated in his camp by his own Persian guards.

The accounts of the assassination agree in relating that the Afghans and Uzbeks, led by Nadir's foremost lieutenant, the Afghan Ahmed Khan, afterwards himself a great conqueror, attacked the Persians to avenge the death of their great leader, but were beaten off. This story seems to be true. It would appear, therefore, that they could hardly have been in superior force.

To sum up, I think it may fairly be said that in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Persian Empire had fallen to the lowest point it has ever reached, a Persian soldier of fortune, aided mainly by Persian troops, which were supported entirely from the resources of Persia—for Nadir hardly touched his great reserve, the treasure plundered from India—not only shook off a foreign yoke, but for a time raised Persia to the first place among the Asiatic powers. When the conqueror turned against his own people they slew him. With him no doubt fell the supremacy of Persia; but the country has ever since retained her independence and a great territory. She is now in a far better condition than she was when Nadir first drew sword in her cause.

I think that at the present time these facts give food for thought. Of course, the days are past when a Persian monarch leading a Persian army could hope to sweep over half Asia, and defeat or frighten Turkey and India and Russia. All I wish to point out is that even in comparatively recent times Persia has shown herself to

be capable of great things. The world has changed since then, and it seems unlikely that Persia will ever again be one of the leading powers of Asia; but she is a country of great latent resources, with a quick-witted people, a large proportion of whom are not the contemptible cowards which misrule and misunderstanding have sometimes made them appear. Persians still speak of Nadir Shah with admiration and pride, and rightly so, for not only did he free his country from a foreign yoke, but he revived the spirit of her people and left them a great tradition. In the hands of a capable Government Persia may still be a respectable power, and her voice may yet count for something in the councils of the East.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hoey, Mr. Irvine, Syed Ameer Ali, Professor Hagopian, Dr. Thornton, and the Chairman took part.

December 17th, 1907.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. H. D. Watson, I.C.S.,

Mr. R. C. Hobart, I.C.S.,

Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha,

Sirdar Kahan Singh,

Mr. Narsingh Prasad.

The President made mention of the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Mr. E. L. Brandreth, who had been Hon. Treasurer of the Society for 17 years, and who had been made an Hon. Vice-President in 1906.

A vote of condolence to Mr. Brandreth's family was passed.

Mrs. Bullock Workman read a paper on "Ascents in the North-West Himalayas," illustrated with lantern views.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Bd. lxi, Heft 3.

Stumme (H.). Mittheilungen eines Schillj über seine marokkanische Heimat.

Schmidt (R.). Amitagati's Subhāṣitasamdoha.

Francke (A. H.). Historische Dokumente von Khalatse in West-Tibet.

Praetorius (F.). Äthiopische Etymologien.

Streck (M.). Bemerkungen zu einigen arabischen Fischnamen.

Leumann (E.). Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühern Mittelalter.

Grierson (G. A.). A Specimen of the Khas or Naipāli Language.

Lidzbarski (M.). Das Mandäische Seelenbuch.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série x, Tome ix, No. 3.

Meynard (A. C. Barbier de). Surnoms et soubriquets dans la littérature arabe.

Revillout (E.). Le papyrus moral de Leide.

Kugener (A.). Note sur l'inscription trilingue de Zébed.

Tome x, No. 1.

Boyer (A. M.). L'inscription de Sarnāth et ses parallèles d'Allahābād et de Sanchi.

Meillet (A.). Le dieu indo-iranien Mitra.

Tome x, No. 2.

Basset (René). Le siège d'Almería en 709 (1309–1310).

Mondon-Vidailhet (M.). La rhétorique éthiopienne.

Addai Seher (Mgr.). Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir.

III. T'oung Pao. Série II, Vol. viii, No. 3.

- Saussure (L. de). Le Texte astronomique du Yao-Tien.
 Laufer (B.). Zur buddhistischen Litteratur der Uiguren.

IV. JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. xxxviii.

- Morse (H. B.). Currency in China.
 Williams (C. T.). Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code.
 Kingsmill (T. W.). The two Zodiacs, their Origin and Connections.

V. TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE JAPAN SOCIETY, LONDON. Vol. vii, Part 2.

- Takakusu (J.). Buddhism as we find it in Japan.

VI. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. i, Fasc. 1.

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 Gubernatis (A. de). Il Quarto Veda, tradotto e commentato dal Whitney, edito dal Lanman.
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 Puini (G.). Il Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra nella traduzione cinese di Pe-fa-tsu, e il primo Concilio di Rājagriha.
 Nocentini (L.). Specchio prezioso del cuor puro. Massime cinesi.

VII. ANTHROPOS. Tome ii, Heft 6.

- Bouriet (A.). Les Thay.
 Cadière (L.). Philosophie populaire annamite.
 Berse (L.). Un ancien document inédit sur les Todas.

VIII. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxi, No. 3.

- Franke (O.). Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa.
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IX. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. xxxv, Part 1.

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X. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

X.

THE NATIONS OF INDIA AT THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE PANDAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

By F. E. PARGITER.

THIS paper explains how the nations and tribes of India were arrayed in the great war of the Pāṇḍavas against the Kauravas, and the annexed map illustrates the position by exhibiting the names of the countries and peoples in different colours, those supporting the Pāṇḍavas being printed in blue ink, and the Kauravas and their allies in red, while those which were neutral and all collateral details are printed in black ink. It has been prepared at Dr. Grierson's suggestion in order to ascertain whether the division has any ethnographical significance with reference to his researches into the languages of India.

It is based entirely on the Mahābhārata. All the data adduced are taken from that work, and I have not gone outside of it, even to the Hari-Vaṃśa, to supplement or modify what the Mahābhārata itself says. To enter into questions of criticism of that encyclopædia is no part of the present discussion. The aim is a much humbler one; it is to let the book speak for itself, and to put together all that it says about the formation of the two hostile

confederacies. The story, with its interspersed explanations and allusions, is taken just as it stands, and the incidents narrated (excluding, of course, the miraculous) are treated as if real. It is only in this way that, in the first instance at least, one can attempt to estimate whether the account of the great battle and of the nations engaged in it yields any information about the ethnographical divisions of ancient India. The edition of the *Mahābhārata* used is the Calcutta edition of 1834.

The Pāṇḍavas had delivered Virāṭa, king of Matsya, from the combined cattle-lifting raid of the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana, and the Trigartas, led by Suśarman, and Virāṭa, in gratitude, bestowed his daughter Uttarā on Arjuna's son Abhimanyu.¹ The nuptials were solemnised at his capital Upaplavya, and in response to invitations there came the following kings and princes:—Kṛṣṇa with the Daśārhas from Ānarta, the king of Kāśī and the king of Śivi, who were very friendly to the Pāṇḍavas, Drupada Yajñasena, Śikhaṇḍin, and Dhṛṣṭadyumna of Pañcāla; and also others apparently who are not named definitely.² As the period of the Pāṇḍavas' exile had come to an end, the occasion was deemed a fitting one for them to demand that they should be restored to their former position, and negotiations were opened.³

Kṛṣṇa and his attendant princes were closely allied to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and friendship, for he and they were first cousins,⁴ Arjuna had married his sister Subhadṛā,⁵ and he and Arjuna were like brothers. Kṛṣṇa and his kinsmen, however, did not then wholly commit themselves to the support of the Pāṇḍavas, and returned home after the marriage.⁶ Drupada proposed that the Pāṇḍavas, while demanding their kingdom or at

¹ iv, 2313-47.

² iv, 2348-70.

³ v, 24, etc.

⁴ Their mother Prthā Kuntī was his father Vasudeva's sister.

⁵ i, Subhadṛā-haraṇa-p.

⁶ v, 100.

least five villages, should send messengers to all the kings to solicit their aid, so as to forestall Duryodhana, according to the maxim that right-minded persons respond to the request of those who first importune them.¹ That was done,² but Duryodhana, who kept himself informed of their proceedings by means of spies, sent out appeals also immediately afterwards.³

The support of Kṛṣṇa and his kinsmen princes was a matter of great importance to each party, and Duryodhana and Arjuna each hastened to Dvārakā to solicit their help.⁴ Kṛṣṇa took a middle course. He joined the Pāṇḍavas as a non-combatant ally, and sent a large body of warlike cowherds called Nārāyaṇas to fight for Duryodhana.⁵ The Yādavas and their tribes (or families), the Bhojas, Āndhakas (or Āndhas), Vṛṣṇis, Sātvas, Mādhavas, Daśārhas, Āhukas, and Kukuras, were not altogether at one in their sympathies. Most of them naturally sided with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and thus Yuyudhāna, Cekitāna, and other princes actively joined the Pāṇḍavas; but Kṛtavarma joined Duryodhana,⁶ though no definite reason is apparent why he took that course in opposition to the rest of the Yādavas. It may, however, be noted that, while all these princes are called Vṛṣṇi, Sātva, etc., Kṛtavarma alone among them is called a Bhoja.⁷ As a Bhoja, therefore, he would have approximated to the other Bhojas, who dwelt on the east of the Sahya mountains, and so had connections with Vidarbha and Māhiṣmatī. The other princes all lived apparently on the west side of those mountains; Kṛṣṇa's capital was Dvārakā, and Yuyudhāna lived in Ānarta.⁸

In reply to the messages for aid, kings hastened in from all quarters. Śalya, king of Madra, set out to join the

¹ v, 70-89.

² v, 129.

³ v, 104, 132.

⁴ v, 133-4.

⁵ v, 144-52; vii, 3255; viii, 1077.

⁶ v, 570, 586-7, 2233-4; ix, 1069-84.

⁷ v, 5737; viii, 1070, 4065; ix, 1623.

⁸ ix, 947.

Pāṇḍavas, the two youngest of whom were his sister's sons¹; but Duryodhana interposed before he reached them and won him over by lavish hospitality and earnest entreaty.² The other kings took sides definitely. The leading kings are named, and each came with an *akṣauhiṇī* of troops. Seven ranged themselves on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and ten on the Kauravas' side; thus the Pāṇḍavas had seven *akṣauhiṇīs*, and the Kauravas had with their own army eleven *akṣauhiṇīs*.³ It is important to note their names, because it seems to be implied that their troops comprised all the miscellaneous races and tribes which are mentioned in the course of the long battle. No fresh combatants appear to have come in afterwards except Rākṣasas and Nāgas. Each of the leading kings must therefore have brought not only his own soldiers but also contingents summoned from surrounding tribes which acknowledged his overlordship. This is stated expressly with reference to certain of the kings, such as Yuyudhāna, Drupada, Virāṭa, Bhagadatta, and Sudakṣiṇa, in the following list; and it would seem from such statements, not only that the kings brought contingents from subordinate tribes, but also that some of them, such as Yuyudhāna and Drupada, had bodies of mercenaries. The leading kings on each side then were these.

Two lists are given of those on the Pāṇḍavas' side,⁴ and they name—(1) Yuyudhāna Sātyaki⁵ of the Sātvas, with an army of soldiers, many of whom were from various countries; (2) Cekitāna⁶; (3) Dhr̥ṣṭaketu, king of Cedi⁷;

¹ vi, 3681; i, 3816; v, 199.

² v, 172-90; ix, 310-11.

³ An *akṣauhiṇī* is stated to comprise 21,870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 cavalry, and 109,350 foot-soldiers (i, 293-8). These are impossible numbers, even including camp-followers. Another reckoning is given in v, 3264-7, where it is stated that the term *akṣauhiṇī* was commonly used as more or less synonymous with the names for smaller bodies of troops.

⁴ v, 570-83 and 2233-54.

⁵ He was a Vṛṣṇi, v, 2006, 7045.

⁶ He was of the Vṛṣṇis, vi, 3715; and of the Sātvas, vi, 3718-20.

⁷ Son of Śiśupāla, v, 5900.

(4) Jayatsena, or rather Sahadeva,¹ son of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha; (5) Drupada, king of Pāncāla, whose army comprised soldiers from various countries, with all his princes and sons; (6) Virāṭa, king of Matsya, who brought mountain (pārvatīya) chiefs in his train; and (7) either the king of Pāṇḍya with troops of various kinds from the sea-coast countries, or five Kaikeya brother-princes,² of whom Vṛhatkṣattra was chief³ (for there is a difference between the two lists).

On the Kauravas' side were⁴—(1) Bhagadatta, king of Prāgiyotiṣa, with Cīnas and Kirātas in his force; (2) Bhūriśravas, son of Somadatta⁵; (3) Śalya, king of Madra; (4) Kṛtavarman Hārdikya with Bhojas, Andhas, and Kukuras⁶; (5) Jayadratha⁷ and other kings of Sindhu and Sauvira; (6) Sudakṣiṇa, king of Kāmboja,⁸ with an army containing Yavanas and Śakas; (7) Nila, king of Māhiṣmati,⁹ with troops called Nilāyudhas from Dakṣiṇā-patha; (8) and (9) the two kings of Avanti, Vinda and Anuvinda,¹⁰ each with an akṣauhini; and (10) five brother-princes of the Kaikeyas, of whom Vinda was chief.¹¹

¹ Jayatsena is named expressly, v, 577; but he is placed on the Kauravas' side, v, 2503, vi, 623, and was killed on that side by Abhimanya, viii, 120. Jayatsena, therefore, in the first passage would seem to be an error for Sahadeva, see p. 316 below.

² Pāṇḍya is mentioned in v, 578-9, and the Kaikeya princes in v, 2240. Both were on the Pāṇḍavas' side and are often mentioned. The former was a reigning king, and the latter were princes ousted from their kingdom, see p. 317 below; yet the Kaikeya prince is said to have led an akṣauhini, vi, 3006.

³ vii, 972-3, 3971, 5021.

⁴ v, 583-95, with 2242-54; vi, 622-4 are corrupt.

⁵ v, 5742; vi, 3730-4.

⁶ He was a Bhoja, v, 2252, 5737; vii, 4429; and a Sātvata, vii, 3253.

⁷ He was son of Vṛddhakṣattra, king of Sindhu, vii, 6258-63; and was more especially king of Sindhu, v, 2186; vii, 6265-6.

⁸ i, 6996; v, 5274-5.

⁹ v, 5751.

¹⁰ vi, 3651; vii, 3682-94. They must be distinguished from two of the Kaikeya princes of the same names who were on the same side. The two Avanti kings were killed by Arjuna, vii, 3682-94. The two Kaikeya princes were killed by Sātyaki, viii, 507, 521-2.

¹¹ v, 594; viii, 402. See last note.

Reasons are given why these various kings took one side or the other, and those which influenced some to side with the Pāṇḍavas may be considered first.

Drupada, king of Pāñcāla, was father of Draupadi, and so the Pāṇḍavas' father-in-law. He was therefore deeply interested, and brought with him his ten sons, including Śikhaṇḍin,¹ and all the Pāñcāla princes who were headed by Dhṛṣṭadyumna.² They belonged to two families called the Sṛñjayas³ and Somakas,⁴ which are often mentioned in the course of the battle. Virāṭa, king of Matsya, was, as already mentioned, bound to the Pāṇḍavas by gratitude and intermarriage. Kṛṣṇa was, as already mentioned, attached to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and close friendship, yet both parties had been his friends;⁵ and though he did not take an active part in the fighting he warmly supported the Pāṇḍavas' cause, and advised and encouraged them to the utmost. His kinsmen Yuyudhāna Sātyaki⁶ and Cekitāna⁷ were not constrained by any connection with Duryodhāna, and joined the Pāṇḍavas with all their forces. But his brother Balarāma, feeling the difficulty of his position more acutely than Kṛṣṇa, refused to take any part in the contest and withdrew altogether.⁸ With the other Yādavas there came to the Pāṇḍavas' aid Purujit Kuntibhoja, who was king of Kuntirāṣṭra,⁹ for he was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, and had adopted as his daughter Vasudeva's sister Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁰

A brief account of political events that are mentioned will explain much of the reasons that influenced other kings. Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, had established

¹ v, 5100, 7397-7407, 7494-5.

² i, 7174; v, 5100, 5152, 5324, 7598. Draupadi's brother; v, 2891.

³ v, 64, 90. ⁴ i, 7174; v, 661-2. ⁵ v, 92, 140-1, 158, 5342.

⁶ ii, 125; v, 668, 5101, 5882, 7645. ⁷ v, 5101; vi, 3715.

⁸ v, 5347-9, 5387; ix, 1009-84. Both Bhīma and Duryodhana had been his pupils in the art of arms, v, 5346-7.

⁹ v, 5163, 5922; vi, 834, 1740.

¹⁰ i, 4382-3.

a supremacy over the kings in Eastern India, Madhyadeśa, and Central India, and his special adherents were Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, Vakra, king of Karūṣa, the kings of Vāṅga and Pundra (or Paundra).¹ Karna, king of Aṅga, was his ally, for he had given Karna that kingdom,² and Bhagadatta, king of Prāgiyotiṣa, was subservient to him.³ Bhīṣmaka, king of the Bhojas in Bhojakata and called king of Dākṣiṇātya, submitted to Jarāsandha, and separated from his kinsmen, viz., the other tribes of the Bhojas.⁴ The Kurus under Bhīṣma were Jarāsandha's allies, and the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis were brought into subjection by skilful policy.⁵ Purujit Kuntibhoja, the Pāṇḍavas' maternal grand-uncle, maintained some independence in the west of the Dekhan.⁶ Only eighteen families of Bhojas, who were settled in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, under Kṛṣṇa's leading stood out against Jarāsandha's ascendancy.⁷ These political developments unsettled many tribes and nations in Madhyadeśa, and some of them are said to have shifted their position westwards.⁸ In the turmoil Kṛṣṇa found full scope for his genius. Kaiśa, who was of the Bhoja race,⁹ married two daughters of Jarāsandha and became his vassal¹⁰; and strengthened by the alliance established himself in Mathurā¹¹ and tyrannized over all his kinsmen. Kṛṣṇa, forming a small combination, killed Kaiśa,¹² and placed Kaiśa's father Ugrasena on the throne at Mathurā¹³; and this deed provoked Jarāsandha's persistent hostility against him.¹⁴ Jarāsandha took up arms against him, but was foiled for a time. Afterwards, however, Kṛṣṇa and his adherents fled in fear to the extreme west and established themselves at Dvārakā.¹⁵

¹ ii, 571-84.² iii, 15052; xii, 134-5.³ ii, 579-80.⁴ ii, 585-8, 1115-16; v, 3350-1.⁵ v, 2054-6.⁶ ii, 580-1.⁷ ii, 589.⁸ ii, 590-3.⁹ vii, 388.¹⁰ vii, 387.¹¹ xii, 12954.¹² ii, 594-8; vi, 2609.¹³ v, 1885.¹⁴ ii, 761.¹⁵ ii, 599-625, 631-2.

When the Pāṇḍavas began their reign and aimed at independence and supremacy, they had to reckon first with Jarāsandha,¹ and Bhīma with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa killed him.² They installed his son Sahadeva³ in the kingdom of Magadha, and Sahadeva made friendship with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.⁴ The confederacy then fell to pieces. The Āngas, Vāṅgas, Puṇḍras, and other nations in Eastern India stood apart under the hegemony of Karna, king of Āṅga,⁵ and Bhagadatta became independent in Prāgijyotiṣa. The Cedis and Kārūṣas formed a separate group under the leadership of Śiśupāla, king of Cedi; and Bhīsmaka regained his independence, and became friendly to the Pāṇḍavas.⁶ The most formidable king then was Śiśupāla, and Kṛṣṇa killed him.⁷ Śiśupāla's son Dhṛṣṭaketu became king of Cedi,⁸ and he and the Kārūṣa kings followed Kṛṣṇa's lead; and there was moreover a bond of consanguinity, for Śiśupāla's mother was sister to Kṛṣṇa's father and the Pāṇḍavas' mother Kuntī.⁹ The Cedis and Kārūṣas therefore sided with the Pāṇḍavas in the great war.¹⁰ Bhīsmaka's son Rukmin, whose sister Kṛṣṇa had married,¹¹ offered his support first to the Pāṇḍavas and afterwards to the Kauravas, but not being appreciated by either at his own estimation withdrew from the contest.¹²

In Magadha itself Jarāsandha's fall produced dissension, and Sahadeva, though placed on the throne, did not apparently acquire more than the western part of the kingdom: for two other kings of Magadha are mentioned, Daṇḍadhāra and Daṇḍa,¹³ who reigned in Jarāsandha's

¹ ii, 625-33.² ii, 929-30.³ ii, 594-5, 884, 962; v, 2325; xiv, 2436-44.⁴ ii, 962-6.⁵ ii, 1527.⁶ ii, 1166-7.⁷ ii, 1584; v, 669-71.⁸ v, 5900.⁹ ii, 1508; v, 5900. Nakula also married Dhṛṣṭaketu's sister, i, 3831; iii, 808.¹⁰ v, 669.¹¹ v, 1881, 5360.¹² v, 5366-87. He ruled over Bhojas and Āhukas, two tribes of the Yādavas, v, 5350-1, 5366.¹³ ii, 1090-1; viii, 688-704.

capital, Girivraja¹ (which was in the eastern part of the country), and are distinguished from Jarāsandha's son.² Sahadeva had a brother, Jayatsena or Jayasena,³ who seems to have possessed some sovereignty. Sahadeva sided with his friends Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas,⁴ and the two other kings, Daṇḍadhāra and Daṇḍa, naturally took the opposite course.⁵ So also did another Māgadha prince named Jalasandha,⁶ and Jayatsena seems to have done the same.⁷

Similar reasons are apparent why the five Kaikeya princes and the Pāṇḍya king joined the Pāṇḍavas. The former had been ousted from the Kaikeyas,⁸ for there was a contest between two families of royal cousins, each consisting of five brothers.⁹ They had been worsted, and were therefore in a position similar to that of the Pāṇḍavas. They were also friends of the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁰ The victorious princes were close neighbours of the Sindhus, Sauvīras, and Madras, and would naturally have gone with them in supporting the Kauravas¹¹; the ousted princes would naturally have sympathized with the Pāṇḍavas, and have joined them in the hope of regaining their own kingdom.

As regards the Pāṇḍya king Sārāṅgadhvajā, there appears to have been some connection between his royal house and Mathurā, and it is said he made friendship with Kṛṣṇa,¹² and was a devoted admirer of the Pāṇḍavas.¹³

¹ viii, 696; and ii, 627-8, 809-10, 1091.

² ii, 1090-2.

³ v, 2014; viii, 120.

⁴ v, 2014, 5325.

⁵ v, 5764.

⁶ v, 2504, 5793, where read Māgadha for Mādhyava; vii, 4573-92.

⁷ v, 2503; viii, 120, where he is said to have been killed by Abhimanyu.

Both Sahadeva and Jayatsena are mentioned in v, 2014. Jayatsena is named in v, 577, 2014 as having joined the Pāṇḍavas, but this seems erroneous. The point, however, is not important; what is important is that the Māgadhas were divided; the western took the Pāṇḍavas' side and the eastern the Kauravas' side. See p. 313, note 1.

⁸ Or Kekaya, vi, 3501-3.

⁹ v, 664, 2248; viii, 168-9.

¹⁰ iii, 462.

¹¹ See p. 310.

¹² vii, 1016-20.

¹³ v, 667, 5918.

Turning now to the leading kings who joined the Kauravas, the foregoing explanations show in part why those of them who lived in Eastern and Central India were hostile to the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa; and further reasons are found as follows.

Karṇa was an intimate friend of Duryodhana and one of his most trusted advisers;¹ in fact, it was his ill advice and that of Śakuni, king of Gāndhāra, that forced on the great contest.² He was also a determined rival in arms of Arjuna.³ He therefore led his own Aṅga troops⁴ to Duryodhana's aid, and brought in the kindred nations of Eastern India, namely, the Vāṅgas,⁵ and also the Kalingas under their king Śrutāyudha.⁶

Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, is said to have cherished the kindest feelings towards the Pāṇḍavas⁷; yet he may afterwards have been induced by his friendship for Jarāsandha to entertain resentment against them and Kṛṣṇa, and so to join the Kauravas. It is stated, moreover (though in fabulous form), that there had been hostilities between Kṛṣṇa and Prāgjyotiṣa.⁸

Much of the strength of the Kauravas lay in the assistance which they received from the north-western countries. Jayadratha, king of Sindhu and Sauvira,⁹ had married Dhṛtarāṣṭra's daughter,¹⁰ and had been defeated by the Pāṇḍavas in his attempt to carry off Draupadī.¹¹ He had, therefore, the strongest reasons for supporting

¹ iii, 17169; vi, 1620; viii, 1275, 1732.

² v, 631-8, 2303, 2414-16, 5409-10.

³ iii, 17171-2.

⁴ viii, 863, 877-81. They are also said to have been led by some of their own mleccha kings (vii, 1142-5; viii, 877-80), who would have been Karṇa's vassals.

⁵ vi, 4102; viii, 863; yet Candrasena, son of Samudrasena, is named on the Pāṇḍavas' side (v, 3911; vii, 1007); and they appear to have been kings of Vāṅga (ii, 1007-8; vii, 1007).

⁶ ii, 121; vi, 623, 637.

⁷ ii, 580.

⁸ ii, 1567-8; iii, 488; v, 1887-92; xii, 12954-6.

⁹ iii, 15618, 15635.

¹⁰ i, 2744-5.

¹¹ iii, Draupadī-harṣa-p.

Duryodhana and opposing the Pāṇḍavas. He is said to have had the leadership of ten nations.¹ He would probably have summoned them to accompany him, and it is mentioned he had kings with him.² They are not specified, but, besides the Śindhus and Sauvīras, it appears that among them were the kings of Gāndhāra,³ Trigarta,⁴ Kulinda,⁵ and Śīvi,⁶ and probably also Ambaṣṭha, none of whom are said to have brought in separate akṣauhiṇīs or armies to Duryodhana's help. Some of these kings had besides personal reasons swaying them in the same direction. They will be noticed in order further on.

Śakuni Saubala, king of Gāndhāra, was uncle of Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, for his sister Gāndhārī was their mother.⁷ He was also one of Duryodhana's most intimate advisers, and was his evil genius.⁸ He beat Yudhiṣṭhira in the gambling match.⁹ With him came his son Ulūka.¹⁰ As he was a practised and unscrupulous gamester, the names of Kitava, Kaitava, and Kaitavya were given to him and his son,¹¹ and were also apparently applied to their followers.¹² Śakunas were no doubt his followers.¹³

Suśarman, king of Trigarta, had been, as already mentioned, an ally of Duryodhana in the raid on Matsya, and had been beaten by the Pāṇḍavas. He was, therefore, a bitter foe to them, and his nobles banded themselves under an oath to slay the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁴

Śalya, king of Madra, joined the Kauravas in the way already described. That explanation is rather a lame one; but, if he was one of the kings who looked up to Jayadratha, he may have yielded to Duryodhana's solicitation out of policy.

¹ viii, 100-1.² See p. 313.³ iii, 15595-6.⁴ iii, 15593-4.⁵ iii, 15594.⁶ iii, 15612-21.⁷ vi, 748, 1731-2, 3729.⁸ ii, 1718-23, 1762-5, 2510-13; v, 2303.⁹ ii, 2051, etc., 2513.¹⁰ vi, 3166; ix, 1528-33.¹¹ v, 5412.¹² vi, 689, 4808, 5648; vii, 184.¹³ vii, 802.¹⁴ vii, 683-700.

The other leading kings from the north-west were Sudakṣiṇa, king of Kāmboja, and the Kaikeya princes. The case of the latter has been explained already. No reason is given why Sudakṣiṇa joined the Kauravas. He does not appear to have had any personal feelings one way or the other; hence it seems probable that he followed Jayadratha's initiative.

Duryodhana obtained great assistance also from the kings of Central India, namely, Kṛtavarman, Nila, and the two kings of Avanti. Kṛtavarman's conduct has been referred to already, but there appear to be no particular reasons why he and they took Duryodhana's part.¹ One possible motive may be conjectured. The Yādavas with their tribes had settled in Western India, and were pushing their way east and south into Central and Southern India. They must have been troublesome and dangerous neighbours, and Nila at Māhiṣmati and the two kings of Avanti may naturally have opposed the Pāṇḍavas backed by Kṛṣṇa; but this does not explain Kṛtavarman's partisanship, more than suggested above (p. 311).

Only one leading king from Madhyadeśa supported the Kauravas, namely, Bhūriśravas, but it is difficult to make out his position. He was son of Somadatta,² who was son of Vāhlika,³ who was son of Pratipa,⁴ brother of Śāntanu⁵ and uncle of Bhīṣma.⁶ All these, therefore, were Kauravas,⁷ and Vāhlika and Somadatta are said to have been alive at the time of the great war,⁸ though it seems an impossibility. Vāhlika is said to have resigned the kingdom of the Kurus to his younger brother Śāntanu and to have gone to his maternal uncle's family, where he inherited a very prosperous kingdom.⁹ Now his

¹ It is said Nila had had hostilities with Sahadeva, v, 5752.

² v, 5742; vi, 3730-4.

³ v, 2206, 3402; vii, 6931-2.

⁴ v, 693; vii, 6934.

⁵ i, 3797-8; v, 5055.

⁶ i, 3806, 4425.

⁷ vii, 6906-7, 7230; viii, 106.

⁸ v, 693-4; vii, 6929-34.

⁹ v, 5053-68.

Was this an instance of succession through the mother? If so, the story shows both forms of succession existing side by side.

mother was a Śaivya princess,¹ and he would, therefore, presumably have become king of Śivi; but there appear to be no indications connecting him with the Śivis. Other kings of Śivi are mentioned: thus a king Śivi or Śaivya is referred to on the Pāṇḍavas' side,² and Govāsana Śaivya is named on the Kauravas' side.³ There was also a people called Vāhlikas or Vāhlikas, as will be noticed further on. The similarity of name is very striking, yet similarity in names is common in the Mahābhārata,⁴ and much stress cannot be laid on it so as to prove that king Vāhlika was king of the Vāhlika race. Bhūriśravas' younger brother Śala dwelt among the Vāhlikas⁵; yet a Vāhlika king or Vāhlika is said to have attended Draupadi's svayamvara.⁶ This could hardly have been Vāhlika himself, for he was a very old man then, and if it was not he, then the Vāhlika king was some one else. Further remarks will be offered about the Vāhlikas, and it seems on the whole that the Vāhlikas were different from king Vāhlika and his grandson Bhūriśravas. Wherever Bhūriśravas' kingdom may have been, he might, as of Kaurava lineage, naturally take Duryodhana's part;⁷ and throughout the negotiations that preceded the battle Vāhlika, Somadatta, and Bhūriśravas are represented as closely connected with the Kaurava Court.

Besides the foregoing leading kings, many other kings and princes and many other peoples are mentioned in the course of hostilities as fighting on one side or the other. It is necessary to examine these particulars in order to complete the list of countries and peoples which were arrayed on each side. This, however, is not always easy,

¹ i, 3797. ² v, 5797; vi, 834, 2079, 2088; vii, 6698. ³ vi, 635.

⁴ E.g. two princes named Vinda and Anuvinda, both among the Avantis and the Kaikeyas; see p. 313.

⁵ vi, 750; vii, 5997, 6002.

⁶ i, 7001.

⁷ See also v, 4350.

because verbal errors have crept into the text as regards both the names of kings and the names of people. Sometimes two kings had the same name or names almost alike; moreover, different peoples had names which might easily be confused. Instances of this will be mentioned in what follows.

The other kings, princes, and people on the Pāṇḍavas' side may be taken first. We may put aside such warriors as Amitaujas,¹ Jayanta,² Kṣatradeva,³ Kṣatradharman,⁴ Satyañit,⁵ Yudhāmanyu and Uttamauijas,⁶ Suśarman or rather, apparently, Sudhanvan,⁷ all of whom were Pāṇḍava princes attending on Drupada and Dhṛṣṭadyumna; Śatānika,⁸ Madirākṣa,⁹ Śāṅkha,¹⁰ and Sūryadatta,¹¹ who were Virāṭa's relatives; Anādhṛṣṭi,¹² who appears to have been a Yādava; and other royal relatives of the leading kings. Certain other kings are mentioned of whom it is difficult to assert anything precise, such as Drdhadhanvan,¹³ who was a Paurava, and brought the Pauravas¹⁴; Rocanāna¹⁵ (or rather two kings of this name¹⁶); Satyadhṛti Saucitti¹⁷; Senāvindu Krodhahantr¹⁸ and Śrenimat,¹⁹ who were of Kuru lineage; and Citrāyudha.²⁰ There remain certain kings who had well-known territories.

Thus, on the Pāṇḍavas' side were Abhibhū,²¹ king of Kāśi,²² and his son²³; Vasudāna, king of Pāṇsurāṣṭra²⁴;

¹ v, 5903.

² v, 5903.

³ v, 5902, 7646; vii, 955, 974.

⁴ vi, 4152; vii, 953-4.

⁵ v, 5903, 5910.

⁶ v, 7624, 7638; vi, 714, 835.

⁷ v, 5163; vi, 5555; vii, 1002.

⁸ iv, 1011; vi, 5541.

⁹ iv, 1012; v, 2237.

¹⁰ iv, 1015; v, 2237; vi, 2010.

¹¹ v, 1014; v, 2237.

¹² v, 5164.

¹³ i, 6995; v, 5919.

¹⁴ vi, 2081, 2415.

¹⁵ v, 5921.

¹⁶ viii, 170. One was a Pāṇḍava, viii, 2736; and the other apparently a Cedi, viii, 2740.

¹⁷ v, 5910, 7649; vi, 4151; vii, 990.

¹⁸ v, 5912; viii, 182.

¹⁹ v, 5161, 5919, 7650; vii, 990.

²⁰ v, 5909; vii, 1003.

²¹ v, 2007; vi, 2117; vii, 3528.

²² Kāśi-rāja, vi, 834; Kāśika, v, 5906-7; Kāśya, v, 5915, 7650; vi, 840, 4151; vii, 976. This is sometimes confused with Kāñcya.

²³ v, 7650; vi, 4151; vii, 990.

²⁴ ii, 1884-5; v, 5161, 5919; vii, 990.

Citrāsena, king of Abhisāra¹; and some Śaivya prince² whose position is not clear. No explanations appear to be given as to the motives that swayed these kings, yet something may be suggested by way of conjecture. The king of Kāśī was Jarāsandha's nearest neighbour and must have felt the full power of his arm, and it is possible he may have made his choice out of gratitude to his deliverers, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, for it is said that Babhru (Abhibhū ?), king of Kāśī, formed a close friendship with Kṛṣṇa.³ And Bhīma besides had married a Kāśī princess.⁴

In this connection notice must be taken of the Kosalas. They are mentioned as fighting both on the Pāṇḍavas' side⁵ and also on the opposite side.⁶ Vṛhadbala or Vṛhadratha is named as king of Kosala at this time,⁷ but the Solar dynasty plays a small part in this great contest, and would seem to have suffered an eclipse during this period. This would have been probably caused by Jarāsandha's supremacy. His power would have borne most hardly on the eastern part of Kosala, and it is said that the Eastern Kosalas abandoned their own territory through fear of him, and migrated southward.⁸ Eastern Kosalas, moreover, are mentioned in the Southern region, and a Kosala king is referred to in conjunction with a king dwelling on the Venvā (Wainganga).⁹ May we not attribute the growth of Mahākosala or Dakṣinākosala to such causes? And I would further suggest that the connection between the two Kosalas began from Rāma's time, for Rāma spent ten years of his exile at a hermitage, which seems (from such indications as exist) to have been situated somewhere in Chattisgarh.¹⁰ Kāśī plays a more important part than Kosala in the Mahābhārata, and

¹ viii, 526-7, 540-1.² See p. 327 below.³ v, 806-7.⁴ i, 3829.⁵ vii, 877, 1004, 5069; viii, 459.⁶ viii, 864.⁷ See p. 326 below.⁸ ii, 590-2.⁹ ii, 1117.¹⁰ Rāmāy., Araṇ.-k., xv, 5-28, ed. Gorr.

would seem to have regained considerable influence after Jarāsandha's downfall, so that it may have acquired supremacy over Eastern Kosala, and it is worthy of notice that where Kosalas are mentioned as fighting on the Pāṇḍavas' side they are sometimes joined with the Kāśīs. The king of Kosala went with the Kauravas,¹ but a body of Kosalas, probably from the eastern portion of the country, came to the Pāṇḍavas' help, and probably also did so in connection with the king of Kāśī. They were led by a chief of their own.²

A large number of miscellaneous races are also mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and, as no special allusion is made to their kings or chiefs, it would seem that, as already noticed, they consisted merely of contingents summoned to attend their overlords. If so, their appearance at the battle would not have any ethnological significance. They are the following:—

The Prabhadrakas. This word means 'very handsome.' It is used generally by itself³ or in apposition to Pāñcālas,⁴ but once with Kekayas⁵ and once with Kāmbojas⁶; and once again it is used with the word 'youths.'⁷ It seems to mean a band of youthful nobles; and where used by itself appears to refer to the Pāñcālas especially.

Paṭaccaras.⁸ They were connected with the Matsyas,⁹ and so would have followed the Matsyas' lead in joining the Pāṇḍavas. The Matsya king is said to have brought mountain chiefs in his train¹⁰; they must have come from the northern part of the Pāripātra Mountains (the Aravalli Hills), and such the Paṭaccaras may have been.

Daśārṇas.¹¹ They are also mentioned as being on the Kauravas' side,¹² but that is probably erroneous, because

¹ See p. 326 below.

² vii, 1004.

³ v, 7635; vi, 5190; vii, 1026.

⁴ v, 2264, 5153, 5895; vi, 2416.

⁵ vi, 2022.

⁶ vii, 992.

⁷ v, 1842.

⁸ vi, 2081.

⁹ ii, 590-1, 1198; iv, 11-12.

¹⁰ See p. 313.

¹¹ v, 4743.

¹² vi, 2102; viii, 864.

their king is said to have been on the Pāṇḍavas' side,¹ and it would have been natural for him to take that course. Drupada's son Śikhaṇḍin married the daughter of the Daśārṇa king,² and the Daśārṇas would probably have acknowledged the king of Cedi as their suzerain, and joined his army.

Drāviḍas,³ Colas,⁴ Keralas,⁵ and Kāñcīyas (or people of Kāñcī)⁶ are also mentioned, and the first and last of these are also mentioned on the opposite side.⁷ None of these names are of real significance, because they probably represent mere contingents of troops drawn from such peoples, and any such contingents may have been comprised either in the Pāṇḍya king's army or in that of king Nila, or even in both.

Śālveyas also were on the Pāṇḍavas' side.⁸ They were apparently different from the Śālvas (who will be noticed among the Kauravas' allies), and had been allies of the Matsyas⁹; thus they might naturally follow the Matsyas' lead.

A number of petty tribes are also mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side, namely, Nākulas,¹⁰ Laḍakas and Maḍakas,¹¹ Huṇḍas,¹² Śaravas,¹³ Tittiras,¹⁴ Tumbumas,¹⁵ Vāhikas,¹⁶ and Taṅgaṇas¹⁷; while others are mentioned on both sides, namely, Dāserakas,¹⁸ Kirātas,¹⁹ Kulindas,²⁰ Niṣādas,²¹ and Kuṇḍivīṣas²² or Kaunḍivīṣas.²³ The Taṅgaṇas and Vāhikas came from the outer northern frontiers of India. The

¹ vi, 2080, 4271-6.² v, 7418-20.³ viii, 454, 2304.⁴ viii, 455; vi, 2084, where Coḍhras should probably be Colas.⁵ viii, 455.⁶ viii, 459; but probably Kāñis or Kāñyas should be read here.⁷ v, 5516, 5555.⁸ v, 2138, 5652.⁹ iv, 972.¹⁰ vi, 2084.¹¹ vi, 2083.¹² vi, 2081.¹³ vi, 2084.¹⁴ vi, 2084.¹⁵ vi, 2084.¹⁶ vi, 2084.¹⁷ vi, 2083.¹⁸ vi, 2080; and 2409, 5483. ¹⁹ vi, 2080; and v, 584, 7609; vi, 753.²⁰ viii, 4308, etc.; and 4328.²¹ vi, 2081; viii, 2304; and vi, 2239-49, 5484; viii, 779.²² vi, 2083.²³ vi, 2410.

Kulindas and Kirāṭas occupied the southern slopes of the Himālayas, the former from about Kulu eastward to Nepal, and the latter from there to the extreme east. All these tribes may have furnished bands which followed Drupada or the Kaikeya princes to the Pāṇdavas' side, or bands which attended the kings of Trigarta and Prāgiyotiṣa on the other side. Tumburas and Niṣādas probably came from the Vindhya Mountains, and may have accompanied the Kārūṣas or the Avantis. The rest of these petty tribes cannot be localized except conjecturally, but may well have owned some allegiance to one or other of the leading kings, and so have been summoned to attend. None of them, however, are of importance in this inquiry.

We may next consider the other kings and peoples on the Kauravas' side. Here also we may put aside Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa, Aśvatthāman, and others, who were Dhṛtarāṣṭra's grand-uncle and ministers, and all his sons.

From Eastern India came the Kalingas, who are often mentioned,¹ under their king Śrutāyudha, who has been referred to already. The Vaṅgas² also accompanied Karna, and with them went also contingents from the Pauṇdras (or Puṇdras),³ Tāmraliptakas,⁴ Ūtkalas,⁵ Muṇḍas,⁶ and Maladas.⁷ The Eastern Māgadhas have been mentioned above. All these may be included under the term Prācyas,⁸ which appears to be used in its general meaning.⁹

From Madhyadeśa came the Kosalas¹⁰ under their king Vṛhadbala¹¹ or Vṛhadratha,¹² as mentioned above,¹³ and with them were probably associated some Videhas¹⁴ and Vṛkas.¹⁵

The Vatsas must also be included among the Kauravas' allies. They are mentioned, though Matsyas are more often

¹ vi, 662, 668, 670, 2230-4, 2249-50, 2400, 3132, 5483; viii, 864, 882.

² See p. 318 above.

³ vii, 802; viii, 863.

⁴ viii, 863, 882.

⁵ viii, 882.

⁶ vi, 2410.

⁷ vii, 183.

⁸ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 604, 689, 2141, 2594, 2646; viii, 863.

⁹ viii, 138. See p. 330, note 7.

¹⁰ viii, 864; vi, 3855.

¹¹ v, 5765; vi, 1683-4, 3534, 3855, 5325.

¹² v, 7612.

¹³ See p. 323.

¹⁴ vi, 5483.

¹⁵ vi, 2106.

named.¹ Matsya is probably a mistake, because the Matsyas with their king Virāṭa were deeply pledged to the Pāṇḍavas' support as explained above.² The name Vatsa should no doubt be read in all these passages, and as it is also written Vatsya and Vātsya³ the confusion would be easy. The Vatsas⁴ and Vatsabhūmi are correctly mentioned⁵; they were an important nation, and their king attended Draupadi's svayamvara.⁶

The Śūrasenas are a people often named on the Kauravas' side.⁷ They were closely connected with Mathurā, and both Kamsa, who reigned in Mathurā, and his younger brother Sunāman, who was king of Śūrasena, were killed by Kṛṣṇa.⁸ The Śūrasenas, therefore, had strong grounds for opposing Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.⁹

From the north-west came Ambaṣṭhas, Śivis, Vaśātis, and Vāhlikas. The Ambaṣṭhas¹⁰ were under their king Śrutāyus,¹¹ and the Śivis¹² under their king Govāsana Śaivya.¹³ Govāsana had married his daughter to Yudhiṣṭhira,¹⁴ and might have been expected to support him; indeed, a Śaivya prince is often referred to on the Pāṇḍavas' side.¹⁵ But the Śivis are always mentioned on the Kauravas' side, and it is difficult to account for that prince on the opposite side. It would seem that the Śivis and Ambaṣṭhas were dominated by Jayadratha and his confederate kings, and followed his lead.¹⁶ With the Śivis

¹ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 688, 752, 2405.

² Conversely, Vatsas are mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side erroneously for Matsyas, vi, 2084.

³ vii, 396; xiii, 1951.

⁴ ii, 1084; vi, 2084; viii, 237; xiii, 1946.

⁵ iii, 15245; v, 7351.

⁶ i, 7002.

⁷ vi, 688, 2097, 3294, 5485; vii, 183, 799.

⁸ vii, 387-9.

⁹ The Hari-Vaṁśa gives fuller particulars.

¹⁰ vi, 688, 750, 2584, 4340, 5485.

¹¹ vi, 2584, 2647; viii, 107.

¹² v, 7609; vi, 688, 2104, 4809, 5485, 5648; viii, 1077.

¹³ vi, 655, 4501; vii, 1789-91, 3528, 3552.

¹⁴ i, 3828.

¹⁵ v, 5707; vi, 834, 2088, 2079, 2117; vii, 1008, 6698.

¹⁶ iii, 15581-7, 15602-5.

are almost always associated the *Vaśātis*,¹ and the two appear to have been two tribes composing one kingdom.

The *Vāhlikas* or *Vāhlikas* are often mentioned.² Their position has been already discussed in part, and on the whole it would seem that they were different from king *Vāhlika*, who was a *Kaurava*.³ In addition to what has been said above, it may be noticed that they were closely related to the *Madras*, so that the two seem to have almost formed one nation.⁴ Being so closely connected with the *Madras*, they would naturally have accompanied the *Madras* to help the *Kauravas*.

*Pañcanadas*⁵ would have formed a local contingent from the junction of the five rivers of the *Panjab*, and would have been included among or have gone with the *Sindhus* and *Sauvīras*.

Belonging to the same group of nations, no doubt, were the *Abhiśāhas* or *Abhiśāhas*.⁶ They are generally linked with *Śūrasenas*, *Śivis*, and *Vaśātis*, and probably came from the eastern border of the *Panjab*. They were distinct from the *Abhisāras*, who sided with the *Pāṇḍavas* as has been noticed. So also the *Vāradhānas* or rather *Vāṭadhānas*.⁷

From the near west came the *Śālvas*.⁸ Their king had been a friend or even brother of *Śiśupāla*, king of *Cedi*, and took up arms against *Kṛṣṇa* on *Śiśupāla*'s death.⁹ There was bitter hostility between them, and *Kṛṣṇa* killed him.¹⁰ It was natural, therefore, that the *Śālvas* should go against him and the *Pāṇḍavas*, and under their king *Ugrakarman* they attended the *Kaikeya* princes.¹¹

¹ v, 7600; vi, 688, 2104, 2584, 4809, 5485, 5648.

² v, 2289, 7607; vi, 1707, 3293, 5484; vii, 973, 4818; viii, 770.

³ See p. 321 above; but compare v, 2289; vi, 3533, 4666.

⁴ i, 2096, 4426-7. ⁵ vi, 750, 2406.

⁶ vi, 688, 5485, 5648; vii, 3254, 3339, 7207; viii, 127.

⁷ vi, 2405.

⁸ v, 5510; vi, 688, 752, 3169, 5485, 5649; viii, 1077.

⁹ iii, 615-18, 637.

¹⁰ iii, 619-889.

¹¹ v, 2249; viii, 131.

From the south-west of Madhyadeśa came the Mālavas. They are mentioned sometimes simply as such,¹ and sometimes as "Western and Northern Mālavas."² Kṣudrakas are also named,³ and sometimes both are referred to together as Kṣudraka-mālavas⁴; but Kṣudraka-mālavas were apparently distinct from Mālavas, for both are named in one passage.⁵ It is difficult to distinguish them further. They and also the Śālvas attended the Kaikeya princes.⁶

From the south came the Andhras or Andhrakas,⁷ and also the Andhakas.⁸ Andhas are mentioned,⁹ but this name is probably a mistake for Andhras or for Andhakas. These would go respectively with the Kukkurās¹⁰ or Kukurās.¹¹ The Andhakas and Kukurās with the Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, etc., were Yādava tribes, and might have been in Kṛtavarma's army.¹² The Andhras and Kukkurās were Dravidian tribes in Central India, and might have been among the Dākṣiṇātyas¹³ whom Nila, king of Māhiṣmati, brought.

There were besides the Niṣadhas,¹⁴ Vidarbhas,¹⁵ Traipuras,¹⁶ Kuntalas,¹⁷ and Mekalas,¹⁸ all of which may have accompanied the two Avanti kings and Nila. All would be included within the general designation of Dākṣiṇātyas, which are also named separately.¹⁹ The Niṣadhas were not under any king apparently. The Kuntalas may have come from two places, for there were two countries of this name; one was apparently the region between Bellary and Belgaum, and the other near Chunar, south of Benares.

¹ vi, 3852; viii, 137.

² viii, 137.

³ vi, 3852-3.

⁴ ii, 1175; iii, 12839; vii, 122; viii, 779.

⁵ ii, 767; iii, 15654; iv, 2360; v, 1885, 3043.

⁶ v, 586; read Andhakas.

⁷ ii, 767; v, 586; xii, 8457.

⁸ viii, 780.

⁹ vi, 2103.

¹⁰ vi, 3855.

¹¹ viii, 864, 882; and vi, 2103, 3855 (where the reading is Melakas).

¹² v, 5510, 7608; vi, 3852; viii, 863.

¹³ vi, 4808, 5484, 5648; vii, 183.

¹⁴ vi, 2106, 2584, 2646, 3853.

¹⁵ v, 2249.

¹⁶ ii, 1872; vi, 2097.

¹⁷ He had Bhojas, viii, 780.

¹⁸ vii, 1437; viii, 864, 882.

¹⁹ vi, 2102; viii, 779.

These latter Kuntalas and the Mekalas would have gone with the Andhras.

There remain a number of petty tribes which came from all quarters to the Kauravas, and they may be considered according to their grouping.

Pāradas¹ and Pratiçyas² would have come from the western confines of the Panjab, and the Varvaras from there or from the north. From the eastern limits of the Panjab round to Malwa were scattered the aboriginal tribes of Śūdras³ and Ābhīras,⁴ and they would have attended Jayadratha and the king of Śālva. Pratiçya is used in a general sense.⁵

Prāçyas are mentioned generally,⁶ and appear to have included all tribes that came from Eastern India. The name is used in a general sense.⁷

From the slopes and valleys of the Himālayas came the Pulindas,⁸ Hamsapadaas,⁹ Kaṇapṛāvaranas,¹⁰ and Vikarṇas.¹¹ All these would have been comprised within the term Udīçyas, which is also used in a general sense.¹²

Other insignificant tribes named on the Kauravas' side were Aśvātakas,¹³ Cicchilas,¹⁴ Cūlikas,¹⁵ Recakas,¹⁶ Vikuṇḇjas,¹⁷ Nandas and Upanandakas,¹⁸ Maṇibhadraḥkas,¹⁹ Simhalas,²⁰ Vāmana-kosalas,²¹ Vepikas,²² Māvelakas or Māvelvakas,²³ Tuṇḍikeras,²⁴ and Lalitthas.²⁵ The first three may have

¹ vi, 3853.² v, 5510, 5555, 7608; vi, 689.³ vii, 183, 798.⁴ vii, 798.⁵ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.⁶ viii, 138. See p. 326, note 8.⁷ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.⁸ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 3853; viii, 779.⁹ vii, 798.¹⁰ vi, 2103.¹¹ vi, 2105.¹² v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.¹³ vi, 2105.¹⁴ vi, 3855.¹⁵ vi, 3297.¹⁶ vi, 2097.¹⁷ vi, 2410.¹⁸ vi, 2098.¹⁹ vi, 2099.²⁰ vii, 798.²¹ vi, 2105.²² vi, 2097.²³ vii, 692; viii, 138; they may perhaps be connected with Māvella (i, 2364; ii, 1272).²⁴ vii, 691; viii, 138.²⁵ vii, 692; viii, 137.

come from the northern region, and the last four probably from the neighbourhood of the Vindhya Mountains and the Wainganga. The Vāmana-kosalas may perhaps mean the people of Dakṣiṇa-kosala, but there are no indications regarding the rest. All those from the south would be included within the general description *Dākṣiṇātya*.¹

From beyond the Himālayas came contingents of Yavanas,² Śakas,³ Khasas,⁴ Tuṣāras,⁵ and Daradas.⁶ None of these appear to have been under kings of their own. The first two accompanied the king of Kāmboja as already mentioned,⁷ and the three others no doubt attended him or the king of Gāndhāra. All these also might be included under the general designation of Udīeyas.⁸

The only tribes remaining to be noticed are Rākṣasas and Nāgas, and also certain Piśācas, which no doubt accompanied the former. Rākṣasas were arrayed on both sides.

On the Pāṇḍavas' side was Ghaṭotkaca, a Rākṣasa king,⁹ who is said to have been the son of Bhīma by the Rākṣasa princess Hidimbā.¹⁰ Her brother Hidimba¹¹ lived in the forest in the north of Pañcāla,¹² and was killed by Bhīma.¹³ Irāvata, a Nāga king,¹⁴ also came to the Pāṇḍavas. He is said to have been the son of Arjuna by a Nāga princess.¹⁵ Certain Piśācas are mentioned on this side.¹⁶

On the Kauravas' side were Alambuṣa, a Rākṣasa king,¹⁷ and his kinsman Alāyudha.¹⁸ Alambuṣa was brother of

¹ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

² v, 590, 7609; vi, 753, 2097, 3856; vii, 798.

³ v, 590, 5510; vi, 753, 2408, 5649.

⁴ v, 5510, 5555; vii, 4947; viii, 779.

⁵ vi, 3297.

⁶ vi, 2103, 5484; vii, 799; yet some are mentioned erroneously on the Pāṇḍavas' side (vi, 2083, where Daradas should probably be Drāviḍas).

⁷ See p. 313 above.

⁸ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

⁹ vi, 2863-9, 3663-70. ¹⁰ i, 6071-80. ¹¹ i, 5940, 5962.

¹² i, 5874-83, 5927. ¹³ i, 6036-8. ¹⁴ vi, 1757-9, 3288, 3557, 3661.

¹⁵ vi, 3977-80. ¹⁶ vi, 2083.

¹⁷ v, 5802; vi, 1711-13; vii, 7848-81.

¹⁸ vii, 8004-10.

Vaka, whom Bhīma killed near Ehacakrā,¹ and son of Jaṭa, whom also Bhīma killed in the Himālayas, north of Pāñcāla and Kosala.² He is also called a descendant of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga,³ and if that person be the same as the R̥ṣyaśṛṅga who lived in the territory of Lomapāda, king of Aṅga,⁴ Alambuṣa probably came from the forests bordering the River Kauśiki and Nepal.⁵ He had, therefore, a double blood-feud with the Pāṇḍavas, and naturally sided with the Kauravas. Piśācas are also mentioned on the Kauravas' side.⁶

In locating the various nations and races in the accompanying map, I have adhered to the views which I ventured to express in my translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, except in a few cases where further consideration has led me to modify them.

We may sum up these results in the following way, leaving out of account all the insignificant tribes which merely furnished contingents to the larger kingdoms, that were near them and that claimed some overlordship over them.

On the Pāṇḍavas' side were these:—

From *Madhyadeśa*—Pāñcālas (with Rākṣasas or forest tribes from their north), Matsyas, Cedis, Kārūṣas, Daśārṇas, Kāśis, Eastern Kosalas, and Western Māgadhas, with various tribes dwelling in or near the Vindhya Mountains and Aravalli Hills.

From the *West*—all the Yādavas from Gujarat and from the territory east of Gujarat.

From the *North-West*—some Kaikeyas and Abhisāras.

From the *South*—the Pāṇḍyas, with contingents from the Dravidian races in the Karnatic.

¹ vii, 4065-76; i, 6104, 6206, 6291-5. ² vii, 7855-8; iii, 11519-22.

³ vi, 4552, 4570-5, 4584-5.

⁴ iii, 9990-10094.

⁵ Modern belief, as Dr. Grierson tells me, places R̥ṣyaśṛṅga at Singar, in the south-east of the Gaya district, but I know of no authority for it.

⁶ vi, 3854.

On the Kauravas' side were these :—

From the *East*—the Eastern Māgadhas, Videhas, Prāgyotisās (with Cīnas and Kirātas), Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kalingas, and Andhras, with contingents from all the tribes bordering on them.

From *Madhyadeśa*—Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas.

From the *North-West*—Sindhus, Sauviras, Madras, Vāhlikas, Kaikeyas, Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, Trigartas, Ambaṣṭhas, and Śivis, with contingents from the tribes all around them.

From the *North*—hill tribes from all along the Himālayas, except from the north of Pāñcāla.

From the *West*—Śālvas and Mālavas.

From *Central India*—the Yādavas from the country south and south-east of Baroda, Avantis, Māhiṣmakas, Vidarbhas, Niṣadhas, and Kuntalas, and contingents from the races bordering them in the Dekhan.

We may summarize these conclusions further by confining our attention to the leading nations. Those on the Pāṇḍavas side were the Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Cedis, Kārūṣas, Kāśis, and Western Māgadhas from Madhyadeśa ; all the Yādavas from Gujarat and the country east of it ; and the Pāṇḍyas. On the Kauravas' side were all the nations from North and South-Eastern Behar, all Bengal and West Assam, and all the region south of Bengal as far as the River Godāvari ; the Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas in Madhyadeśa ; all the nations in the north and north-west with the Śālvas and Mālavas : and the Avantis and all the nations of Central India.

Stating these conclusions more generally still, we may say that the Pāṇḍavas' cause combined the Pāñcālas and all the kingdoms of South Madhyadeśa (except the Śūrasenas and Vatsas) together with the Yādavas of Gujarat against the rest of Northern, Central, and Eastern India. Now the Yādavas of Gujarat are said to have been

an offshoot from those who dwelt in the country near Mathurā¹; and the division of the contending parties may be broadly said to be South Madhyadeśa and Pāñcāla against the rest of India. This is a striking generalization, and it may not be without some significance, although reasons have been given why almost every individual nation made its particular choice of sides. But the ethnological value of this general statement is diminished by three factors: first, the nations arranged on either side were certainly not all of the same stock; secondly, it must be remembered that it was kings which brought their armies of subjects, and there are indications that kings were not always of the same race as the majority of their subjects, but that they belonged sometimes to dynasties which had conquered the countries and established themselves in the sovereignty; and thirdly, a powerful king commandeered contingents from neighbouring kingdoms and tribes which acknowledged his overlordship.

Instances of the last factor have been noticed in dealing with the smaller nations and tribes. As an instance of the first factor it is stated in genealogical chapters that the Kārūṣas (to whatever race their king may have belonged) were of very different stock from their allied nations of Madhyadeśa. And on the Kauravas' side it is certain that the nations of Bengal and Orissa were considered to be mlecchas, and were therefore wholly different from their allies of Madhyadeśa and the north-west. As an instance of the second factor we may note that Kṛṣṇa and the tribes of Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, Sātvas, etc., had established themselves in Gujarat only a short time before the war,² so that Yuyudhāna and Cekitāna must have brought alien subjects in their armies, and something of this kind is distinctly stated about the former's troops.³ Similarly, on the Kauravas' side it is clear that Karṇa,

¹ ii, 589-616.

² ii, 589-616.

³ See p. 312.

though king of Aṅga, was not an Aṅga,¹ and yet, as Aṅga had the hegemony of the kindred nations of Vāṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Puṇḍras, etc., he brought all those alien nations to join in a war which did not concern them in the least.

One further instance may be cited here as asserting a connection between several of the kingdoms that supported the Pāṇḍavas. Vasu, who was a Paurava, conquered Cedi and reigned over it, and also subdued the neighbouring countries. He had five sons and established them as separate rulers in those countries, and two of them founded the dynasties of Cedi and Magadha.² By a fable, which is full of absurdities and chronological inconsistencies, it is further alleged that another son, whose sister was Satyawatī, the grandmother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, established a dynasty in Matsya.³

The way in which each side marshalled its forces may be noticed. The Pāṇḍavas' centre was Upaplavya, the capital of Matsya,⁴ and the Kauravas' centre was their own capital, Hastināpura. The hosts that assembled on the Kauravas' side are said to have been so vast that they could not concentrate at Hastināpura, and they stretched in a curve from the southern portion of the Panjab round the north of Kurukṣetra to the north of Pañcāla.⁵ The Pāṇḍavas' allies concentrated in and around Matsya.⁶ The remarks made about each nation and an inspection of the blue and red tracts in the map will readily show how each probably reached its position in these two conformations. When the negotiations failed the Pāṇḍavas marched north, driving in Duryodhana's outposts, and took up a position on the west of Kurukṣetra.⁷ The

¹ Jarisandha gave Karna the kingdom of Aṅga, see p. 315; and, whatever we may think of Karna's alleged parentage, it is certain that he is always treated as being of the same stock as the other actors. He had mleccha kings under him in Aṅga, see p. 318, note 4.

² i, 2334-65. ³ i, 2371-2419, 3801-16. ⁴ v, 191, 196, 685, 5157-8.

⁵ v, 596-601. ⁶ v, 2241, 4956, 5147-51. ⁷ v, 5165-6, 5174-7; vi, 645.

Kaurava hosts closed in around the east of that region,¹ and the battle was fought on the plain of Kurukṣetra.²

Some concluding remarks may be permitted by way of comment on the great war. The nations in and around the Panjab formed a very strong portion of the Kaurava confederacy, and the great battle by destroying their monarchs and armies would have seriously weakened their strength and gravely imperilled their stability. Now it is worthy of notice that the introductory part of the *Mahābhārata* describes how Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit was killed by the Nāga Takṣaka who reigned at Takṣaśilā in the Panjab, and how Parikṣit's son Janamejaya vanquished Takṣaka and Takṣaśilā. This is narrated in ridiculously fabulous form, yet there is one feature noteworthy in it, namely, that the Panjab kingdoms, which constituted so strong a bulwark in the great war, have all disappeared; the Nāga Takṣaka reigned over the Panjab, and came into direct conflict with Arjuna's grandson and great-grandson who reigned on the Jumna. If one may hazard a conjecture on such a flimsy story, it is that the Nāgas must have risen to power during the interval of weakness which followed the great battle and have conquered the kingdoms of the Panjab.

¹ v, 5310-11, 5407, 7613; vi, 645.

² vi, 3.

XI.

THE MODERN HINDU DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., M.R.A.S.

THE great mass of Hindūs of the present day follow, and for nearly five centuries have followed, the religious doctrine of salvation by *bhakti*, or loving faith. This, although nominally based on the Vēdas and Upanisads, is strongly opposed both to the *advaita* Vedantist doctrine of salvation by knowledge and to the *Mīmāṃsā* doctrine of salvation by works. Its very idea of salvation, a life of never-ending bliss near the Holy One, is radically different from that offered by these two schools.

The *bhakti*-school of religion is really, as is well known, a descendant of the noble thoughts found in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and this is more particularly true as regards that part of the doctrine which treats of what we, in discussions on Christianity, should call 'works.' As it is assumed as the basis of belief that faith, and faith alone, can save a man, the question naturally arises as to what relation his good or evil works bear to his salvation.

The controversy on this point has divided the Western Church since the dawn of Christianity, and it is interesting to note that the *bhakti*-church of India has been troubled by exactly the same difficulty, mixed up, too, as with us, with the puzzle of predestination. In India, in this cult, we find two sharply opposed systems of belief, one known

as the 'cat' and the other as the 'monkey' school. The 'cat'-school, which holds the truth of what we should call the doctrine of 'irresistible grace,' teaches that *Bhagavat*, the Holy One, saves the soul as a cat takes up its kitten, without free-will on the part of the latter. The 'monkey'-school, which holds to the doctrine of 'co-operative grace,' teaches that the soul, in order to be saved, must reach out and embrace the Holy One, as a young monkey clings to its mother. Nearly all the North Indian sects of the *bhakti*-church are followers of the latter school, and it is natural that its adherents should investigate the question of works, and discuss how far they are involved in the 'clinging' which they believe to be necessary to salvation. We are familiar with the importance given to works in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and the subject is still treated in Northern India very much on the lines laid down by that poem, and, indeed, the modern teaching professes to be derived from it.

As the subject is of interest alike for the comparative study of religions and for the comprehension of modern Hindū belief, I give in the following pages a translation of two sections from the *Bhakta-kalpadruma* of Pratāpa Simha (written in 1866). Although the original has been printed more than once, I think it is better to offer a translation rather than a summary in my own words; for so little is known about the *bhakti*-cult in this country that it is important that those who read the following pages may be certain that they have before them what the author actually said, and not a picture coloured by my own prepossessions. I think that it is worth translating, for it gives very complete, if rather long-winded, explanations, and, although written in Hindi, is by no means easy for the foreigner to understand unless he has made a special study of this side of India's religious speculation.

The *Bhakta-kalpadruma* is a version in modern language and a rearrangement of the famous *Bhakta-māla*

of Nābhā-dāsa (circ. 1600 A.D.). Pratāpa Siṃha gives the lives of the various saints referred to in that work, and groups them, not in Nābhā's order, but according to their *niṣṭhās*. A *niṣṭhā* is literally 'a position' or 'attitude,' and in the *bhakti*-cult it is a technical term, meaning the heading under which a saint is to be classed. Some saints are classed as being distinguished for a sense of duty, others as preachers, others for their devotion, others for their hymn-writing, others for their holy love, and so on. Each of these classes is a *niṣṭhā*. A saint may belong to several *niṣṭhās*—a perfect saint belongs to all—but his classification depends on that characteristic which is most prominent from the point of view of the observer.

There are twenty-four of these *niṣṭhās*, and Pratāpa Siṃha devotes a section of his work to the saints of each. To each section he prefixes an introduction describing the particular characteristic on which the *niṣṭhā* is founded. What are here translated are—

(1) The introduction to the *Dharma niṣṭhā*, or that of which the characteristic is *bhāgavata-dharma*, literally "the morality of those devoted to the Holy One," i.e. what we should call "a State of Grace."

(2) The introduction to the *Dharma-pracāraka niṣṭhā*, or that of Preachers of the Gospel of Grace.

The introduction to the *Dharma niṣṭhā* deals directly with the question of works. It divides good works into two classes, viz., those that are done in the hope of a reward, and those that are done simply to be dedicated to the Holy One. The latter must be entirely free from self-interest, and are then the only works that are of any account towards salvation. This distinction between works which are interested (*sakāma*) and those which are disinterested (*niṣkāma*) fully agrees with the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

But, to the believer in one and only means of salvation—*bhakti*, or faith—the question arises how works, which are the antithesis of faith, can be a means of salvation. The answer is that they act only indirectly. Good works, which are disinterested, produce *bhakti*, and it is this *bhakti*, so produced, that wins release from the weary round of continual births and rebirths.

This idea is further developed in the introduction to the *Dharma-pracāraka nīsthā*. Here special stress is laid on the value, both to the doer and to the hearer, of preaching. If the *bhakti*-cult is to be counted as a form of Hinduism (and if it is not, there would be very few Hindūs in India), few statements so inaccurate have been made as that Hinduism is not a missionary religion. Here we have a form of belief which actually *lives* upon its missionary work. It ignores all caste and condemns no religion as utterly useless, and ever since its foundation its converts have increased in geometrical progression. Every follower of the cult is, and if he is genuine must be, a missionary. Nor is the missionary field confined to existing forms of Hindū belief. The common statement that no Musalmān can become a Hindū is disproved by the fact that some of the greatest saints of the cult, men whose hymns are household words and are printed and sold by thousands, were converts from Islām. Others, such as Kabir and Prāpanātha, succeeded in forming important sects which absorbed many of the actual doctrines of that belief. As in Buddhism, what we may name the laity was not called upon to abandon caste or its old household worship. Kabir's famous couplet—

saba-sē hīliyē, saba-sē mīliyē saba-kē lījiyē nān,
'*hā-jī,*' '*hā-jī*' *saba-sē kahiyē basiyē apnē gān—*

teaches universal tolerance, and similarly, in the translation below, we have Prntāpa Sīthā urging us to encourage

our neighbour to study his own scriptures, whether they be those of our belief or not. And then, on the top of this great tolerance, there comes the missionary zeal for preaching faith in a personal God—a God whose name is of small import, whether it be Allāh, or Rāma, or Kṛṣṇa, but always a God who has been incarnate as a man, who loves mankind and calls for mankind's love. So long as this is believed and acted upon, to the *bhakti* reformer, a man might believe what else he liked.

No one, whether he admits the influence of early Christianity upon Indian thought or not, can fail to be struck by the great similarity to Christian teaching presented by much of what follows. We come over and over again upon arguments which for centuries have been familiar to the West. They are seen amidst strange surroundings. Over all there hangs, like a pall, the Indian belief in transmigration, and, in other ways too, the light thrown by Eastern meditation gives us views which may seem to us to be distorted or strange. But it is a matter of illumination, not of substance, and it is good for us to learn that the conventional laws of perspective are not always the same in the Orient and in the Occident.

Save for a few places where compression seemed desirable, my translation is as literal as is consistent with the genius of the English language. My aim, nevertheless, has throughout been to give the sense rather than to strive for verbal reproduction. I have endeavoured to represent the numerous technical terms by the same English words throughout, and have in each case given the original as well when there could be any doubt. In one instance I have not been literal; the words *bhāgavata-dharma* have been translated 'state of grace' or 'gospel of grace,' as the context required. The literal meaning has been given above, but I think that the English technical term represents the force of the original more nearly than any verbal translation. The word *Bhagavat*,

by itself, I have throughout translated by 'the Holy One,' while, as in previous writing on the same subject, I have given 'the LORD' as the equivalent of *Hari*. According to the *bhakti*-doctrine, the *Hari*-incarnation of Viṣṇu has a very definite and special position in the theology of those who profess it. It is the thirteenth of the twenty-four (not ten) *avatāras* of the school.

THE FIRST *niṣṭhā*: THAT OF MORALITY AND THE STATE
OF GRACE.

I bow, first of all, to the mark of the elephant-goad¹ on the foot of the Lord Kṛṣṇa, inasmuch as through meditation thereon that infuriate elephant, the mind, is speedily brought under control. Then bow I to the Fish² incarnation of the Holy One, which for the instruction of the world taught religion to King Śrutadēva³ and protected him by manifesting His own illusion.

Morality (*dharma*) consisteth of the conduct and of those good works (*śubha karma*) which are consonant with the Vēda and with the Sūtras. Its opposite is *adharma*, or unmorality. To adopt conduct that is righteous and to abandon blameworthy deeds, is therefore

¹ The *aṅkuśa*, or elephant-goad, is one of the forty-eight marks said to be on the feet of Viṣṇu, each of which has a mystic meaning. These marks are the lines on the sole of the foot, and correspond to the lines on the hand that are still employed in this country for palmistry.

² The Fish is the first of the ten well-known incarnations of Viṣṇu. According to the legend as preserved in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, viii, 24, in this incarnation Viṣṇu rescued the Vēda from the demon Hayagrīva and saved Vāivasvata Manu in the Deluge. He also instructed Vāivasvata in religion. See the next note.

³ Vāivasvata Manu was a royal sage, and was also called Satyavrata and Śrāddhadeva (see *Bhāg. Pu.*, as above quoted). 'Śrutadēva' in the text seems to be a slip for 'Śrāddhadeva.'

entirely proper and in accordance with the commands of the Vēda, while the man that doeth works (*karma*) that are opposed to these commands goeth to Hell (*naraka*) and suffereth the pangs of the severest torture. Moreover, he undergoeth the ineffably terrible punishment of being subject to rebirths in eighty-four hundreds of thousands of bodies. From the pangs of Hell there may be release by efflux of time, but in the sorrows of return and departure in birth and death there is no cessation. For the return and departure are like unto the motion of the cups on the Persian wheel ever rising and sinking in their turns. So, under the influence of cause and effect, each time that a man receiveth a human body, it is to him as it were a boat for crossing the ocean of existence to the haven of eternal rest, and he maketh an effort for his release from the bonds of his former actions; but the skiff faileth to make the voyage, and he becometh once more bound in the same woe of further births.

If, however, he remain devoted to the commands of the Gospel of Works (*karma-sāstra*, i.e. the Vēda and Sūtras), these works are like unto steps by the which he riseth quickly and easily to the highest station. If a man be without hope from this, then verily is he without hope of salvation. It is true that some are of opinion that in doing works there is no love (*prīti*), and invent false tales about the highest station,¹ but such will themselves never reach perfection. Consider that the Holy One Himself becometh on occasions incarnate that He may reveal the Vēdas or the Gospel of Works, and secure action (*pravṛtti*). No man can succeed in gaining salvation without performing works. Doth He not say in the *Gītā*, "I myself perform works. If I perform them not, others also would abandon them, and I myself should become the

¹ A reference to the 'cat'-school.

cause of the destruction of the world and of caste-interminglings" ?¹ The holy Lord Raghunandana (i.e. Rāma-candra, an incarnation of the Holy One), after He had conquered Rāvaṇa, learned that that demon was by birth a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, in order to expiate the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa, He performed the *āśvamedha* sacrifice, and thus set not His foot beyond the lines laid down by the Gospel of Works. If the Holy One acted thus, then what is man that he should obtain release from this departure and return without performing works ?

If it be objected that works are material, while the soul of man is a spirit, and how can the material release the spiritual ? the answer is, just as a boat is a material thing, and yet, with the aid of the hands of the boatman, carrieth thousands across the stream ; or as a flight of steps is material, and yet without it no man can ever reach the upper story ; so are works. They are a help-means for crossing the ocean of existence.

Again, let it be objected that if a man doeth good works and would enjoy their fruits, he must have a body wherewith to enjoy them, and that, as a body is mortal and one day death must come, there will thus continue to be births and rebirths with no release. To this I reply that good works are of two kinds, interested (*sakāma*) and disinterested (*niṣkāma*). Interested works are those which are performed for the accomplishment of some wish. These certainly are the cause of departure and return, because as soon as the word *finis* is written upon the fruits of these good works the man leaveth that heaven which he had earned by them, and returneth to be born

¹ *Bhagavad Gītā*, iii, 22-4 :—

yadi hy ahaṁ na vartīyaṁ
mama vartimānucartantī
utsīdeyur imē lokā
mānkaraṇya ca kartā syāṁ

varita eva ca karmaṇī ||
jātu karmaṇy atandritaḥ |
mānasyāḥ, Pārtha, sarvabhū ||
na kuryāt karma cēd ahaṁ |
upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ ||

again upon the earth.¹ Disinterested² good works, on the other hand, are a cause of release and of ultimate salvation. They are those which are performed without any wish: that is to say, the man who performeth them never in any way desireth their fruits, but dedicateth these fruits to, and layeth them before the feet of, the Holy One. Now, the Holy One is imperishable, everlasting, and indestructible, and for this reason those fruits which have been dedicated to Him without any ulterior object also become themselves imperishable, everlasting, and indestructible. Then, in His mercy, the Holy One manifesteth His nature in the heart of the man, or, in other words, begetteth therein a love and devotion for His gracious feet. Just as, when some poor man offereth to a mighty king a gift worth but a few farthings, the king considereth not the value of the gift or the person of the giver, nor giveth in return something merely of the like value, but of his own bounty bestoweth liberally and removeth the poor man's poverty for ever; or again, just as in this world a man giveth a present freely, nor asketh for its price, and the man who receiveth it feeleth gratitude within his heart; so the Holy One, who is the diadem-jewel of those who know the value of gratitude, showeth His full recognition of that which is offered to Him. For when love for the Holy One hath thus entered

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that the whole of the above is written with a belief in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Every work, good or bad, has its fruits. Bad works consign the performer, for a longer or shorter period, to one or other of the numerous hells, while good works exalt him to one or other of the numerous heavens under similar conditions. A man's fate after death (so far as it is dependent upon works) is settled by the balance of the fruits of his good and bad works. These fruits, in course of time, become exhausted, and then he has to begin over again. When salvation is gained (in this system of belief) by faith (*bhakti*), the chain of cause and effect is broken, and there is no more rebirth.

² 'Disinterested' (*niskāma*) corresponds to what *Bhag. Gītā*, iii, 19, calls *akāta*.

into the man's heart and is fostered by the due performance of the daily holy ceremonies, that love increaseth day by day until it hath no bounds, so that the heart becometh pure and in it is established a sure and certain Faith (*bhakti*) in the Holy One. Then, by the blessing of that Faith, he reacheth the feet of the Holy One (*Bhagavat-pada*), and is never born again.

Moreover, the Gospel of Works is the command of the Holy One, and it is a well-known experience that if any servant be continually devoted to carrying out his lord's orders, then that lord is pleased with his man and fulfilleth all his desires. So, wherefore should not the Holy One, who is the Lord of lords, show delight in that servant who obeyeth His commands? Wherefore should He not therefore grant accomplishment to all his efforts, and wherefore should He not release him from the woes of perpetual rebirth? Nay, wondrous in His grace; for, on account of these disinterested works, the Holy One doth Himself grant the earthly wishes of His servants in addition to accepting the offerings made to Him, whereof Prahlāda, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira, Dhruva, and other saints are witnesses.¹

But this serious doubt may arise that, granted that these good works lose themselves by becoming merged into the Holy One, there are on the other hand evil works committed by the same man, and how can these be caused to disappear without fruit?² The fact is that works can

¹ The stories of these are all well known, and I need not repeat them here.

² It is of course to be understood that, as has been said in a preceding note, all works have fruits, and unless these fruits are destroyed there must be this 'departure and return' for ever. The fruits of good works are destroyed by being accepted by and merged into the Holy One, but this cannot be expected of the fruits of bad works. These therefore remain, and prevent by their mere existence, irrespectively of the punishment due for them, the salvation of their doer.

also be classed under two other divisions—those that are involuntary (*ajñāta*) and those that are wilful (*jñāta*). Involuntary works (or sins) are those which are expiated by ceremonials such as the daily religious rites (*nitya-sandhyā*), offerings (*bali*), the morning and evening homage (*vaiśva-dēva*), oblations to the Manes (*śrāddha*), hospitality (*abhyāgata-pūjana*), or the like. These expiatory works, when they are disinterested, reach the Holy One, and give the everlasting fruit. As for wilful works (i.e. wilful sins), when a man is devoted to works of the disinterested class, then he committeth not great sins, and if perchance he do commit such, then the Holy One, who is the Lord of good works, Himself forgiveth the sin of the evil works. This is plainly written in the Vēda and other scriptures (*śruti*), and it is verily in accord with justice that when a man hath given the fruit of his good works to the Holy One, his evil works should, for him, no longer remain in existence. As for this question of interested and disinterested works a parable cometh to my mind. If a man have a paid servant or workman, and through him incur any loss, then the servant or the workman, who is paid for his labour and who therefore worketh for reward, will have to make it good. But if the loss be incurred through a slave born in the house, who worketh not for reward, then the master beareth the loss and none thereof falleth upon the slave. Here, the doer of interested works is like the paid servant who worketh for reward, while the doer of disinterested works is like the son of the slave-girl.

The sum of all this is that in accord with the command of the Vēda it is most proper to perform works, provided they are disinterested. The wise men (*jñānī*) and the faithful (*bhaktā*) of old, as well as those who are now and those who will be, reached the highest stage through the power of their works alone; as it is written in the *Gītā* that only so did the resolute devotion (*sthīratā*) of heart

in Janaka and other old saints reach perfection,¹ and again that without works there is never emancipation²; in short, all the scriptures are at one that without works there is no salvation.

Moreover, it is forbidden by the law-books (*smṛti*) to apply one's reason to the commands of the Vēda, and to argue that such and such is one of these commands, and is therefore of necessity intended only for such and such a benefit. Opportunity is here taken to show that these commands are not only directed to the future life but are also for earthly benefits. For instance, rising at dawn, bathing, reverence to parents and preceptors, truth-speaking, friendship, kindly words, associating with the intelligent, study, avoidance of calumny, being true to salt, common honesty, faithfulness to friends, honouring as a spiritual preceptor (*guru*) him who teacheth wisdom or who leadeth to the Holy One, and undertaking the thousands of holy works, such as lauding the Holy One and the like; or abstaining from falsehood, theft, adultery, taking of life, gambling, winebibbing, association with the wicked, deception, treachery, stupidity, ingratitude, and the like; or not allowing one's attention to be distracted when bathing in a river, or when walking in a rain-storm, or when being shaved; or not eating tainted or very indigestible food, or another's leavings, or anything pungent, sour, or salt, and on the contrary making

¹ *Bhagavad Gītā*, iii, 20:—

karmanaiiva hi saṁśiddhim

āsthita Janakādayaḥ |

By works alone did Janaka and the rest work for complete accomplishment.

Cf. iv, 15:—

evaṁ jñātṛo kṛtaṁ karma

kuru karmāṇi taṁnāt tvaṁ

pūrvair api munukṣubhiḥ |

pūrvaiḥ pūrcatāṁ kṛtaṁ ||

² As suggested to me by Dr. Barnett, the passage referred to is evidently *Bhagavad Gītā*, iii, 4:—

na karmāṇāṁ āndrahān

naiḥkarmayāḥ paruo 'janté |

Without undertaking works no one attains to worklessness.

one's food of digestible, palatable, sweet, and tender substances; or not going by night upon a mountain,—there are commands for thousands of such works, and they should be obeyed, for what benefits do they not confer even in this life! Nay, there are some works of this kind which are such that if a man do not perform them he is even expelled from his caste.

Nevertheless, evil fortune hath entangled some so that they never turn their thoughts towards the commands of the Vēda, and many even say: "Sir, how is it possible for any man to perform works as they are ordained in the Scriptures? There is no place where you can put down your foot with certainty. There is no knowing where you are among them." Here we see the real cause for these people abstaining from the commands of the Scriptures, namely, that they have never had an opportunity of hearing them. For the commands, both orders and prohibitions, are so simple that any man can follow them. Even if some procedure be enjoined that is extremely difficult of accomplishment, beside it another kind of command is also written by which all difficulty is done away with. Thus, if the oil of a lamp fall upon the hand, so large a quantity of earth is prescribed for cleansing the hand that great difficulty would be experienced in carrying out the direction; but in the same passage it is explained that this means that the hand is rendered clean by rubbing it upon the ground. Again, in many places the extremely difficult *cāndrāyama*¹ fast is enjoined as a penance for certain sins, yet in the same places it is written that if it be found too difficult, then a fast for three days, or even for one day, may be

¹ The name of a fast regulated by the moon, the food being diminished every day by one mouthful during the dark fortnight, and increased in like manner during the light fortnight. I regret that I have failed to identify the passages referred to.

substituted. This sheweth how all the commands of the Scriptures are in truth easy of accomplishment, and that the only difficulty is to understand them, and to gird up the loins in the resolve to perform them.

This also should be considered that, if it were not intended that men should carry out these commands, why then were they ever written in the Scriptures? There are many classes of people who are called infidels (*nāstika*) or barbarians (*mlēcchā*), and they are so called because they obey not the command of the Vēda, but the rather conduct themselves in opposition to it. It followeth therefore that whosoever conduct (*pravṛtti*) be not based upon these commands is, for this account only, an infidel and a barbarian; while if a man venture to call the Scriptures false, or to consider them merely to be like any other knowledge, or to speak of Heaven and Hell as old wives' fables, without doubt his lot will be damnation (*durgati*).

THE SECOND *niṣṭhā*: THAT OF PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL OF GRACE.

I bow to the Vyāsa¹ incarnation of the Holy Lord Kṛṣṇa, that incarnation by the which He revealed the Vēdas for the salvation of the world, and in the which He spread abroad the Gospel of Grace by composing the Brahma-sūtras, the Mahābhārata, the eighteen Purāṇas, and the Books of the Law (Smṛti). Then bow I to the mark of the Thunderbolt² upon His lotus-feet, the destroyer of the terrible Vṛtrāsura and of the mountains of sin.

¹ Including the well-known ten, followers of the *bhakti*-religion count no less than twenty-four incarnations of Viṣṇu. Of these twenty-four the Vyāsa is the eleventh.

² Regarding the marks on the feet see note 1 on p. 342. Indra with his thunderbolt slew Vṛtra, and cut off the wings of mountains. Similarly, meditation on the thunderbolt mark on Viṣṇu's foot crumbles the mountain of sin to dust.

[Having dealt in the preceding section with the question of morality (*dharma*) and works (*karma*) generally, the author now proceeds to distinguish between morality and a state of grace (*bhāgavata-dharma*). The latter he defines as resulting from all those disinterested (*niskāma*) works which, whether in this or in any future life, are dedicated to the Holy One and are concerned with faith (*bhakti*) in Him. Morality, he explains, includes all good works, whether interested (*sakāma*) or disinterested, while the works which constitute a state of grace must be disinterested. All this involves a great deal of repetition of what has been already said above, and I do not translate it. He then proceeds:—]

Although the heart of a faithful one (*bhakta*) devoted to the observance of the Gospel of Grace, and with his thoughts at each moment turned only to Him, is independent of the necessity of doing or of abstaining from any other works, still many teachers have said that it is by the power of works that faith in the Holy One cometh into existence, and that until he hath forgotten every bodily fetter, and hath become totally absorbed (*magna*) (in his faith), he must continue performing the obligatory ceremonies, such as the daily rites (*sandhyā*) and the like. The contradiction here is only apparent, for if a man be devoted with a single mind to the Gospel of Grace, then every work that he may do is concerned with faith, and cannot be considered as a work, but as an act of faith.

Whoever be a preacher of this Gospel of Grace, as it hath been above declared, he is as it were its boat, which not only crosseth itself, but also carrieth others across. The saying *tarāṇa-tāraṇa*, or the ferrier of the ferried, is well known, and was invented to be said of such faithful saints (*bhakta*). Although the Holy One Himself is a preacher of the Gospel of Grace, inasmuch as He taught the Vēda unto Brahmā, and the state of grace hath

been spread abroad through being in accordance with the Vēda, nevertheless, in His special mercy, He showed such unceasing graciousness towards this currency that He threw not the entire weight even upon Brahmā, but also employed other means for its further diffusion.

Firstly, He caused faithful ones and mighty saints to prepare and utter *sūtras*, *tantras*, law-books (*smṛti*), the six systems of philosophy, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, the Mahābhārata, and other *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*, so that, being in accordance with them, the currency was fostered, and at the same time mankind received benefit from hearing them read and from reciting them. Afterwards, when the Holy One perceived that the tastes of men had become directed towards the art of poetry, He taught them by means of dramas, *campūs*, epics (*kāvyas*), and poetries (*sāhitya*), and when He saw that, in studying these, people's intellects became wearied and confused, He moved men to write commentaries. When mankind did not perfectly understand even these, in the Kali age He made manifest Sūra-dāsa, Tulasi-Dāsa, Nābhā (the author of the *Bhakta-māla*), Agra-dāsa, Nanda-dāsa,¹ and others, to narrate in their own tongue His deeds and the Gospel of Grace, and this again gave them currency in the world.

As a second means, He Himself, with His own lotus-mouth, clearly explained it, and having caused Lakṣmī, His attendants (*pārṣada*), Brahmā, Śiva, Saṅkha and his brethren, Nārada, Śukra, Bṛhaspati, Vasiṣṭha, the Vyāsa, and thousands of others² to become spiritual guides (*guru*),

¹ These are the names of famous poets of the *bhakti*-school. They all wrote in the vernacular.

² All the persons named above are well known to students of Sanskrit literature. According to the *bhakti*-system they were energetic proclaimers of the gospel. One important tradition may be mentioned. Nārāyaṇa himself taught Lakṣmī. She taught the *Pārṣadas*. These *Pārṣadas*, or attendants on the Holy One, occupy a very prominent place in the theology of the school. Their leader was Viṣvak-sēna. He taught Saṅkha-kopa, who taught Vopadēva, who taught Śrinātha, who taught

through them He gave instruction in this Gospel of Grace. In the Kali age, manifesting Himself by partial incarnations of various kinds as Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Mādhava, Viṣṇusvāmī, Vallabha, Hita Hari-vamśa,¹ and hundreds of other teachers (*ācārya*), He even now, in His mercy, giveth salvation to millions of sinful men.

Puṇḍarikākṣa, who taught Rāma-taiśra, who taught Parāśukṣa, who taught Yamunācārya, who taught Pūrṇācārya, who taught Rāmānuja. It is thus claimed that Rāmānuja, the great founder of the modern Rāma-bhakti religion, was twelfth in spiritual descent from Nārāyaṇa himself, through Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu-sena.

¹ These are all famous religious teachers. Śaṅkara was the great Vēdānta apostle. He cannot, by any stretch, be looked upon as a teacher of *bhakti*. His followers make him an incarnation of Śiva. To a Vaiṣṇava, that deity was one of Viṣṇu's pupils in *bhakti* (see below). The ordinary Vaiṣṇava explanation (see, e.g., Hariścandra's *Vaiṣṇava Sarvaśa*, p. 5) of Śiva's connexion with Śaṅkara is that when the world was filled with Buddhism and other heresies, the Holy One directed Śiva to become incarnate and to preach a doctrine invented by himself (Śiva), so as to turn people from the Holy One and to manifest his glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers. Wilson (*Religious Sects*, p. 11) quotes a similar legend from the *Padma Purāṇa*, a Vaiṣṇava work, according to which Nāgaci and other Daityas had become so powerful by the purity of their devotions that Indra and the other gods were unable to oppose them. The gods had recourse to Viṣṇu, who ordered Śiva to introduce Śaiva tenets, by which the Daityas were beguiled and rendered "wicked and thence weak." The idea of the Supreme Being Himself being the motive cause of the invention of heretical doctrines, in order to consign their believers to damnation, conveys quite a refreshing whiff of Western odium theologicum.

Rāmānuja, the founder of the *Śrī-naiṣpradāya*, which directed its faith more especially to Rāma, is said by his followers to be an incarnation of Śeṣa, the serpent of eternity. The name of the sect is derived from Śrī, or Lakṣmī, through whom, as explained in the preceding note, Rāmānuja is believed to have had spiritual descent.

Nimbārka, the founder of the second, or *Sanakadi*, *sampradāya*, is said to have been an incarnation of Sūrya, or the sun. The Holy One, in his incarnation as a *Hansa*, or swan (the fourteenth in the *bhakti* list of incarnations), taught Sanaka and his brethren, who taught Nārada, who taught Nimbārka or Nimbāditya. The followers of this sect worship Rāma and Kṛṣṇa conjointly.

Mādhava or Madhvācārya, the founder of the third, or *Brahma*, *sampradāya*, is said to have been an incarnation of Vāyu, or the air, and had been previously incarnate as Hanumān and as Bhīma. He also had spiritual descent from the *Hansa* incarnation of the Holy One. *Hansa*

Thirdly. He manifested temples and images, places for adoration and austerities, such as Badarikāśrama,¹ His own abodes on this earth, such as Mathurā² and Ayōdhyā,³ and bathing-places, such as the Ganges, the Yamunā, or Puškara, that by their power faith might be spread abroad.

The sum of the whole is this, that so desirous is the Holy One for the spread and for the confirmation of His Gospel of Grace, that whenever even the smallest

taught Brahmā, who taught Nārada, who taught the Vyāsa, who taught Subuddha, who taught Naraharī, who taught Mādhava. The sect is a Vaiṣṇava one, and its distinguishing point is that it teaches duality, or the distinctness of the principle of life from the Supreme Being. Although a *bhakti*-sect, it does not single out any special incarnation of the Holy One for worship. For further particulars of his teaching see B. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84*, p. 74.

Viṣṇuvāmi, the founder of the fourth, or *Rudra*-, *saṁpradāya*, is said to have been an incarnation of the Vyāsa. His spiritual descent is derived from the Varada-rāja form of the Holy One, who taught Śiva, who taught Prēmananda. From the last-named, Viṣṇuvāmi was forty-eighth in spiritual descent. The sect is considered to have been derived from Śiva or Rudra, whence its name. It is devoted mainly to the worship of the Holy One under the form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

These four, the *Śrī*-, the *Sanakādi*-, the *Brahma*-, and the *Rudra*-, are the four great *saṁpradāyas*, or Churches of the *bhakti*-school. Every sect claims to be a member or branch of one or other of them. The first and the last are the two which are current in Northern India, and with which I am best acquainted. The *Śrī-saṁpradāya* includes all those sects which specially worship Rāma, and the *Rudra-saṁpradāya* those that worship Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. According to Wilson the dates of the four masters are as follows :—Rāmānuja, middle of the twelfth century ; Nimbārka, date unknown (tradition makes him very ancient) ; Mādhava, early in thirteenth century ; Viṣṇuvāmi, date unknown (tradition puts him as living during the war of the Mahābhārata).

Vallabha, or Vallabhācārya, was a teacher of the *Rudra-saṁpradāya*, born in 1479 A.D., who founded the *Vallabhācārī* sect, and introduced the now very popular worship of the infant Kṛṣṇa.

Hita Harivaiśa (born 1559 A.D.) was the founder of the well-known Rādhā-vallabhi sect, and a famous poet. According to some he belonged to the *Brahma*-, and according to others to the *Sanakādi-saṁpradāya*.

¹ I.e., Badrināth in Garhwāl, a famous place of pilgrimage. One of the sources of the Ganges.

² The abode of Kṛṣṇa.

³ The abode of Rāma.

impediment thereto appeareth, then He Himself, the Holy One, becometh incarnate to slay the offender and to make steadfast His own people. In the *Gītā*,¹ saith the Holy One, "Arjuna, when piety (*dharma*) minisheth and impiety waxeth strong, then do I myself become incarnate to protect my Faithful (*bhakta*), to destroy the wicked, and to establish my Gospel of Grace."

It therefore followeth of necessity, and is most urgent, that everyone should labour and endeavour to spread abroad the Gospel of Grace; for not only doth this please the Holy One, but also he that spreadeth it abroad is counted as forming a part of His *vibhūta avatāra*, or 'transcendent' incarnation. Somewhere is it written in the Scriptures that he who taketh one that is averse and turneth him towards the Holy One, hath earned the fruits of ten thousand horse-sacrifices. Now these are among the means of spreading the Gospel of Grace,—telling the Gospel of the Lord: erecting temples, choirs (*bhajanakuṭi*), rest-houses, gardens, wells, tanks, schools, and buildings where they who hymn the Holy One and where the world at large may find rest; composing narratives of His deeds and commentaries on ancient works; encouraging the Gospel of the Holy One and putting aside that which is opposed to it; the distribution of daily alms (*sādā-vrata*), especially at holy places such as Badarikāśrama, Ayōdhyā, or Haridvāra; vigils and attendance at litanies (*kīrtana*) on the eleventh² of each

¹ *Bhagavad Gītā*, iv, 7, 8:—

yudā yudā hi dharmasya
abhyutthānam ūdharmasya
paritrāyaṣya sādhanam.
dharma-samsthāpandarthāya

glāir bhavati, Bhārata |
tadātmanasḥ rājany aham ||
vināśīya ca duṣkṛtām |
sambhavāmi yugē yugē ||

It will be observed that the people preserved are called *sādhu*, not *bhakta*. Strictly speaking, in technical language, the two words do not connote the same thing.

² The eleventh *tithi* of each lunar fortnight is sacred to Viṣṇu. It is known as the *Hari-vāsara*, the LORD's day.

fortnight and on other fast days dedicated to the Holy One; considering as days sacred to the Holy One the festivals of His various incarnations and other occasions dedicated to His memory, rejoicing on them openly and with affection; doing a man's best to learn and to teach; and all other such actions as shall turn men's hearts to the Holy One.

Who can worthily describe or fitly extol him who is a faithful servant of the Holy One, and the man whose heart and soul are directed only towards the welfare and salvation of his neighbours? He hath achieved the Great Success. Nay, even he is dear unto the Holy One who preacheth the Gospel of Grace only for his own glory and to be seen of men; for through such a man thousands may be put upon the way of salvation, and by virtue of the morality which he must needs practise, or by the prayer of some Faithful one, his own heart may perchance turn really to the Holy One. The Scriptures never weary in celebrating the favour shown by Him unto those that preach the Gospel. I call to mind one story from the *Prapannāmṛta*¹ about Anantācārya. A breach became formed in the road between the temple and the town in which he preached, so that the way became obstructed. In order that the people might have no difficulty in going backwards and forwards, Anantācārya himself took a basket and mattock, and began to fill up the hollow. He asked his wife, who was then far gone in pregnancy, to help him in his work. When the time of her labour drew nigh and she carried hardly the basket of earth, the Holy One, Himself, in His graciousness, took the form of a coolie, and bade her rest while He carried the basket for her. After a while Anantācārya beheld a coolie

¹ An anonymous life of Rāmānuja. Anantācārya was one of the most eminent of Rāmānuja's successors as a preacher of *bhakti*. See Hariścandra's *Caritāvalī*, p. 25.

doing his wife's work, and running up to him with a stick cried angrily to him: "Who art thou that, without permission given, takest a share in my labour?" As he approached, the Holy One fled (for there was naught else for him to do) and took refuge within the temple. Anantācārya ran in after him cudgel in hand, and when he had entered, lo! the image of the Holy One therein had its body smeared with mud, and was all covered with the dust of the road. Then Anantācārya understood that the Holy One, in His graciousness to one who preached His Gospel, had taken compassion on his wife and had Himself carried her basket. Folding his hands in supplication, and drowned in a sea of love, he cried: "Lord, have compassion on me! Such a deed was the labour of a slave, and yet it hath been done unto me by my Master!"

In this way we see that it is incumbent on every man, with all his heart and soul and strength, to preach as best he can this supreme Gospel. If a man be skilled in words and learned, let him compose histories of the Holy One; and let him remember that there have been hundreds of poets who have chattered without measure, but all the time have not once thought of writing one line about Him or His glorious deeds. Often hath it been said unto such an one, "Cleanse thy voice and thy heart by telling of the glory of the Holy One," and this one will give answer, "Sir, I am busy describing the doctrine of the identity of the universe with the Deity," and that one replieth, "I must suit my rhymes to the times," and yet another saith, "A poet hath no leisure for heeding anything but metre and diction. *Laborare est orare*. This is an effectual way of serving the Holy One."¹ Such answers are bootless, and such work hath no profit in it; for the long and short of

¹ The first reply is supposed to be given by a professor of the pantheism of the *advaita* *Vēdānta*, to which the *bhakti*-belief is in the strongest opposition. '*Laborare est orare*' is a free translation of *gah bhī to Bhagavat-bhajan hai*.

it is that the poem, or any composition with all the graces possible of style, that doth not tell of the acts of the Holy One, is altogether fruitless and most base. Odious is it as a fair moon-faced damsel who goeth about naked and unashamed.

Moreover, most of the business of this world hath its foundation on wealth and on great possessions, and well know the rich that no one had wealth in the beginning nor will he keep it to the end. Empty-handed did he come, and empty-handed will he go. This wealth is named *māyā*, or illusion, and Lakṣmī, who is its guardian goddess, is the faithful spouse of the Holy One. Where her Lord is not, there will she not remain, but instantly departeth. Therefore let him, who would make his wealth to be eternal, lay it upon the path of the Holy One, and pass his time in service and in worship. Thousands have there been of opulent bankers and men of great possessions. Yet their very names are now forgotten. But the name of every man who hath built a temple or a choir, or who hath dug a tank, endureth to this day. The pity of it is that so many who gain wealth spend not more of it upon the spreading abroad of the Gospel of Grace. The knowledge of God, of the soul, of the world, of heaven, of hell, of faith, of knowledge itself, of freedom from the passions, and of the churches and their teachings, all dependeth upon means of learning. Now that the four castes, Brāhmanas, Kṣātriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, have all given up the habit of searching the scriptures, all moralities have become destroyed. In the Deccan—in Cināpattana (i.e. Madras), Telinga, Drāviḍa, and the twelve Malhārs¹—there is a law that if any boy be disobedient in applying himself to the

¹ Dr. Fleet, to whom I am also indebted for the reference to Cināpattana, suggests that 'the twelve Malhārs' means 'the Mallāḍ,' a Kanarese corruption of *Malwad*, *Malanāḍa*, and a well-known name for the Ghāt regions of the Kanarese country. Why the writer numbers them as twelve is not clear.

scriptures, his elders take the order of the ruler of the land, and send him to school with fetters on his legs; nor are these taken off until he study the scriptures through and through. For this cause is every man in that land steadfast in morals. From the Brāhmaṇa down to the lowest castes, no one is ignorant of the doctrines of his own religion, and but few become entangled in the meshes of the words of the ungodly. Therefore, let every man, so far as in him lieth, help the reading of the scriptures, whether those of his own church or those of another. If he know not Sanskrit, then the reading of them in his mother-tongue will accomplish all that he desireth. Such glory hath the Holy One given unto the *Sūra-sāgara*¹ and to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulasī-dāsa² that they who study them from day to day, of a surety become dear unto Him. So also is the glory of the words of Nanda-dāsa, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, Agra-dāsa, and Chita-svāmi;³ and in the commencement of the commentary to the *Bhakta-māla*⁴ it is written how it is all-important that a man should have the story of the Holy One recited and should teach others to hear it, and that, just as he bringeth up his retainers and his children and his children's children in the conduct of this world, so should he turn others to the Holy One, and teach them His *Thousand names*,⁵ the *Gītā*,⁶ the *Stava-rāja*,⁷ and such

¹ The work of Sūra-dāsa. The vernacular Bible of the Kṛṣṇa-worshippers.

² The famous *Rāma-carita-mānasa*. The vernacular Bible of the Rāma-worshippers. These two works are between them said to exhaust all possibilities of the poet's art.

³ These are all poet saints of the northern *Bhakti*-school.

⁴ The famous work of Nābhā-dāsa, the *Acta Sanctorum* of the *Bhakti*-school. I have failed to trace the passage referred to.

⁵ A section of the *Annāṣṭaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, cataloguing the thousand names of Viṣṇu. Its repetition is over and over again enjoined on *Bhaktas*.

⁶ The *Bhagavad Gītā*.

⁷ The name of Bhiṣma's hymn in honour of Kṛṣṇa, in the *Sūkti Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The title means the 'King of Hymns of Praise.'

scriptures. For if a man turn not his family and his household towards the Gospel of Grace, and teach not the knowledge that holdeth thereunto, then the sin, lasting his life long, lieth upon the heads of his parents, who trained him not up to teach, and showed him not its necessity. Contrariwise, if a man hath in his family those who are faithful to the Holy One, he releaseth from hell not only himself, but also them that went before him. Prahlāda and others are witnesses of this.

O Thou Ocean of Mercy ! O Thou Friend of the lowly ! O Thou Royal Moon of Vraja ! deign Thou to come for a while unto this house, and to cast a glance upon Thy slave. For, save at thy lotus-feet, there is no other refuge, no other guardian. If Thou wilt but look upon the works which I have dedicated unto Thee, no longer shall I be compelled to linger here through the round of countless births and rebirths. Therefore, in Thy mercy and in Thy compassion alone do I take refuge ; and though I know full well that I offer praise and honour and devotion and adulation to the worldly, who have turned aside from Thee, a thousand times more than I pass my time in reverential devotion and meditation upon Thee, still the bark of faith will bear me across in but a moment of time. But, so luckless, so vile, so sinful, is this heart of mine, that even by mistake it turneth not willingly to Thee, and, therefore, in order that this heart, foolish, and dull of comprehension, may ever bear Thee in mind and thus may speedily gain its highest wish, have I laid out a fair garden on the bank of the holy Yamunā.

(The writer concludes with a poetical description of this garden in which he has built a shrine for the due worship of the Holy One. It is not necessary for our present purpose to translate it.)

* * * * *

So ends the *Bhakta-kalpadruma* account of the doctrine of works. One important point has been obscured by my

method of translation. I have given the "Gospel of Grace" as the equivalent of the vernacular *Bhāgavata Dharma*, but the original words link the modern *bhaktas* in an unmistakable manner with a past far older than Christianity. Some months ago, in a discussion held in this room on the influence of early Christianity upon modern Hinduism,¹ I hesitated to ascribe so ancient an origin to the modern *bhakti*-doctrine. That that doctrine, as it now stands, has been deeply influenced by Christianity I am still as convinced as ever, but further study in the direction suggested by Professor Keith has led me to give more weight than I had hitherto done to the importance of its descent from the old *Bhāgavata* monotheistic religion dating from an age perhaps contemporary with the early *Upaniṣads*, introduced and spread abroad not by *Brāhmins* but by men of other castes in opposition to Brahmanic pantheism, and ultimately absorbed, like many other Indian religions, by Brahmanism itself. That the ancient *Bhāgavata* faith was originally a rival of the Vedic religion is, I think, admitted by all scholars, whether Indian or European, who have studied the subject. As adopted by *Brāhmins*, and given a superficial Vedic coating, we have it in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and even here the loose connexion with orthodox Brahmanism is patent in every line. As Mr. Telang shows, all that we can say of the author of the poem as we have it now is that he does not throw the *Vēdas* absolutely overboard. He even contends that acting upon the ordinances of the *Vēda* is an obstacle to the attainment of the *summum bonum*. But the *Brāhmins*, compelled by the exigencies of their struggle against Buddhism, had been forced to make terms with this hostile teaching, and to endeavour to show that it was consonant with their own. Having once drawn the followers of the *Bhāgavata* religion within their fold,

¹ See *Journal of the Society* for 1907, p. 493.

they have, with characteristic astuteness, infected it more and more with their own ideas, till we see it as presented in what has been here translated. The supernatural holiness of everything touched upon by the Vēdas is now insisted upon, and has given rise to the controversy regarding faith and works that has divided the Bhāgavata churches as sharply as it has the Christian Churches of the West. Going back to the origins, we see that, as all the world over, it is to the priestly caste that we owe the emphasis laid upon works and ceremonial, while it is the laity,—the Kṣātrīyas and Vaiśyas of ancient India,—who first laid down the law of the necessity of devotion and faith that in the course of centuries has developed into the modern Hindū doctrine of *bhakti*.

XII.

THE SANKHAYANA ARANYAKA.

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

NOW that the complete text¹ of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka will shortly be available, it may be of interest to give a brief account of that comparatively little-known² work, and in particular of the part hitherto unpublished, on the basis of the excellent and old manuscript of the text in the Bodleian Library³ at Oxford.

In the first place the name of the book is a little doubtful. In favour of the title Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka may be set the fact that nowhere in the book is a Śāṅkhāyana cited as an authority for any doctrine, whereas Kauṣītaki is so cited in several passages.⁴ For a similar cause Lindner, in his edition of the Brāhmaṇa,⁵ has adopted the title Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa. On the other hand, the name found in the two complete MSS.⁶ in Berlin and in Oxford is Śāṅkhāyana, though Kauṣītaki does occur as the title in a MS. mentioned by Cowell.⁷ More important,

¹ Adhyāyas i and ii in Dr. Friedländer's edition (Berlin, 1900); iii-vi in Cowell's edition (Calcutta, 1901); and vii-xy in an Appendix to my edition of the *Āltareya Āraṇyaka* (in the press).

² The original sources of information are the preface to Cowell's ed., pp. iv-vii; Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 50, 132; *Berlin Catalogue*, i, p. 19; ii, pp. 5, 6; Winternitz & Keith, *Bodleian Catalogue*, pp. 59, 60.

³ MS. Sansk. c. 2. I have also been enabled by the help of Geheimrath Professor Dr. Pischel to make use of the Berlin MS. Orient. fol. 630 (from Buhler's collection), for the loan of which I am much indebted to the Royal Library.

⁴ ii, 17; iv, 1; 7 (= Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, ii, 1; 7); I cite the Adhyāyas of the Upaniṣad throughout as iii-vi.

⁵ *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, p. ix. Cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, p. 393.

⁶ *Berlin Catalogue*, ii, p. 5; *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 60.

⁷ *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*, pp. vii, 130. There is similar variation in the title of the Brāhmaṇa.

however, is the fact that in the *Vamśa* which forms *Adhyāya* xv we find as the first teacher *Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana*, who derived his information from *Kahola Kauṣitaki*. The title may, therefore, be either *Kauṣitaki* or *Śāṅkhāyana*, but the latter is more precisely correct.

The next point is the extent of the work. In the Berlin MS., and with some variation in the Bodleian MS., the *Āraṇyaka* is divided into fifteen chapters. *Adhyāyas* i and ii deal with the *Mahāvratā*, iii to vi form the *Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad*,¹ vii and viii the *Samhitā Upaniṣad*, ix–xi contain miscellaneous *Upaniṣads*, xii a hymn, xiii and xiv a short *Upaniṣad*, and xv the *Vamśa*. With this arrangement agrees the reckoning found in some MSS.² of the *Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad* as *Adhyāyas* iii to vi of the *Āraṇyaka*. Another reckoning treated the *Upaniṣad* by itself as *Adhyāyas* i to iv, just as was done in the case of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and the *Āitareya Upaniṣad*. More difficulty is caused by the reckoning in one MS.³ of the *Upaniṣad* by which the *Adhyāyas* were counted as vi–ix, but it may be suggested that in this case the *Āraṇyaka* was reckoned as consisting of *Adhyāyas* vii, viii, ix–xi, iii–vi. This is not impossible, because the first two *Adhyāyas* were in fact sometimes omitted, as is shown by the fact that in one MS.⁴ the *Adhyāyas* vii–xi are found numbered v–ix, and the *Adhyāyas* vii–xi can naturally be separated from xii, and placed before, just as well as after, iii–vi. This leaves unexplained only Poley's⁵ statement that

¹ For the exact title, see Cowell's ed., pp. vii, viii; Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, i, p. xeviii.

² Cowell, p. vii (MS. F); *Berlin Catalogue*, i, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. vii (MS. A).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. iii (MS. B). This MS. was imperfect, ending abruptly before the conclusion of *Adhyāya* ix (xi).

⁵ *Indische Studien*, i, p. 392. It is not at all likely that he had another MS. with this division, and the four books of the *Upaniṣad* would hardly have been separated.

the Upaniṣad formed in one MS. the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (presumably Āraṇyaka is meant), but as this statement is not confirmed by any evidence I do not think we need hesitate to regard 'first' as a mere slip for 'sixth.'

As this variance of MSS. indicates, the Āraṇyaka forms a very loose mass of fragments of philosophy and ritual. It is, however, possible to divide it into six or seven parts, not at all intimately related. The first of these is the Mahāvratā section, Adhyāyas i and ii, corresponding to Aitareya Āraṇyaka, book i, while to book v of the Aitareya, which contains the Sūtra treatment of the ritual as contrasted with the Brāhmaṇa, correspond books xvii and xviii of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, which, as has been pointed out elsewhere,¹ were once, in all probability, part of the Āraṇyaka. The Śāṅkhāyana treatment is probably later than that of the Aitareya, as is indicated by its greater conciseness and clearness on the one hand, and by the more elaborate and artificial character of the ritual on the other, but it seems to be anterior to the treatment of the same topic in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, especially if, as seems most likely, Eggeling² is right in finding a reference to the Śāṅkhāyana use of seventeen priests in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x, 2, 1, 19.³ This view is confirmed on the whole by linguistic evidence.⁴ But the treatment is probably early in date, as is indicated by the close connection between the Āraṇyaka i and ii, and the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, which is frequently referred to as *tasyoktaṃ brāhmaṇam*.⁵ The two works are similar in style and ideas, and both belong to the period of the

¹ See *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 408 seq.

² *S.B.E.*, xliii, p. 348, n. 1.

³ See also *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 35 seq., where details are given.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵ Friedländer, p. 7. *Brāhmaṇam* is not, of course, so used a proper name; cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, xvii, p. 373.

mystic interpretation of ritual, but show no trace of later philosophic conceptions. It is characteristic that the masculine Brahman does not occur, though *brahma* contrasted with *brāhmaṇī* is found,¹ and that the ideal seems to be long life in this world, to be followed by *amṛtatva* and *akṣiti* in the *svarga loka*.² No doubt these views persist long after the new doctrine of Mukti comes into being, but the case here is different, for Mukti is still unknown.

The second part of the Āraṇyaka, Adhyāyas iii-vi, forms the famous Upaniṣad.³ Unlike the two preceding Adhyāyas, these chapters have no real parallel in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, for the latter in its treatment adheres to the Mahāvratā as a basis, while the former is an independent work, which agrees in little even with the portion of the Aitareya (ii, 4-6) which forms the Upaniṣad in the narrower sense. That the Kausītaki is not one of the very oldest Upaniṣads is now generally⁴ admitted. Its philosophic doctrine goes far beyond the Aitareya,⁵ while

¹ i, 5; 6. I am not sure how Friedländer takes these passages.

² ii, 17.

³ These Adhyāyas seem to be reckoned as making up only one Upaniṣad, unlike books ii and iii of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, of which Adhyāyas iv-vi of book ii are reckoned as constituting the Upaniṣad *par excellence*. This double reckoning vindicates Sāyana's accuracy in citing from the Aitareya Upaniṣad (viz. iii, 2, 2) *na ha vā ye prajād retāḥ nigṛhṇe*, etc., in his commentary on Taittirīya Saṃhitā, ii, 1, 1, 2, 3, against Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, ii, p. 306. The Sāṅkhayana version (viii, 2) is slightly different in wording.

⁴ Deussen: *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 24.

⁵ *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 41. Brahman (m.) is found in iii, 5, and cf. *brahmatāta*, iii, 3, which word, found also in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya, almost postulates a personal Brahman: Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, p. 396, n. Böhtlingk, wrongly in my opinion, finds him in Aitareya, ii, 6. None of the passages in Muir, *Texts*, v, pp. 320-1; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 168, or BR. s.v., are cogent, and I doubt if he is found before the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and the later part of the Atharva. He is not in the Taittirīya, Aitareya, Satapatha, Kausītaki, or Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇas.

its account¹ of the paths after death is clearly later than either that of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka or the Chāndogya.² The twelve questions of Bālāki in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka³ have increased to sixteen in the Kauṣītaki.⁴ The linguistic evidence tells the same tale. The narrative tense of the Kauṣītaki is throughout the perfect, some eighty-three cases of which occur. The narrative imperfects, on the other hand, are almost unknown. There are four examples in a speech attributed to Indra (v, 1), and there the perfect would be almost impossible. Another occurs in a Mantra (iv, 11), and in iv, 7, the imperfect is used in a curious way with a present following (*yud' ahorātrābhyāṃ pāpam akurot saṃ tad vṛākte*). The next clause actually has *karoti*. In vi, 1, so '*vasad' Uśīnareṣu savaśamatsyeṣu* seems, if the much disputed reading⁵ is correct, deliberately used to contrast Bālāki's temporary but continuous acts with his permanent character (*anācārah saṃspasta āsa*) on the one hand, and his single actions (*uvāca*) on the other. In vi, 20, *paryait* is not only strange, but there is in the other recension a well-attested variant, *pariyāya*. The periphrastic perfect occurs twice (*juhuvām cakruḥ*, iv, 5; *āmantrayām cakre*, vi, 19). The aorist in some twenty-five cases has its precise sense, so that it is impossible to overlook the significance of the narrative use of the perfect, which in the Aitareya is almost unknown save in two sections which are not connected with the main context of the work and are clearly derived from another source.⁶ Though both the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya prefer the perfect the imperfect remains in use.

On the other hand the Kauṣītaki is probably an early work.⁷ Its connection with the main stream of Kauṣītaki tradition is seen in the occurrence of the names of Kauṣītaki

¹ iii, 1.² Deussen, *Le.*³ ii, 1.⁴ vi, 1.⁵ I follow Oldenberg (*Buddha, E.T.*, p. 393, note) rather than BR., Cowell and Max Müller (*S.B.E.*, i, p. lxxvii), who read *savaśamatsyeṣu*.⁶ *Viz.*, ii, 2, 3, and 4. See *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 60.⁷ It shows no Sāṃkhya traits, Garbe, *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, p. 20.

and Paīngya as authorities,¹ and both its form and its matter differentiate it entirely from works like the Kāthaka and Īśā Upaniṣads. For an absolute date we have no cogent evidence; it most probably belongs to the fifth century at latest, and very likely it may be earlier. For it contains no reference to Buddhism, and we know that Upaniṣads like the Maitrāyaṇīya, which at any rate was definitely a product of a Vedic school, refer clearly to Buddhist views,² so that 600-550 B.C. may have seen the production of the Kauṣītaki. This date would consist well with all the historical data and names mentioned in the Upaniṣad. They are Citra Gāṅgyāyani (or Gārgyāyani), iii, 1; the Gautamas Uddālaka Āruṇi, iii, 1, and Śvetaketu, iii, 1; Kauṣītaki, iv, 1 and 7; Paīngya, iv, 1; Gārgya Bālāki and Ajātaśatru, vi, 1; and Śuśkabhrīgāra, iv, 6; besides the Uśīnaras, the Vaśamatsyas, the Kurupañcālas and the Kāśīvidehas, vi, 1. Śvetaketu was, in the opinion of Āpastamba,³ who cannot well be later than 300 B.C. and may be earlier,⁴ an *avara*, and belongs probably to the seventh or early sixth century B.C. Of course a later date would be essential if we could accept the view⁵ that in the Ajātaśatru of the Upaniṣads we must see the Buddhist prince, king of Magadha about 491 B.C. But this view appears to us to lack all probability. The Ajātaśatru of the Upaniṣad is of Kāśī; the Ajātasattu of the Pāli canon is of Magadha and is not lord of Kāśī.⁶

¹ Lindner, *Kauṣītaki Brāhmana*, p. 12; Weber, *Indian Literature*, p. 46. *Indische Studien*, i, p. 404.

² Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, i, p. 225; Max Müller, *op. cit.*, xv, p. li.

³ See Bühler, *S.B.E.*, ii², p. xlii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xlii seq.

⁵ Supported by no less an authority than Dr. Hoernle in his admirable *Osteology* (pp. 106-7). Cf. also Ludwig, *Ryveda*, iii, p. 13; Gough, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 185.

⁶ Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, pp. 12-16. Pāsenadi held it (Digha Nikāya); see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 303, n. †. The Buddhist period knows the Kāśīkosalas (cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, p. 212); the Brāhmaṇas, the Kāśīvidehas, and Kosalavidehas.

Further, as Yājñavalkya, Janaka of Videha, and Ajātaśatru are all according to the Upaniṣads¹ contemporaries, we would be forced to date even the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad at a date considerably subsequent to Buddha, for in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Yājñavalkya is so clearly a figure of somewhat ancient fame and not a recent sage, that we must suppose that he lived a long time—say a century—before the writer of the Upaniṣad. But the Bṛhadāraṇyaka is normally assumed on good grounds to be earlier than Buddhism,² and indeed it would be strange if Buddha has really been a contemporary of Yājñavalkya without any trace of him being found in the Upaniṣads dealing with that sage.

Further, the existence of two recensions of the Upaniṣad is in favour of its early date, as is the extremely obscure and probably corrupt nature of the text. The Bodleian and the Berlin MSS. undoubtedly belong to the recension contained in Cowell's MSS. A and D, which apparently was before Śaṅkara,³ and contain no variant of much consequence.

The third part of the Āraṇyaka, Adhyāyas vii and viii, corresponds very closely to Aitareya Āraṇyaka iii, the

¹ This follows from Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, ii, 1; Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, vi, 1, where Ajātaśatru refers to Janaka as a contemporary prince. For the contemporaneity of Janaka and Yājñavalkya there is abundant evidence; see Jacob's *Concordance*, pp. 369, 771.

² See e.g. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Garbe, *Philosophy of India*, p. 69; Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 226; Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, i, pp. 237-8; Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 51; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 18, 31.

³ See Cowell's ed., p. v; Max Müller, *S.B.E.*, i, p. xxix. I do not think Cowell (p. viii) is right in conjecturing that there were two recensions of the Āraṇyaka, and that the different recensions of the Upaniṣad are thence derived. There is no evidence of any such recensions of the Āraṇyaka. What is much more probable is that the Upaniṣad, which was most studied, was handed down in slightly different texts. That preserved in Śaṅkarānanda's commentary has every appearance of being an attempt at an improved version of the text, and its claim to any great age is not clear.

Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, dealing with the mystic significance of the Saṃhitā text. The exact relationship of the versions may be seen from the following table, in which the parallel, not necessarily identical passages, are set opposite each other :—

SĀNKHĀYANA ĀRANYAKA.	ĀITAREYA ĀRANYAKA.
vii, 1.	Sānti verses (my ed., pp. 75, 76).
vii, 2.	iii, 1, 1.
vii, 3.	iii, 1, 2.
vii, 4-7.	—
vii, 8; 9.	iii, 1, 4.
vii, 10.	iii, 1, 3.
vii, 11-13.	iii, 1, 5.
vii, 14-16.	iii, 1, 6.
vii, 17.	—
vii, 18; 19.	iii, 1, 6.
vii, 20.	—
vii, 21.	(Cf. ii, 6.)
vii, 22.	—
viii, 1.	iii, 2, 1.
viii, 2.	iii, 2, 2.
viii, 3; 4.	iii, 2, 3.
viii, 5.	iii, 2, 3; 4.
viii, 6.	iii, 2, 4.
viii, 7.	iii, 2, 4; 5.
viii, 8; 9.	iii, 2, 5.
viii, 10; 11.	iii, 2, 6.

On the whole, the version of the Śāṅkhāyana substantially follows the version of the Āitareya; the wording of the corresponding sections is quite often identical. In both cases the division of the Khaṇḍas is absurd. In all probability the Śāṅkhāyana version is not independent of or parallel with the Āitareya recension. The former appears to be based on and an extension of the latter. In every case it is much more full than the Āitareya. For instance, the imprecations of the Āitareya Āranyaka (iii, 1, 4) are confined to the case of cursing a man

who attacks one who holds the doctrine that *prāṇa* is *vamśa*. But in the Śāṅkhāyana, vii, 8 and 9, the curses are divided into two groups, one set apparently to curse with when not attacked, and one set wherewith to retaliate against an attack. In the second place, besides the names common to both versions,¹ the Śāṅkhāyana records in short paragraphs, made up mainly of repetitions and amplifications of what has preceded, the views of Viśvāmitra (vii, 4), Sūryadatta (vii, 5), Rādheya (vii, 6), Pauṣkarasādi (vii, 7), Bhārgava (vii, 15), Kāśyapa (vii, 17), Jāratkāra (vii, 20), Vāliśikhāyani (vii, 21), Lauhikya (vii, 22), Āruṇikya (viii, 1), Punardatta (viii, 8), Tāṇḍavinda (viii, 10), and Jātūkarnya Kātyāyaniputra (viii, 10). Now it should be said at once that no argument for or against an early date can certainly be drawn from a large mass of names. Weber² has pointed out that the occurrence of many authorities is consistent with either a late or an early author. But the evidence for a late date in this case is overwhelming, for the sages we hear of in these passages are either quasi-mythical like Viśvāmitra, or at any rate quite unknown elsewhere in the Upaniṣads. Jāratkāra is indeed found in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (iii, 2, 1); the name Āruṇikya has connections with the Āruṇis; and Bhārgava of Vidarbha is known to the late Praśna Upaniṣad. But Pauṣkarasādi is elsewhere only a grammarian;³ Sūryadatta and Punardatta are unknown; Tāṇḍavinda merely is reminiscent of the Tāṇḍins;

¹ Śakalya (vii, 3), Sthavirah Śakalya (vii, 16; viii, 1; 11), Kauṇṭharavya (vii, 14; viii, 2), Pauṣilacaṇḍa (vii, 18), Tārksya (*sic*, vii, 19), Vātēya (Aitareya, Bādhyā; viii, 3; 4), Kṛtsna Hārta (Aitareya, Kṛtsna Hārta; viii, 10), Kāvaśyāyā (viii, 11), Āgastya (vii, 2), and the Māṇḍūkya, Śaṇḍavira (Śaṇḍavira in Aitareya; vii, 2; 8; 9; 10), Hraeva (vii, 12; viii, 11), Dīrgha (not in Aitareya; vii, 2), and Madhyama, Prātibodhiputra Magadhavāsīn (vii, 13), while Māksavya in the Aitareya is replaced by Māṇḍavya (vii, 2).

² *Indian Literature*, p. 50, n. 36.

³ For his alphabet, cf. Bühler, *Indian Studies*, iii, p. 24. As a teacher he appears in Buddhist tradition, Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 412.

Lauhikya's very name is uncertain (it may be Lauhitya, a name apparently known to Pāṇini¹ and found in the Harivaṃśa); and Rādheya and Vāliśikhāyana have parallels only in the Epic, while the former suggests several questions.² This strange collection must mean that the ingenious reviser of the Aitareya desired to append new names to doctrines which he wished to expound. But the work need not have been done at a late date, for no new grammatical terms are introduced and the Aitareya text was probably earlier than Yāska and the real study of grammar.³

The impression of a copy and a working over is borne out by the language. In vii, 3, the phrase *dyāvāprthivyaṁ samadhātām ity adhidāivatam* can only be understood as a short cut for *dyāvāprthivyaṁ samadhātām ity utāpy āhur iti ne adhidāivatam*⁴ of Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iii, 1, 2, and the readings *sa hāpi parihr̥to mene* and *parihr̥to mena ity Āgastyah* in vii, 2, seem no more than an attempt to amend the very obscure *parihr̥to* of the Aitareya, iii, 1, 1.⁵ The form *divāyatanam*⁶ in vii, 10, seems to be an effort to make a compound of *dyu + āyatanam* parallel to *antarikṣāyatanam* as against the *divyāyatanam* of Aitareya, iii, 1, 3. The obvious *abhi-vyāharan*, vii, 14, replaces the obscure *abhi-vyāhāraṇ* of Aitareya, iii, 1, 6. The insertion of an *iti* in vii, 19, after *rukṣayata* deprives us of the picturesque conception of the patient guardianship of Tārksya (or Tāruksya) over

¹ iv, 1, 18; Harivaṃśa, 1771. Cf. the Lohicca Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.

² Probably it is a Nakṣatra name and need have no connection with the hero of the Epic or with Rādha and Kṛṣṇa. But Rādha as a Nakṣatra is late, Whitney, *Atharvaveda*, p. 908; Ludwig, *Rgveda*, iii, p. 185.

³ See *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 51, 52. The Rgveda Prātiśākhya copies iii, 1, 1, of that work.

⁴ For the construction, cf. Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, i, 5; Mantra Brāhmaṇa, ii, 1, 7; Friedländer, p. 41, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Max Müller, *Rgveda Prātiśākhya*, pp. v, vi.

⁶ Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, i, p. 127.

his master's cows for a year, a primitive idea probably not understood by the redactor of the Upaniṣad. The expression *kāmarūpi kāmācārī* in vii, 22, is comparatively modern. In viii, i, the fourth element, *lohita*, is made to be merely *akṣarurūpam*, instead of *antasthārūpam*, and the phrase *sabhakṣatām aśnute* is new. In viii, 9, the curious error in the Aitareya, iii, 2, 6, by which *aṅgulayuk* and *tantrayuk* have been misplaced in the text, is undone. In viii, 11, the use of *brūyāt*, though natural, is bad grammar, and is probably due to copying the original carelessly. And so on.

While there is a good deal of mere copying, there is a certain amount of originality in the Śāṅkhāyana version. In vii, 20, there is an enumeration of the parts of time not found earlier in this form,¹ viz., *dhvaṃsayo nimeṣāḥ kṣāthāḥ kulāḥ kṣaṇā mukhārtā ahorātrā ardhmāsā māsā ṛtavaḥ samvatsarās ca*, and we find the three forms of action, *gatinivṛtisthiti*. Finally, Vāliśikhāyana is credited (vii, 21) with a doctrine of the *bhūtas*, which is a decided advance in clearness² on Aitareya, ii, 6. The grammatical form, on the other hand, follows strictly the original, and the only past tense in frequent use is the aorist (twenty-three cases), with three cases of the narrative imperfect, two of the ordinary perfect, and two of the periphrastic perfect.

The fourth part of the Āraṇyaka, Adhyāyas ix-xi, falls naturally into three subdivisions, which are not necessarily to be attributed to one author, and indeed may possibly represent independent Upaniṣads. Adhyāya ix is nothing more or less than an abbreviated and simplified version of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 1; 2 (cf. Brhadāraṇyaka

¹ Cf. Mann, i, 64: *dhvaṃsayo* seems peculiar to the Śāṅkhāyanas; cf. Śrauta Sātra, xiv, 82, 1.

² *Fūy angūni kṣudrāni mahābhūtaṇi samādhyante* is a good deal more intelligible than *kṣudramāśrāpā*.

Upaniṣad, vi, 1; 3), for in abbreviating it the redactor has so curtailed it that it could not be clearly followed save for the original, as the *evam iti* of sections 3 et seq. would have no sense. The first seven sections deal with the *prāṇasamvāda*, the eighth with the rite for greatness. Two points may be noted. In the first place the redactor had before him the Kausitaki Upaniṣad,¹ for he uses the word *mūkāḥ* as 'dumb,' while the Bṛhadāranyaka has *kaḍāḥ*, and the Chāndogya has *kalāḥ*. Secondly, the redactor used the text of the Bṛhadāranyaka, for he describes the *suhaya* with which *prāṇa* is compared as *saindhava*, an epithet known to both versions of the Bṛhadāranyaka,² but not to the Chāndogya. Again, however, there is a small piece of original matter. The end of the seventh section contains a reference to Yājñavalkya, besides that to Jābāla Satyakāma and Gośruta Vaiyāghrapadya borrowed from the Chāndogya (the latter is not in the Bṛhadāranyaka), and the passage cited (*vanaspato śatavulśo viroha | dyām mā leṣīr antarikṣam mā mā hīpśīḥ*) is clearly a reminiscence of Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, v, 43. In the latter is read, as also in the parallel passages,³ *lekhīḥ*, and of course paleographically *ś* and *kh* are interchangeable. But *leṣīḥ* from *√liṣ* for *√riṣ* would be an excellent reading, as the root is often active.⁴ Weber,⁵ indeed, states that this reference is to a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv, but this seems incorrect.⁶

¹ v, 3.

² vi, 2, 13 (Mādhyandina) = vi, 1, 13 (Kāṇva). References are made to the former text, when not otherwise specified. Cf. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, i, pp. 10, 234.

³ Bloomfield: *Vedic Concordance*, pp. 477, 508.

⁴ In the Sāṅkhayana itself, vii, 10. For *l* = *r*, cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 43 seq.

⁵ *Indian Literature*, p. 132, n.*

⁶ The gen. with *brāyāt*, for the dative of Chāndogya and Bṛhadāranyaka, is a sign of later date.

The second subdivision, Adhyāya x, is of more independent character. It treats of the *āntara agnihotra* which is alluded to in the Kausītaki Upaniṣad.¹ There are in man six deities, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Candramas, the Quarters, and the Waters, corresponding to speech, breath, the eye, mind, the ear, and seed. If a man knows this he satisfies each of these deities, and they in turn satisfy other powers. These processes are described in the first seven sections, which may be compared with Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 19–24, from which, however, they differ considerably. The eighth and last section describes the *vairāja daśavidha agnihotra*, in quite an independent way, which may be compared with Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 4–9, and Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, vi, 1.

The third subdivision, Adhyāya xi, is still more original. It presents yet another account of the *prāṇasamvāda* in addition to those in the Brhadāranyaka, vi, 1 (Kāṇva = vi, 2, Mādhyandina); Chāndogya Upaniṣad, v, 1; Kausītaki Upaniṣad, v; Aitareya Upaniṣad, ii, 4, 2, and above ix. The narrative here resembles most that of the Aitareya, to which it is the really parallel version of the Śāṅkhāyana school. Prajāpati places the deities in man; they dislike the connection, and depart, and are only brought to reason by the creation of hunger and thirst (sections 1 and 2). Then there are described as in viii, 7, and Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iii, 2, 4, the sights (section 3) and dreams (section 4) seen by one who is to die before the year is out, and a service of sacrifice is prescribed, the Mantras of which rest on the division of the deities among the organs given in section 1 (sections 5 and 6). Then the metals are equated with the metres (section 7), and out of this identification are made a series of spells by use of the metres² to acquire

¹ iv, 5.

² For similar sets of metres, cf. Aitareya Āraṇyaka, v, 1, 4; Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, i, 7; Friedländer, p. 44, n. 1.

the *sthiratva*¹ of the several metals. The remnants of the offering go to a dear wife or pupil, and the sacrificer lives a hundred years (section 8). The list of deities and organs is curious and somewhat novel; Agni, Vāyu, the Lightning, Parjanya, Āditya, Candramas, the Quarters, the Earth, the Waters, Indra, Īśāna, Ākāśa, and Brahman (n.), correspond to the *vāc*, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *udāna*, the eye, the mind, the ear, the body, the seed, the strength (*bala*), the wrath (*manyu*), the head, and the Ātman. That this is a late list would be proved by the mention of Īśāna alone, for he never appears in early lists of this kind, though as a deity he is early mentioned, as in Bṛhadāraṇyaka, i, 9, 11.² Further, the repetition of part of viii, 7, negatives the idea that the author of ix and viii were one. What remains uncertain is whether the Adhyāyas ix to xi are by one hand. It is not impossible, and in favour of it may be noted the facts that all three chapters deal with the deities and the senses, and are characterised by a painful formalism and absence of original thought. The real interest of the writer is indeed betrayed by the spell which ends xi and which evidently forms the important part of that chapter. There should also be noted one remarkable construction occurring in a Mantra several times repeated—*māham akāmo marisyāmy annavān annādo bhūyāsam*. The construction can be understood, but it is very strange and unparalleled in the early literature.³

The spell at the end of the fourth part of the Āraṇyaka leads naturally to the fifth part, Adhyāya xii. Aitareya Āraṇyaka iv is at first sight comparable with this

¹ For similar spells, cf. the references in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, p. 120 (s.v. *āsmā*, *āsmava*).

² Cf. Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 45, 110; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 75.

³ See Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 73.

chapter, but the contrast is much more striking than the resemblance. For the Mahānāmni verses which make up that section are of the most formal and obviously ritualistic character as they now stand, and if not especially early contain very early material. On the other hand, the Śāṅkhāyana contains in seven sections forty verses, of which five are merely referred to (Rgveda, x, 152, 1-5), thirty-five being given in full. Commencing with invocations for *hastivarcasa*, for which parallels can be found in the Atharvaveda¹ (vv. 1-5), it goes on to pray for eloquence (v. 6)² and prosperity (v. 7),³ inserts (v. 8) an appeal to Prajāpati from Rgveda, x, 121, 10, and proceeds to call on Indra with the Maruts and Agni to destroy their, and the poet's, foes (vv. 9-14). There follow four verses (vv. 15-18) taken with slight variation from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, v, 7, 4, 3-5, and for the first time in verse 19 a direct appeal to what is the real subject of the hymn, the amulet of Bilva. The excellent results of carrying such an amulet are celebrated in verses 20-29, each of which ends with the refrain *irāmaṇiṃ bilvaṃ yo bibharti*; then in verses 30-33 further powers are ascribed to it. Verses 34 and 35 repeat verses 7 and 8, and then come the five Rgvedic verses referred to only by Pratika. There are many parallels in the Atharvaveda⁴ for this sort of composition, where a farrago of ancient material is heaped in to give a venerable air to puerile witchcraft. Here the proportion of new material is quite considerable, for out of 33 verses no less than 18 are not exactly parallel with verses of other Saṃhitās. Of course, it may be considered

¹ For v. 1 see Atharvaveda, iii, 22, 1; for v. 2, iii, 22, 3 and 4; for vv. 3 and 4, xiv, 1, 35; vi, 10, 1; and for v. 5, vi, 69, 3.

² Cf. Atharvaveda, vi, 69, 2.

³ Cf. Atharvaveda, v, 28, 14.

⁴ Amulets for medical purposes are common (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, p. 59), and also, as here, for help against foes (*ibid.*, p. 67). See especially Atharvaveda, i, 29; ii, 7; iii, 6; vi, 15; x, 3; 6; xix, 28-30; 32; 33, etc.

as possible that even the parallel verses are not borrowings proper, but parallel only, but I do not think this view at all probable. The hymn has every appearance of lateness, and the Taittiriya verses are ludicrously misplaced.¹

The view of the lateness of the hymn is borne out by the metre. There are in all twenty-five independent verses (omitting 1, 6-8, 15-18), of which seven (vv. 2-5, 19, 30, 33) are in Anuṣṭubh metre, two are in mixed Anuṣṭubh and Trisṭubh (v. 31 = 11 + 8 + 9² + 8 syllables; v. 32 = 8 + 8 + 11 + 11), and the remaining sixteen are in Trisṭubh with occasional Jagatis (vv. 14^a, 21^a, 23^a, 24^a).³ Leaving aside the verses in mixed metre, of the Anuṣṭubh verses we find that in all save one case the last Pāda of each half-line ends in — — — —, that in five cases the first Pāda has at the end — — — —, in three each — — — — or — — — —, in two — — — —, and in one — — — —. We are clearly on the way to the regular Epic śloka, though this is still not reached.⁴ But the evidence of the Trisṭubh Pādas is conclusive. Omitting the four Jagati Pādas and the irregular Pādas of verses 13^a and 14^b which have 10 and 9 syllables respectively, there are 58 Pādas to be considered. Now in all save four cases the Pāda ends in — — — —, the exception being in v. 10^a (— — — —), 28^b (— — — —, where *śiṃśumāraḥ* could be read

¹ Cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, pp. 41 seq.

² Here *pāruṣpādabhyām* might be read for *pāruṣpādābhyām* and so make good the metre.

³ The exact numbers in these cases depends, of course, on the mode in which the necessary resolutions of Sandhi are made, and on the precise reading adopted in the text, but the general results remain unaffected. In v. 12^a I would read *an vṛica paścāt pra vṛicapariṣṭāt*; for *an vṛica*, cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, p. 59; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 11.

⁴ Cf. Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvii, pp. 62 seq.; *S.B.E.*, xxx, pp. xii seq., xxxiv seq.; *Prolegomena*, pp. 26 seq.; *Gurupūjakaumudī*, pp. 9 seq.; Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 1 seq., 486.

with the Berlin MS.), 22^c and 26^a (— — — ◡). Still more significant, however, is the fact that in 32 cases the preceding three syllables adopt the dactylic form (— ◡ ◡), while the tribrach (◡ ◡ ◡) and anapaest (◡ ◡ —) and bacchius (— — ◡) have only three, six, and three occurrences respectively. The remaining 14 Pādas have — ◡ —, ten of them being in the refrain *irāmaṇim bailūam yo bibharti*. Now the dactylic form in this place is the characteristic *par excellence* of the Indravajrā and Upendravajrā of the classical poetry, and is regular in the Epic,¹ while in earlier verse as in the Saṃhitās it is not much more in use than other forms. On the other hand, we are still far removed from the formal correspondence of all four lines of the stanza, and the first four syllables remain free in form. The metre, too, shows other signs of lateness. To the poet the contraction of *Indra iva* and *ogha iva* into *Indreva* and *ogheva*, of *Agnir iva* into *Agnir va*, and of *puspam iva* into *puspeva* or *puspam va* must have seemed legitimate, as all these forms occur in verses where they merely, if accepted as they stand, spoil the metre. Probably he felt the *iva* as merely *va*,² and he clearly felt *bhavati* as dissyllabic in *nā sailago bhavati nā pāpakṛtyā*, a fact which may point to Prākṛtic influence.³ At any rate, we are quite justified in classing these verses, unlike those of the Aitareya, among the latest products of the Vedic poetry, and they need not date long before the final redaction of the Āranyaka, though they may be two or three centuries older.

The verses are followed by an eighth section, giving the Maṇikalpa very briefly. It may be noted that the forms

¹ Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, pp. 264 seq.; Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, pp. 183 seq.; Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iii, p. 50.

² Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i, p. 50; Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, pp. 317, 321; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 65, n. 12; Arnold, p. 78; Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 46, n. 1.

³ Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 260; Keith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 292.

tilaudana, *ghṛtaudana*, *māṃsaudana* occur with the *au* in place of the *o* found in the Epic and even in Āpastamba,¹ and that the word *eraṇḍa*, denoting a castor-oil plant, is found, perhaps its earliest occurrence.

The sixth part of the Āraṇyaka, Adhyāyas xiii and xiv, has perhaps the least claim to originality. In the first place it consists of a series of quotations, almost but not completely verbal, from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads. It formally quotes Yājñavalkya for *tad etad brahmāpārvam aparam anaparam abāhyam ayam ātmā brahmā* (brahma, Berlin MS.; 'ā in Bṛhadāraṇyaka) *sarvānubhūr ity anuśāsanam*, which is, with the insertion of *aparam*, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, ii, 5, 19. But it ascribes to Māṇḍūkeya the dictum *tad uha vātmā draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsītavya iti tam etaṃ vedānucavanena vividiṣanti brahmacaryeṇa tapasā śradḍhaya yajñe nānāśakena ceti*, which is a combination of Bṛhadāraṇyaka, iv, 5, 6 (= ii, 4, 5) and iv, 4, 25, and to Māṇḍavya (for whom cf. vii, 2) *tasmād evaṃvic chānto dānta uparatas titukṣuḥ śradḍhāvitto bhūtvātmany evātmānam paśyēt*, which is merely Bṛhadāraṇyaka, iv, 4, 28. Nor can we reasonably suppose that the tradition is here correctly preserved ascribing these tenets to these sages who otherwise are famed as grammarians rather than as philosophers. We are justified in supposing that we have merely an ascription of famous doctrines to persons familiar in the Śāṅkhāyana school from the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad. In confirmation of this it may be remarked that there follow these passages others—*sa eṣa nety nety ātmāvagṛhyah | idam brahmedaṃ kṣatram ime devā ime vedā ime lokā imāṇi sarvāṇi bhūtānāṃ sarvam yad ayam ātmā* | which are clearly borrowed from Bṛhadāraṇyaka, iv, 4, 27, and iv, 5, 7. Then comes the quotation of Yājñavalkya, and then an unacknowledged quotation from

¹ See Wackernagel, op. cit., p. 320.

the Chândogya: *ya imām adbhikḥ parigrhātāṃ vasumatīm dhanasya pūrṇāṃ dadgād idam eva tato bhūya idam eva tato bhūya ity anusāsanam*, which, with the addition of the Epic word *vasumatīm*, is derived from Chândogya, vii, 11, 6. Then the Adhyāya xiii ends: *tām etām Upaniśadam vedaśīro na yathā kathāṃ cana vaded¹ | tad etad ṛcābhyuditam |* Then follow two verses which make up the fourteenth Adhyāya. The first is—

*ṛcām mārīhānaṃ yajusām uttamāṅgam |
sāmnām śīro 'tharvaṇām muṇḍamuṇḍam |
nādhīte 'dhīte vedam āhus tam ajñam |
śīraś chitvāsu kurute kabandham ||*

This is a strange line and though archaic in metre very modern in style. *Uttamāṅga*, *muṇḍamuṇḍa*, and *kabandha*,² in the senses in which they are here employed, are not Vedic, and the iterative *nādhīte 'dhīte* is also late.³ The Atharvan is not elsewhere recognised in the Śāṅkhāyana or Aitareya Āraṇyakas. This impression of lateness is confirmed by the second verse—

*sthāpur ayaṃ bhārahārah kilābhāt |
adhītya vedam na vijānāti yo 'rtham |
yo 'rthajña it sakalaṃ bhadram aśnute |
nākam eti jñānavidhūtopāpmā ||*

This is, of course, the well-known verse in Yāska's Nirukta, i, 18, which Roth in his *Erläuterungen*⁴ considered an interpolation. With Roth's view I cannot

¹ So I had emended for *vide* of the Bodleian MS., and the Berlin MS. confirms the emendation. The omission of a double letter is very frequent in the MS. *Yathā kathāṃ cana* is comparatively late.

² The Bṛhadāraṇyaka (iii, 7, 1) has a proper name, Kabandha Ātharvāna, where it cannot mean 'corpse.'

³ See Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, v, p. 52; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 91.

⁴ p. 19. The verses are also cited in the Commentary on the Saṃhitōpaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, p. 38 (ed. Barnell).

agree; the verses in that section of the Nirukta, although not Vedic in character, are of the same general style as those in the Bṛhaddevatā and the Prātiśākhya, and are no doubt quite genuine, but they are certainly late. I am further inclined to believe that Yāska was known to the compiler of the text of Adhyāyas xiii and xiv. The reverse idea is conceivable, but rendered unlikely by the fact that the second verse¹ in Yāska is not here, and yet must probably have been taken by Yāska from the same source as the former. No doubt there remains the possibility that both Yāska and the author of the Śāṅkhāyana xiii and xiv follow a common source, but the verse is not found elsewhere, so far, in the Vedic literature, and there is no reason to assert an early date for this compilation, which has all the appearance of a later tacking on. In support of this view it may be pointed out that the opening words of Adhyāya xiii, which are almost the only original part, are *athāto vairāgyasaṃskṛte śarīre brahmayajñāniṣṭho bhavet*, in which the word *vairāgya* is not found in an Upaniṣad before the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, i, 2, the word *brahmayajña* before the Maitrāyaṇīya, i, 1, and the use of *niṣṭha* in this connection before the Muṇḍaka and Praśna Upaniṣads.² It appears, therefore, quite legitimate to suppose that Adhyāyas xiii and xiv formed no part of the original Āraṇyaka, and the conjecture may be hazarded—it can only be a conjecture³—that one form of the Āraṇyaka had as its Adhyāyas xiii and xiv the Sūtra of the Mahāvratā now nominally Adhyāyas xvii and xviii of the Śāṅkhāyana

¹ *yad gṛhitam arijñātam nigadeturiva śabdgate |
anagnīr iva kṣkaidho na tu jvalati karkicē ||*

Roth's emendation *na tu* is not necessary.

² See the references in Jacob's *Concordance*, pp. 652-3, to which I am much indebted.

³ *Le.*, as regards the exact place occupied in the Āraṇyaka by these books. That they were once a part of the Āraṇyaka is, I think, quite certain. Cf. also Hillebrandt, *Rom. Forsch.*, v, p. 331.

Srauta Sūtra, but admittedly no integral part of that work. This would exactly balance the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, since the form of the Śāṅkhāyana would become (a) the Mahāvṛata, Brāhmaṇa treatment, Adhyāyas i and ii = Aitareya Āraṇyaka i; (b) the Upaniṣad, Adhyāyas iii-vi = Aitareya Āraṇyaka ii; (c) the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad, Adhyāyas vii-xi = Aitareya Āraṇyaka iii; (d) the verses, Adhyāya xii = the Mahānāmniṣ, Aitareya Āraṇyaka iv; (e) the Sūtra treatment of the Mahāvṛata, Adhyāyas xiii and xiv = Aitareya Āraṇyaka v. It is further probable that Adhyāyas ix-xi, which have no really parallel section in the Aitareya, should be eliminated from the original form of the Āraṇyaka, in which case the verses would form Adhyāya ix, the Sūtra Adhyāyas x and xi. Then, if we assume that the Vamśa followed and was included in Adhyāya xi, we would have an explanation of its being numbered xi in the Bodleian MS., though no stress could possibly be laid on that fact. On the other hand, the fact that the Bodleian MS. does number¹ Adhyāyas xiii-xv as (sections) 9 and 10, and Adhyāya xi respectively, shows clearly that some confusion existed, since that MS. has already marked the close of Adhyāyas xi and xii, and it is startling to find sections 9 and 10 and a Vamśa to xi following after the end of Adhyāya xii.

These facts cast considerable doubt on the meaning of the Vamśa which makes Adhyāya xv and forms the seventh part of the Āraṇyaka. On the whole it is probably best, if we are to accept its succession of teachers as genuine, to regard it as the original Vamśa to the Āraṇyaka when, as it must once have done, it consisted of Adhyāyas i-viii, only, but not the Sūtra books. The first teacher named is Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana, the next Kahola Kauṣitaki, the next Uddālaka Āruṇi, the next Priyavrata Saumāpi. The Kahola Kauṣitakeya of the Brhadāraṇyaka

¹ *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 60.

Upaniṣad, iii, 5, 1, is presumably identical with the Kauṣītaki¹ here named, while Uddālaka Āruṇi is well known to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads and is a contemporary, according to tradition, of Yājñavalkya. There is nothing known to contradict the Vamśa as given, and Kauṣītaki is cited not only in the Āraṇyaka but also in the Brāhmaṇa as an authority, and is mentioned in both the Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtras.² The original Āraṇyaka may well then have been composed not long after the Brāhmaṇa, to which it often refers, as pointed out above, by a nameless pupil of Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana, whence came the name Śāṅkhāyana, and, without laying undue emphasis on the connection with Uddālaka, the Vamśa supports the ascription of the original form of the Āraṇyaka to the early part of the sixth century B.C., before the rise of Buddhism and the development of grammar seen in Yāska and the Prātiśākhya, but after the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads and the Aitareya Āraṇyaka.

On the other hand, I do not think Deussen³ is right in ascribing the Taittirīya Upaniṣad to an earlier date than the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, iii-vi. His argument rests on the indisputable fact that the Kauṣītaki is later than the Aitareya and the very doubtful statement that the Aitareya is younger than the Taittirīya, because in the former (ii, 4, 1) the description of the entrance of the creator into beings is more elaborate than in the latter Upaniṣad (ii, 6). On the other hand, it is at least as likely that the Taittirīya is merely giving a resumé of an accepted doctrine, while the Aitareya develops a new theme. But in

¹ Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, i, 5, 2. The name was perhaps Kahoja. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, p. 221; Weber, *Indische Studien*, i, p. 404.

² Oldenberg: *S.B.E.*, xxix, p. 3.

³ *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 24. If iii-vi are later, then of course *a fortiori* vii and viii.

any case, in favour of the earlier date of the Kauṣītaki, iii-viii, as of the Aitareya, ii and iii, may be set the facts (1) that the Taittirīya shows in book i a much more developed grammatical knowledge and has a longer set of technical terms, *varṇa*, *svara*, *mātrā*, *bala*, *sāma*, *śantāna*, and *śikṣā*; (2) that it has added a fourth, *mahas*, to the triad of *vyāhrtis*¹; (3) and that it mentions the Atharvāṅgirasas.² The Kauṣītaki further gives no prominence to *tapas* as a means of knowledge, while the Taittirīya runs riot on the topic.³ Thus the Upaniṣad parts of the Kauṣītaki belong to the earlier Upaniṣads of the Veda, since beyond those mentioned no Upaniṣad can claim an equal age. The Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra of the Mahāvratā, the latter of which I have tried elsewhere⁴ to prove contemporaneous with the Śrauta Sūtra, must be, the former somewhat earlier, the latter a good deal later, than the Upaniṣads, iii-vi, and vii and viii, and probably the former alone with the Adhyāyas iii-viii once formed an Āraṇyaka,⁵ to which the Vaiṣṇa applied, and to the three component parts of which we may assign conjecturally the approximate dates 650, 600, and 550 B.C., as indicating in the roughest way the periods to which their production may be assigned, if we accept the views here maintained that (a) the non-philosophic books, i and ii, are the oldest; (b) the Upaniṣad proper is older than Buddhism; (c) the Saṃhitā Upaniṣad is older than Yāska (not later than 500 B.C.).

On this view the exact process of the extension of the Āraṇyaka remains doubtful. Very possibly, as suggested

¹ i, 5, 1; Deussen, op. cit., p. 217.

² ii, 3, 1.

³ Compare the solitary reference to *tapas* in Kauṣītaki, iii, 2, with the numerous passages cited in Jacob, *Concordance*, p. 396; Deussen, op. cit., p. 69.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 410-12.

⁵ To judge from the extant specimens of Āraṇyakas, the relation of Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad might be regarded as that of whole and part. Each Āraṇyaka contains, *inter alia*, several Upaniṣads.

above, a new form of it came into existence probably in imitation of the redaction of the Aitareya which we owe to Āśvalāyana or Śaunaka, by the inclusion in it of a book of verses in the shape of the Bilva hymn, and by the writing of a couple of Sūtra books to balance Adhyāyas i and ii. Then, still later, some other hand may have included the Upaniṣads in ix-xi and the mere imitation of an Upaniṣad in xiii and xiv. The latter books are almost certainly later than the Nirukta, and are probably comparatively recent—perhaps the second century B.C.—but Adhyāyas ix-xi may be of earlier date, and have come into existence shortly after the second redaction of the Āraṇyaka.

A different view in this respect appears to be held by Professor Oldenberg in his discussion of the Vamśa in the preface to his translation of the Sāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra.¹ He there suggests that the author of the Vamśa began with the *doctor eponymus* of the Sūtras of the Kauṣitakis, and proceeded thence to the author of the Brāhmaṇa, Kahola Kauṣitaki, and so on. But this view, which would see in the Guṇākhyā of the Vamśa the Sūtrakāra of the Śāṅkhāyana, and would presumably attribute to him the final redaction of the Āraṇyaka into a whole, is contradicted by the strong evidence which Oldenberg himself adduces, and which is accepted by Hillebrandt,² that the name of the Sūtrakāra³ was Suyajña. This, accordingly, adds to the probability of the view

¹ *S.B.E.*, xxix, pp. 4, 5. Cf. also Bhandarkar's view (*Report*, 1894, pp. 2 seq.), accepted by Hillebrandt (*Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 28), that Sāṅkhāyana is a mere Sūtra caran.

² *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 25; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, i, p. viii.

³ The matter might be further complicated by regarding Guṇākhyā Sāṅkhāyana as the author of the Śrauta as contrasted with the Grhya Sūtra. I do not, however, think this view probable, and Oldenberg, who once was inclined to differentiate the authors (though without naming the elder Guṇākhyā), later admitted the insufficiency of the evidence (see *Indische Studien*, xv, pp. 11, 12; *S.B.E.*, xxix, pp. 4, 5).

adopted above that the Vainśa applies only to the first redaction, which contained books i-viii, and which presumably was completed by 550 B.C.

The date of the second redaction, if we assume it to have contained the Sūtra books, can be fixed approximately by the fact that the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, with which these books are probably contemporaneous, is probably later than the Śrauta Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, who, as the pupil of Śaunaka, should, I think, be dated about 400 B.C.¹ The difference in date need not be great, and 350 B.C. may be set down as a possible date. The verses in Adhyāya xii doubtless existed independently long before this, but they belong to the later fringe of Vedic literature, say the seventh century B.C. But here again the dates are given, not as anything more than suggestions intended to render more easy their discussion, and, if necessary refutation.

In conclusion, a few words may be said as to the geographical data. It is clear that the Āranyaka was composed in the home of Brahmanism, the *Madhyadeśa*, for of the tribes enumerated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii, 14), the Kurus, Pañcālas, Vaśas, and Uśīnaras, all are found in vi, 1 (cf. Pañcālacaṇḍa, vii, 18), with the neighbouring tribe of Matsyas. As in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Kāśi-Videhas are within the pale, but that a Māṇḍūkya should dwell in Magadha (vii, 13) is deemed worthy of special note. To assume, however, from the mention of Janaka of Videha that the book was written in

¹ Cf. Macdonell, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, i, pp. xxii-xxiv. I do not attach any weight to the tradition, even if found in the Bṛhatkathā, which attributes Pāṇini to the reign of the last Nanda (despite Bühler, *Indian Studies*, iii, pp. 21, n. 1, 27, n. 1), and associates him with Kātyāyana and Āśvalāyana. But the fact that the tradition very possibly existed in the first century A.D. is of interest as tending to show that these writers cannot be dated very near the Christian era, or their chronological relations could not have been confused. Ludwig's date for the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, 500 B.C. (*Rigveda*, iii, p. 196), rests on no evidence.

the East, seems to me unnecessary, both in the case of the Āranyaka and of the Śatapatha itself¹; though the opposite view has the weighty support of Oldenberg.²

¹ Cf. now Weber, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1895, p. 859, n. 4.

² Mention may here be made of the only important correction supplied by the MS. in the Bodleian to the excellent text of Adhyāyas i and ii published by Dr. Friedländer. In ii, 17, the text of the edition reads: *tasya vā cānya bhāṭīśāhasanya gaṭ triśad akṣarāṇaṃ sahasrāṇi bhavanti tāvanti śatasamvatsarasāhāny āpnoti*. This is just possible, but the reading of the Bodleian (and also, I now find, of the Berlin MS.), which adds before *āpnoti* the words *bhavanti ta(c) chātasamvatsarasāhāny*, is clearly right, the omission being very natural. Smaller corrections are: (1) in ii, 15, it reads *divaṃ jaya divaṃ jaya*, a *Pratika* elsewhere unknown; *divaṃ jaya* apparently refers to R.V. viii, 34, 1⁴ (repeated in the later verses of the hymn); (2) in ii, 18, it (like the Berlin MS.) inserts the necessary *tad* in the verse *baḥ ōthā tad vapuṣḥ dhāyī darśitam* (R.V. i, 161, 1⁴), as in the Śranta Sūtra, xviii, 23, 14; (3) in ii, 4, it confirms the reading *bhūtechādāyī āma* by reading *bhūtechādāyī āma*; clearly the differences of reading (cf. Friedländer, p. 18, n. 2; p. 37, n. 1) are all due to the accidental insertion of the superfluous Anusvāra before *d*; (4) in ii, 8, it has *dakṣiṇataḥ* and *uttarataḥ* for *dakṣiṇaḥ* and *uttaraḥ*. It has the correct *bhuvati* (p. 21, L. 7) and *pratnatha* (p. 25, L. 5).

Neither the Berlin MS. nor the Bodleian MS. yields substantial correction for the text of the Upaniṣad, in which they agree very closely with A in Cowell's ed. In i, 2 (p. 11), they read *dvādaśatrayoṣaśo māsaḥ*; in i, 3 (p. 14), *gayāḥ*; in i, 7 (p. 27), *ghṛāṇena*; in ii, 11 (p. 57), *veda*; in all these cases agreeing with A. In i, 4 (p. 19), the Bodl. has *dhunuvāte*, the Berl. *dhunuvāte*, which, in conjunction with the readings of A, B, C, E, shows that a third person dual must be read for Cowell's *dhunute*. In i, 5 (p. 23), the Bodl. has *pricīnātānām*, like A, the Berl. *"nātānā*. In ii, 11 (p. 58), both, with A, have *mā bhātthāḥ*, then Bodl. has *mā vyadhiḥhāḥ*, Berl. *vyadhiḥhāḥ*, A *vyatiḥhāḥ*. In ii, 12 (p. 61), Bodl. has *mṛtvā nā mṛchante*, Berl. *mṛtvānnam mṛchata*. In iv, 1, both have *kālakhoṣṭjan*, corrected to *"khāṣṭjan* in Bodl. as in A. In iv, 19 (p. 120), both have *anīmnyas*, A *"gā*. In iv, 15 (p. 114), Berl. and A have *vapuyayā*, and in iii, 5, Berl. has several times a correction *utūduhaḥ* for the strange *utūduha*.

XIII.

THE MINT OF KURAMAN,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE COINS OF THE QARLUKHS
AND KHWARIZM-SHAHS.

By M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

DURING the disturbed period in the first half of the twelfth century, when the break up of the Ghaznawī monarchy was followed in quick succession by the establishment of the Ghori kingdom first in Ghaznī and afterwards in the plains of Northern India, by the invasion of the Shāh of Khwārizm, and finally by the overwhelming and devastating irruption of the Mughals under Chingiz Khān, the route into India by the Kurām Valley and Banū played a very important part, and its possession was eagerly sought after. Thus, when Mu'izzu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām had laid the foundations of an Indian Empire, he placed his most faithful Turk servant Taju'd-dīn Yalduz in charge of the province of Kurāmān and Shaṅkurān, i.e. the Kurām Valley and Shalozān, as we are informed in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, and halted there every year on his expeditions into India. After his death the successor to the Ghori sovereignty, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Maḥmūd son of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām (generally known as Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad) confirmed Yalduz in his dignities, and made him Sultān of Ghaznī. There can be no doubt that he held the Kurām Valley throughout his rule, and that the Banū Valley, through which the Kurām River flows before reaching the Indus, formed part of his dominions. This

fertile plain was then known as Baniān, and it may be noted that it is still locally pronounced Bani. Here the important route from Ghazni through the Tochi Pass follows the Gambīla River to its junction with the Kurām, and, in order to hold both the Kurām and Tochi routes the possession of both districts was essential.

The exact geographical position of the mints of Kurāmān and Baniān cannot be laid down with confidence. The former is no doubt in the upper valley of the Kurām River, now forming a district attached to the North-West Frontier Province of India. Thomas (note, p. 27) gives the position of 'Karmān' or the fort of Kurām on Lumsden's authority as lat. $30^{\circ} 50'$, long. $70^{\circ} 10'$, but according to recent surveys the latitude is much further north, and is approximately $33^{\circ} 50'$. It is, however, improbable that the site of Kurāmān corresponds exactly with the modern fort, and it may perhaps be sought for nearer the source of the Kurām or the Paiwār Kotāl. The position of Baniān is also uncertain, but I am inclined to identify it with the mound of Ākrā in the Banū Valley. This marks the site of an ancient town, which, as is shown by the coins found there, flourished from the time of Eukratides to that of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, and probably later (see No. 14 below). The present town of Banū is a modern foundation of Sir Herbert Edwardes. Ākrā is situated in the fertile tract between the Kurām and Gambīla Rivers.

The pronunciation of Kurāmān is deduced from the modern name of the river and country, Kurām, Kurmah in Pashto. The name in the Rig-veda, Krumu, indicates that the vowel in the first syllable has always been *u* and never *a*, and the form Karmān used by Thomas and in the British Museum Catalogues should, I think, be given up. Besides being incorrect it is apt to be confounded with the Persian province of Karmān.

The establishment of a mint in both Kurāmān and Baniān may be assigned to the time of Yalduz. E. Thomas has

pointed out that the use of the peculiar type of bull which he calls the 'Karmān bull' began at this time, and the name of Yalduz is associated with this mint on a coin published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (J.A.S.B. for 1883, No. 2, p. 55, pl. iv, No. 2). The word Kuramān is under the horse. The type was shortly afterwards adopted by 'Alāu'd-dīn Muḥammad of Khwārizm, on some of whose coins the word كرومان may be read on the bull's flank or below the bull (Thomas, p. 89, Nos. 65, 66, and No. 14 below from my own collection). The way for the Khwārizmī invader was cleared by the defeat of Yalduz by Eltimish, at Tirāori, near Karnāl, in 611 H., and his murder shortly after. Eltimish was able to hold the Eastern Panjāb, but had not sufficient power to retain Ghazni and the routes into India, which immediately fell into 'Alāu'd-dīn's hands. The Khwārizmī power disappeared before Chingiz Khān only six years afterwards, when Jalālu'd-dīn Mangbarnī was defeated on the Indus in 618 H. To this period may perhaps be attributed the coins of Jalālu'd-dīn's general Yuzbaq Paī, struck at Baniān, wrongly read Multān by Thomas (No. 15 below), and the other coins on which the same mint occurs (also read as Multān), coupled with the inscription عبد السلطان ascribed by Thomas and the B.M. Catalogue to Eltimish (Thomas, p. 75, No. 49; B.M., No. 53, pl. ii) (No. 16 below). There can be little doubt that in both these cases the mint should be read as Baniān. I may add that my own coins here described were found in the Banū district. And this brings us to the Qarlughs, also associated with Jalālu'd-dīn Mangbarnī.

The Turkish tribe known as the Qarlughs (there are other forms of the word, but this is the spelling on the coins) seem to have found their way to the north-west frontier of India with the armies of 'Alāu'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Takash, the Shāh of Khwārizm, and obtained possession

of the country on the Upper Indus, which was named after them the Hazāra (Turkish *Ming*) of the Qarlughs, and is now the Hazāra district, or the tracts near Atak still known as Takht Hazāra and Chach Hazāra. Among these Qarlughs the most distinguished was Malik Saifu'd-din Ḥasan, who formed a principality for himself after the defeat of Jalālu'd-din. This Saifu'd-din Ḥasan has been, by Thomas and others, confounded with Saifu'd-din Ighraq who deserted Jalālu'd-din and perished soon after (see note on p. 1129 of Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*). This principality included at first Ghaznī, the Kuram Valley (Kuramān), and Banū (Baniān), but we are told in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* that the Mughals, after driving Saifu'd-din Ḥasan from Baniān, attacked Ghaznī, and then again attacked him in 636 H., and forced him to leave the country of Kuramān, Ghaznī, and Baniān. He then fled towards Multān and Sindh. It is probable, however, that the Qarlughs maintained some sort of hold on Baniān and Kuramān, and even asserted their independence of the Mughals from time to time; for the next year, 637 H., we find that Saifu'd-din's son Nāṣirū'd-din Muhammad visited the Sulṭān Raziya, who was marching through the Panjāb and received from her a grant of Baran near Dehlī. He did not, however, remain there, but returned to his father in Baniān, and, as we shall see, he is to be found there twenty years later.

Soon after these events the Multān expedition resulted in the capture of that town by Saifu'd-din, but in 643 H. he was followed by a Mughal army under Mangūta, and attacked there. When the Mughals reached the banks of the Indus, Saifu'd-din abandoned Multān and sailed down the river (that is the joint stream of the Chanāb, Jehlam, and Rāvi, which at that period, as Raverty has shown, flowed east of Multān) to its junction with the Indus, and thence to Dēwal and Sindūstān (Schwān) in Southern Sindh. This was evidently only a temporary refuge, and

there is nothing to show that either Saifu'd-din Hasan or Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad ever ruled in Sindh proper. It must be remembered that the word Sindh was then (as it is still locally) applied not only to the country now known by the name, but to the Indus Valley near Multān. Saifu'd-din must have recovered Baniān soon after the Mughal invasion, for after the accession of Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd at Dehli, when he bestowed the province of Uchchh and Multān upon Malik 'Izzu'd-din Balban, the latter, on advancing from Uchchh to take Multān, found Saifu'd-din there with an army he had brought from Baniān. A number of horsemen in 'Izzu'd-din's army penetrated the Qarlugh camp and killed Saifu'd-din, but his death was successfully concealed by his army, and 'Izzu'd-din Balban made terms, giving up Multān to the Qarlughs, now no doubt under Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad. It was ultimately given up by him to Malik Nuṣratu'd-din, who put Malik Kuriz in charge. Minhāj-i-Ṣirāj, who was himself present in 'Izzu'd-din's camp at this time (648 H., 1250 A.D.), gives an account of what followed, which does not affect the history of the Qarlughs (Raverty's trans., p. 783). After the loss of Multān it is evident that Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad again retired to Baniān and Kuramān, for we find him there after the accession of Hulākū as king of Persia under the supreme ruler of the Mughals, when Ulugh Khān (afterwards Sultān Balban) was in power at the Court of Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd. In 658 H., 1260 A.D., the Qarlugh chief wished to marry his daughter to a son of Ulugh Khān, and Jamālu'd-din 'Alī Khalj was sent by the latter to take the answer to his request. On his way he passed through Uchchh, where 'Izzu'd-din Balban was in power, and was detained there and examined (in the presence of the Mughal Shihna or Agent). After he had avowed his object he was allowed to proceed, and arrived in the country of Baniān. Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad, who was now evidently a Mughal

feudatory, sent him on to Hulākū's Court, and apparently also forged a respectful letter from Ulugh Khān, which won Hulākū's favour. On his return the messenger was accompanied by the Shihna of the country of Baniān. Here we lose sight of Nāṣirū'd-din Muḥammad Qarlugh, and we do not know how much longer he continued to hold Baniān, as Minhāj-i-Širāj, a contemporary chronicler and the authority for all the above statements, brings his chronicle, the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, to a close without giving any further information on the subject. Major Raverty's notes in his translation of this work, and in his article on "The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries" (J.A.S.B., 1892), have brought out the facts clearly, and have shown that the Qarlughs were not rulers of Sind. They undoubtedly retained possession of Kuramān and Baniān under the Mughal overlordship, but Major Raverty was mistaken in asserting (J.A.S.B., 1892, p. 175, note 57) that they "put the names of these 'infidels' on their coins." There is no trace that the name of any Mughal ruler was put upon the coins of the Qarlughs, but the supremacy of the 'Abbāsi Khalifas was acknowledged, as was usual among the independent rulers of the time, as will be shown by the coins now to be described.

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Qarlughs never ruled in Sindh, and therefore that they are wrongly described in the British Museum Catalogue (Muḥammadan States, p. 62) as governors of Sind. They were rulers, at first independent, and afterwards feudatory under the Mughals, of Kuramān and Baniān, and their power occasionally extended to Ghazni. Mr. Nelson Wright, also, in his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. ii, p. 184, states that the Qarlughs ruled in Sindh.

I am fortunate in being able to illustrate the history of this obscure chapter of frontier history by means of coins more fully than has hitherto been possible. The

silver coinage of Saifu'd-dīn was, till lately, known from coins of one type only, that is the *taṅka* first published by E. Thomas in *Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Delhi*, No. 79 (p. 95), of which several other specimens are given in the B.M. Catalogue (*Muhammadian States*, Nos. 165-170) and Mr. Nelson Wright's Catalogue of the Calcutta Museum (No. 12). For purposes of comparison I give a coin of this type from my own collection below (No. 2). In 1894 the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers described two rupees, one of which (J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 68, No. 23) was then in the possession of General Gossett, and the other (I.c., p. 65, No. 10) had been in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham (No. 5 below). The first mentioned of these I republish below (No. 1), as it is a unique coin and is now in my possession. It is struck in the name of the *Khalifa Adh-Dhāhir*, who reigned for one year only, 622-623 H. (1225-1226 A.D.), and the final word of the date *بَلْت* being legible, its date is fixed as 623 H. Thus it shows that Saifu'd-dīn's reign in Kuramān had certainly begun at that period, previous to the accession of the *Khalifa al-Mustansir* in the same year, and thirteen or fourteen years before he was expelled thence by the *Mughals*. In interest it may be compared with the rupee of *Eltimish* struck in the name of the *Khalifa An-Nāsir-li-Dīn*, dated 62- H., published by Mr. Nelson Wright in his article on *Coins of the Pathan Sultāns of Dehli*, J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 482, which is the starting-point, as far as we know at present, of the Indian rupee coinage. Saifu'd-dīn's coin is a year or two later in date, and is perhaps the only coin known to have been struck in the name of *Adh-Dhāhir*. Mr. Nelson Wright calls *An-Nāsir* "the *Khalif* who reigned before *Al-Mustansir-b'illāh*," and has omitted to notice that the reign of *Adh-Dhāhir* intervened. On this coin Saifu'd-dīn's name is given as *Hasan* and not *Al-Hasan*.

No. 3 (a coin in my possession, now first published) is also an interesting coin, though unfortunately without date. It is a joint coin of Saifu'd-dīn and his son Muḥammad, who is described as 'his servant,' *عبد*. It is probable that this was struck during Saifu'd-dīn's first occupation of Multān. Another novelty is No. 4, which bears the name of the Khalifa Al-Musta'sam and the date (6)41, and is unique among the silver coins in giving the mint Al-Kurāmān. It does not bear the name of either Saifu'd-dīn or his son, and was struck when Saifu'd-dīn was in occupation of Multān. The omission of their names is probably due to fear of the Mughals. It may be noted that this coin is more roughly struck than any others of the series, and is thicker than the others, but the square on the obverse with the ornaments in the segments is almost identical with that on the obverse of the coin already alluded to (No. 5), in which Nāṣiru'd-dīn strikes in his own name and takes the title of Al-Maliku'l-Mu'adhdham as his father had done. This should probably be placed after Saifu'd-dīn's death in 648 A.H., and may be confidently ascribed to the Kurāmān mint. It may be noticed that the name of the Khalifa is for the first time omitted, and possibly this may point to the fact that this coin was struck after the news of Al-Musta'sam's murder by Hulākū in 656 H. had been received. We have seen that Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥammad ruled in Baniān at least as late as 658 H., and possibly later, and that he was subordinate to Hulākū, and had a Mughal Resident at his court. It would clearly have been impossible for him to continue to put the Khalifa's name on the coins after his murder, as rulers in a truly independent position, like Balban, were able to do.

The copper and billon coins of Saifu'd-dīn and Nāṣiru'd-dīn have been described in the British Museum and Calcutta Catalogues, by Thomas, and by Dr. Hoernle in

J.A.S.B. 1889, p. 33, pl. 10. None of them bear dates, but those struck by Nāṣiru'd-din in his own name are no doubt subsequent to 648 H. The coin given in the Calcutta Catalogue, No. 27, pl. vii, is, however, remarkable, as the ascription to Nāṣiru'd-din Muḥammad Qarluḡh is no doubt correct. He here takes the title of Sultānu'l-A'dham, unknown elsewhere in the series. The title generally borne is the less ambitious one of Al-Maliku'l-Mu'adhdham, and it is hard to understand the assumption of the greater dignity in face of the Mughal supremacy. It is possible, however, that المعظم should be read for الأعظم as in No. 7. The coin bears a strong resemblance to the Dilliwalas of the contemporary Nāṣiru'd-din Maḥmūd of Dehli (see B.M., Sultāns of Dehli, pl. iii, 97, 99), and would seem to have been struck in imitation of them. The words over the horseman seem undoubtedly to be محمد حسن. The coin given below, hitherto unpublished (No. 6), is of a similar type, but bears the title As-Sultānu'l-Mu'adhdham Abū'l-faṭḥ Nāṣir, but there is no king's name on the side bearing the horseman. The appellation Abū'l-faṭḥ, which always appears on the coins of 'Alāu'd-din Muḥammad Khwārizmī, is found also on No. 5, mentioned above, and seems to show that the Qarluḡhs regarded themselves as the successors of the Khwārizm-Shāhs, and that the Kuramān mint had continued in use since the issue of the coins with کرمان on the side of the bull by 'Alāu'd-din. Jalālu'd-din Mangbarnī, his son, certainly issued coins after his defeat in 618 H., as is shown by the coin which follows (No. 9), on which the date (6)22 appears in figures under the name Mangbarnī. The circle surrounded by dots is characteristic of the Kuramān mint, and I think it probable that this coin was issued by Saifu'd-din in Jalālu'd-din's name. Its date is only one year before his own coin (No. 1), cf. 623 H. No. 7 is also perhaps from this mint or from Ghazni, struck at an

early period of the Mughal supremacy. It bears on the obverse the name of the Khalifa An-Nāṣir, who died in 622, and the inscription is an exact reproduction of that on some coins of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khwārizmī (see B.M. No. 589, g.g.), but the reverse contains an admission of Mughal supremacy which was certainly not made by either 'Alāu'd-dīn or Jalālu'd-dīn. The title Al-Khāqānu'l-A'dham can have no other meaning. This coin was once in the collection of General Gossett, and Mr. C. J. Rodgers considered it a coin of Chingiz Khān, but it cannot be supposed that it was struck by any but a Musalmān ruler. Chingiz himself struck no coins, and certainly would not have admitted the Khalifa's name. Thomas's No. 78 (No. 8 below) is a similar coin, giving in addition the mint کرومان.

No. 10 is a new variety of Nāṣiru'd-dīn's copper coinage. No. 11 is nearly the same as B.M. No. 171 (Thomas, No. 83; Calcutta Museum, No. 28), but differs from them in showing a four-pointed star or caltrop after قرلغ.

The thick and heavy copper coin (No. 12) is of a type familiar in the days of the Sūr kings and of Akbar, but unique, I believe, at this early period. The small circular area surrounded by three circles and dots bears traces of an illegible inscription. The reverse gives the date 606 in figures with a star and crescent. The star resembles that shown under the horseman on a coin of Yalduz (B.M. 24).

This coin and that of Jalālu'd-dīn (No. 9) given above, are remarkable for the fact that the date is expressed in numerals and not in Arabic words. In the series of coins of the Sultāns of Dehli the earliest coins on which Arabic ciphers are used are the billon coins of 'Alāu'd-dīn Muḥammad from the year 700 n., on which both Arabic and Indian figures are employed. I believe there is no instance among the coins of the Ghaznawīs and Ghorīs, although Indian ciphers are used on the coins of the

Hindu kings of Waihind (commonly known as the Brāhmans of Kābul, see article by E. Clive Bayley in *Num. Chron.*, 1882, p. 128), and the Samvat date of 1283, corresponding to 623 H., appears on a coin of Eltimish, and 1300, corresponding to 641 H., on a coin of 'Alāu'd-dīn Masa'ūd Shāh, both in Indian ciphers. The use of ciphers to express the Hijra date is of very rare occurrence before the end of the seventh century among the contemporary dynasties of Persia, Syria, Asia Minor, or Egypt. The only examples I have been able to find are on the coins of the Urtukis of Kaifā, 615 H. (B.M., iii, p. 132) and 621 H. (B.M., iii, 136), and the Seljūqs of Rūm, 624 H. (B.M., iii, p. 65). The ciphers on an earlier Urtukī coin (B.M., iii, No. 328, p. 123) do not form a date. These are isolated instances, and it was long before ciphers were in general use. It seems, therefore, that the date 606 H. on No. 12, now published, is the earliest example of a date in Arabic ciphers, and the date 622 H. on No. 9 is also one of the earliest.

In addition to the series of coins connected with Kuramān, I give a few hitherto undescribed coins of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khwārizmī, and one or two others of the same period.

I would draw attention to No. 18, which, though not in good condition, can be identified as a coin of Ārām Shāh, son of Qutbū'd-dīn Aibak. The coins hitherto ascribed to this king are generally believed now to be coins of Mu'izzu'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, and are so ascribed by Mr. Nelson Wright in his late catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum. In this coin, which is of a slightly different type, the letters ر of رām are distinct, and the name cannot therefore be بزم.

No. 17, a bull and horseman coin, perhaps of Yalduz, is of an unusual type, and the Chaubān horseman faces to the left.

The three large copper coins of 'Alāu'd-din are no doubt from the Samarqand mint. They average 1·30 inch in breadth, and are therefore rather smaller than the Jamshīdī, Manṣūrī, and Qādirī (Nos. 590, 591, 592) given in the B.M. Catalogue. The silver coin of this king (No. 19) is of a type not yet published.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
		<i>Saifu'd-din Ḥasan Qarlugh.</i>
1	623	<p>Obv. Area in circle— لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الظاهر بامر الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Margin— ... ثلث ...</p>
		<p>Rev. Area in circle— ornament سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسن قرلغ</p> <p>No margin.</p> <p>Br. 1·1. Wt. 171.</p>
		<p>My cabinet. Formerly in that of General Gossett.</p>
2	634	<p>Obv. Area in circle— لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله امير المؤمنين</p>

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
		<p>Rev. Area in circle— سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر الحسن قرلع</p> <p>Margin— هذا الدرهم في شهر سنة اربع وثلثين و... R. 1-05. Wt. 170.</p> <p>My cabinet. See B.M. Muh. States, No. 165, etc.; Th., No. 75; Cal. Mus. Cat., p. 185, No. 11.</p>
2a	—	<p>Variety of 2, differing only in substitution of الحسن for حسن. B.M.</p>
3	No mint or date.	<p>Obv. Area in circle surrounded by dots— as in No. 2.</p> <p>Rev. Area in circle surrounded by dots— املك المعظم سيف الدنيا الدين ابو الم... رمحمد عبده ر</p> <p>No margins. R. 1-05. Wt. 168.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p> <p><i>Note.</i>—In all the published specimens of No. 2, and in No. 3, in the kallimah the د of محمد* is joined to the ر of رسول.</p>
4	Al-Kuramân. 641 H.	<p>Obv. In square, set in circle surrounded by dots— المستعصم بالله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Ornaments in the four segments.</p>

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
		<p>Rev. In a square, set in a circle—</p> <p>ضرب هذا قر الدرهم الكرمان</p> <p>Margins, in the four segments—</p> <p>بتاريخ . . . | هذا الد . . . | اربعين | احد |</p> <p>R. 95. Wt. 166.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p> <p><i>Note.</i>—The reverse legend on this coin does not follow any general formula, and the reading of the second line is doubtful. I propose to read قَرَّ الدِّرْهَمُ qarra'd-dirhamu, which would give as the meaning of the whole legend "This coinage of the dirham of Kuramān is established."</p> <p><i>Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥammad Qarlugh.</i></p>
5	No mint or date.	<p>Obv. In square, set in circle—the kalimah.</p> <p>Ornaments in four segments</p> <p>resembling those in No. 4.</p> <p>Margin— . . . شہور فی محرم سنہ . . .</p> <p>Rev. In circle surrounded by dots—</p> <p>الملك المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن ابو الفتح</p> <p>R.</p> <p>Formerly belonging to General Cunningham.</p> <p>See J.A.S.B., 1894, p. 65.</p>
6	—	<p><i>Dilliwāl type.</i> Obv.</p> <p>السلطان المعظم ابو الفتح نام</p>

No.	MINT AND DATE.	Description.
		Rev. Chauhān horseman with traces of श्री हमीर above. Star below. Billon. 55. My cabinet.
7	—	Obv. الناصر لدين الله أمير المؤمنين Rev. عدل الخاقان الأعظم AE. 55. My cabinet.
8	Kuramān.	Obv. عدل خاقان المعظم كرماني Rev. الناصر الدين الله أمير المؤمنين AE. See C. J. Rodgers in J.A.S.B., 1883.
9	622	Obv. السلطان الأعظم Rev. منكيرني (1) 22 AE. 50. My cabinet.

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
10	—	<p data-bbox="415 260 853 291">Obv. In circle surrounded by dots—</p> <p data-bbox="702 299 819 409">محمد الحسن ح</p> <p data-bbox="415 429 622 460">Rev. In circle—</p> <p data-bbox="715 429 801 539">ناصر الدنيا و الدين</p> <p data-bbox="826 539 915 564">Æ. 45.</p> <p data-bbox="415 566 550 597">My cabinet.</p>
11	—	<p data-bbox="415 639 467 671">Obv.</p> <p data-bbox="646 639 729 754">ناصر الدنيا و الدين</p> <p data-bbox="415 774 467 805">Rev.</p> <p data-bbox="636 774 739 884">محمد بن حسن قرلع +</p> <p data-bbox="826 884 915 909">Æ. 60.</p> <p data-bbox="415 918 915 989">My cabinet. Variety of B.M. No. 171 ; Th. 83 ; Cal. 28.</p>
12	606	<p data-bbox="415 1031 915 1099">Obv. Area surrounded by three circles with dots between them—illegible.</p> <p data-bbox="415 1125 622 1157">Rev. In circle—</p> <p data-bbox="739 1135 778 1157">١٠٦</p> <p data-bbox="632 1172 915 1197">below, star and crescent.</p> <p data-bbox="715 1208 915 1234">Æ. 90. Wt. 259.</p> <p data-bbox="415 1235 550 1266">My cabinet.</p>
13	—	<p data-bbox="415 1307 915 1412">Variety of B.M. No. 4 and Th. 6 and 7 of Muhammad bin Sām. A crescent over السلطان.</p> <p data-bbox="826 1420 915 1445">Æ. 55.</p> <p data-bbox="415 1447 550 1478">My cabinet.</p>

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
14	Kuramān.	<p>A slight variety of Th. Nos. 55 and 56 of 'Alān'd-dīn Khwārizmī, with كرومان on the bull's flank.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Æ. 55.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p>
15	Baniān.	<p>Obv. یصبغ پی</p> <p>Rev. ضرب بنیان</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Æ. 50.</p> <p>My cabinet. Th. 85.</p>
16	Baniān.	<p>Obv. عدل السلطان</p> <p>Rev. In hexagon formed by two equilateral triangles— ضرب بنیان</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Æ. 65.</p> <p>My cabinet. Th. 49; B M. 53.</p>
17	—	<p>Obv. Bull to left. Around Persian inscription—possibly محمد الدین.</p> <p>Rev. Chauhān horseman to left. Star below.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Æ. 65.</p> <p>Probably struck by Yalduz in name of Muhammad bin Sām.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p>

Coin of Ārām Shāh.

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
18	—	<p>Obv. — نیا و الدین ابو مظفر آرام</p> <p>Rev. Narwār horseman.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p> <p><i>Note.</i>—This coin is not identical with that ascribed to Ārām Shāh (Th. 26, 27 and B.M. 34) and now correctly assigned to Mu'izzu'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh (Cal. 112-115). Here the initial letters of آرام can be read; it cannot therefore be a coin of Bahrām Shāh.</p>

Coins of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khwārizmī.

19	—	<p><i>Silver.</i></p> <p>Obv. In dotted circle— ornament السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والد بن</p> <p>Rev. In dotted circle— ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان</p> <p>Al. 80. Wt. 62.</p> <p>My cabinet.</p>



No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
20	Samarqand. 617	<i>Large Copper Coins.</i>
		Hamīdī.
		Obv. Area in double square with knots in the outer sides, set in a circle—
		The kalimah.
		Margin— بسم الله صرب هذا لدرهم بسمرقند سنه سبع عشره وستمايه
		Rev. Area in circle— حميدي
		الامام الاعظم الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين
		Margin—like that on obverse, but imperfect.
		Æ. 1·35.
		My cabinet.
21	Samarqand.	Obv. In square, with cusped arch in middle of each side, set in a circle—
		The kalimah.
		Margins illegible.
		Rev. In small circle set in square knotted at the corners— حسام
		الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين
		Margins— . . . سمرقند . . . سنه . . .
		Æ. 1·30.
		My cabinet.

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
22	Samarqand.	<p data-bbox="376 282 878 408">Obv. In double square— السلطان الاعظم الدنيا والدين</p> <p data-bbox="464 416 909 450">Margin, in segments—... الدرهم ...</p> <p data-bbox="381 458 909 576">Rev. In circle set in square with small rings in the angles— محمد السلطان</p> <p data-bbox="469 584 914 660">Margin, in segments—... سمرقند ... Æ. 1-30. (Traces of plating.)</p> <p data-bbox="386 668 531 702">My cabinet.</p>
23	—	<p data-bbox="386 727 914 811">Obv. Horseman in tughra to left. Above—محمد In front—بن السلطان</p> <p data-bbox="391 828 914 903">Rev. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين Æ. 70.</p> <p data-bbox="396 920 868 954">My cabinet. Cf. Th. 68 and B.M. 611.</p>
24	—	<p data-bbox="396 987 925 1139">Obv. Like B.M. 616 <i>as</i>, etc., with standing bull of Parshor and Kuramān type, but with a cross + on hind and fore quarters.</p> <p data-bbox="826 1147 925 1181">Æ. 55.</p> <p data-bbox="401 1181 541 1214">My cabinet.</p>



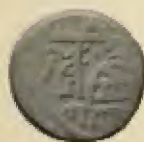
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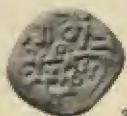
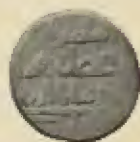
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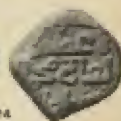
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XIV.

TALES OF OFFICIAL LIFE FROM THE "TADHKIRA"
OF IBN HAMDUN, ETC.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

HUGE miscellaneous collections of anecdotes, compiled on no very apparent method, were much to Moslem taste. One of these is the "*Tadhkira*" of Ibn Hamdūn, a large anthological work divided into fifty Bāb, the headings of which foreshadow imperfectly their contents. The author's life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Sl. Eng., iii, 90) and by Brockelmann (Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 280). There is also a notice of him in the *Wāfi bil-Wafayāt* of al-Ṣafādī (Paris, Ar. 5860, 236a), where he is described as a man of culture and of good birth, and as the composer of the "*Tadhkira*" on "*Adab, Nawādir and Tawārikh*," a work of large dimensions, extending to twelve volumes, and very well known. Further, that the author was intimate with the Caliph Mustanjid and often conversed with him; that he owed to him his appointment to the *Diwān al-Zimām*, his first official post having been that of 'Arid to the troops, under Muqtaṭī; and that he was amiable in character and socially pleasant. Certain stories, however, in his work being deemed by the Caliph to be reflections on his government, he was arrested in his office and imprisoned until his death in 572 A.H. In the same MS., at fol. 236b, is a notice of his brother, also named Muḥammad, but with the 'laqab' of Abu Naṣr (that of the former being Abu-l-Ma'ālī); that he served as clerk in the *Diwān* from the year 513 A.H. until his death in 545 A.H.; and that he composed a volume of "*Rasā'il*" and a history.

Complete copies of the "*Tadhkira*" were probably scarce, owing to its vast bulk. One copy, wanting only the final

Bāb, acquired by von Kremer in Aleppo, is now in the Library of the British Museum, Or. 3179 and 3180, which together comprise 720 folios of thirty-three closely written lines to the page. Hitherto its contents seem to have been dealt with only by von Kremer himself, once in 1851, in the *Sitzber. Phil. Hist. Cl. Wiener Akad.*, vol. vi, pp. 414-49, where he gives a selection of anecdotes to illustrate the manners and customs of the Arabs before Islam, the text for the verse and proverbial sayings only being given; and again in 1853, in *Z.D.M.G.* vii, 215, where he gives two extracts, text and translation, the one, the form of oath taken to a Caliph on his accession (Or. 3179, fol. 172*b*), the other, the patent appointing a Nestorian Katholikos at Baghdad (ib., fol. 223*a*), which is from the pen of his brother Abu Naṣr. Both the texts are emended by Fleischer.

The residue, viz. nearly the entirety of the work, remains untouched, and its publication cannot be regarded as otherwise than remote. From the East, were a complete copy available, an edition without index, and similar, at best, to Maqrizī's *Khiṭaṭ*, is all that could be looked for. A Western editor would have to take into account its encyclopædic range of subject and the knowledge needed to deal with it, and he would also have to compare the span of the work with that of a human life.¹ But some selection may be attempted. Like all such compilations, a very large part of the contents is to be found in other works, in MS. or in print. Much of this work appears, and was no doubt derived from, the "*Kitāb al-Aghānī*," practically the whole of chapter xlv, on singing girls, and much of chapters vi and vii, on bravery and cowardice,

¹ A permanently existing body is unaffected by this consideration, and I commend the publication of the "*Tadhkira*" to future Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," when the "*Jāmi'at-Tawārikh*" shall have been disposed of (see p. 17, *supra*). The "*Tadhkira*" may contain some 400,000 words.

fidelity and treachery; scattered passages therein are to be met with in Tabari, Ibn Khallikān, etc.; and some, less easily traceable, have been identified for me by Professor D. S. Margoliouth in the "Mustaṭraf" and elsewhere. Many stories, however, relating to Caliphs and Viziers, seem to be new and to contain matter of interest, and of these I have endeavoured to give the substance in the following pages, with the text appended. Some additional and kindred matter is taken in part from the MS. of the "*Nashwān al-Mubādāra*" of al-Tanūkhī (Paris, Ar. 3482), and from the "*Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*" by the same author, the text of which is in print (Cairo, 1904-5). Of the extracts given from the text of Ibn Hāmdūn, many have had the advantage of revision and emendation by Professor Margoliouth, the final one in particular, setting out the appointment of the Katholikos at Baghdad. It has already been printed, as above stated, but it is conceived that the recent emendation, coupled with the interest of the document, justifies its inclusion with those as yet unedited.

The first extract (A) deals with the well-worn topic of the fall of the Barmecides, and is vouched for by the excellent authority of Masrūr, the executioner of Ja'far. It shows how Masrūr disclosed to the Caliph, under compulsion, the fact that popular rumour attributed their fall to his greed for their wealth. Thereupon the Caliph had Yahya conducted within earshot, and forced from him the admission that he had supported with money an Alide rebel with the object of augmenting the credit his son al-Faḍl would obtain by defeating him (Tab. iii, 669-70), and that he had acted likewise in the case of Ahmad b. 'Īsa b. Zaid,¹ whilst refusing to provide the money he

¹ Mentioned only incidentally by Tabari (iii, 651), he is noticed in the 'Umdat al-Tālib, lith., p. 280, B.M. add. 7355, 100a. Born in 158 A.H., he was brought up at the Caliph's Court. He attempted a rising, but was imprisoned, and, when released, went into hiding at Basra, where he

(the Caliph) needed for his dependants, so that he was actually forced to borrow, besides other misdeeds. And he ended by telling Masrūr that if he knew the public as well as he himself did, he would be aware that what once got into their heads remained there indefinitely. Some weight should perhaps be given to the Caliph's dictum when estimating the probability of the romantic story which attributes the Barmecides' fall to the loves of Ja'far and 'Abbāsa. Ṭabari indeed gives the story, but only as one of several explanations of the event; other writers embellished it by introducing Zubaida's resentment at Yahya's enforcing the restraints of the ḥarīm; but it is to be observed that when Rashid's grandson, Wāḥiq, enquired what prompted his grandfather's action, the motive assigned by the Caliph's informant, though not wholly free from the feminine element, was, in substance, financial, and was so understood by Wāḥiq when applying the moral to his own case (Ṭab. iii, 1332). Nevertheless, the story is too firmly rooted now to be displaced by any such prosaic explanation.

The conventional Hārūn of the "Nights" is a familiar figure, but the next extract (B) discloses him living laborious days. Written depositions reached him from the official of the Bridge of Boats district (mentioned Ṭabari, iii, 1062 and 1403), relating to what would nowadays be termed a "disorderly house." The defendant confessed; his confession was supported by an abundance of excellent evidence of his acts, and followed by evidence,

was discovered, blind, and left unmolested by Mutawakkil, whose grief at his death, following on that of Ishaq al-Mausili in 235 A.H., is mentioned on the authority of the Kitāb al-Aghāni (see v, 127). The author of the last-mentioned work gives a notice of 'Isa b. Zaid in his Maqātil al-Ṭalibiyyin, lith. Teheran, 1307, pp. 212-15, and relates how he escaped from his detention in the house of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabi', and evaded Rashid's strenuous efforts to recapture him. But he makes no mention of his revolt.

equally strong, of his good character. The Caliph perused the documents, and, always emotional, fell into a passion, from which those present augured ill for the accused. But on recovering the Caliph enquired what ground of complaint there could be against a man who was engaged practically in supplying a social want. "Many a man of position," he said, "had a wife of his own class, but fair neither outwardly nor inwardly. Was he to be debarred from getting relief by marriage, or by purchase, and was putting him in the way of getting such relief to be held a crime? If the man's story proved to be true (which the Caliph might indeed have presumed as the facts were unquestioned) let him be given a thousand dinars to encourage him." And the courtiers murmured applause.

Now this story has an administrative as well as a moral interest. Baghdad was no mean city, for, according to Hilāl al-Sābi, 30,000 skiffs were employed, a century later, in ferrying people over the river (le Strange, "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 184). In London what a newspaper might describe as a "Police Raid in the West End" would receive the attention of a stipendiary magistrate, and might perhaps reach the Sessions. In Baghdad it came under the personal cognizance of the Caliph.

In extract C we find Rashīd in contact with Abu Dulaf al-'Ijli, no mention of whom occurs either in Tabarī, or in Ibn Khallikān (Eng. ii, 502), so early as this reign. The Caliph received him seated in the company of his favourite al-'Abbās, great-grandson of al-'Abbās the son of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib,¹ and asked him as to the condition of al-Jabal. "Devastated," he replied, "by Kurd and Arab

¹ Mentioned Tab. iii, 606, as excepted from the general banishment of the Alides from Baghdad by Rashīd. 'Abd Allāh in this passage should be read 'Ubalid-Allāh, see 'Umdat al-Tālib, lith., 354, l. 11, where al-'Abbās is described as مكينا عند الرشيد.

raids." "That," said the Caliph, "is your doing; what if we made you its governor?" "I would put things straight," answered Abu Dulaf; and when one present suggested that perhaps he would do the reverse, he retorted that having ruined it when he was its ruler with the Caliph for his enemy he was not likely to be unequal to putting it right with the Caliph on his side. Thereupon al-'Abbās commended his spirit and augured him success, and Rashīd appointed him governor. An offer by Abu Dulaf of a money present to al-'Abbās for his kindness was declined, but he was permitted to honour drafts by al-'Abbās in favour of claimants on his bounty to the extent of the proffered gift.

Abu Dulaf must have reverted later to his attitude of rebellion, for an anecdote in the other volume of Ibn Hamdūn (Or. 3180, 89*b*) describes him as having taken to the hills,¹ and as captured by Ma'mūn, whom he addressed in apposite verse, whereupon he was set free, and again appointed over the district, proving an excellent governor.

Ma'mūn is the subject of extract D. A fancy took him for a certain appetizing dish.² His brother (Mu'tasim), knowing a Nabathean who was largely addicted to it, procured from him an immediate and copious supply, which so pleased Ma'mūn that he expressed the wish that the treat might recur annually. "Daily, if you so will," was the answer, "for my household is never without it." This handsome scale of living was perhaps the cause of the Nabathean's name appearing in a list of debtors for arrears due to the State, which was sent from the Diwān for the Caliph's signature. Ma'mūn remembered the name, and having ascertained who it was, directed him to be allowed to keep the sum, which amounted to 13,000

¹ يقطع في الجبال.

² كاسخ, Persian کامه. See Johnson, Pers. Dict.

dirhams, to assist him in keeping up his style of living. But, on reflection, he recalled the order on the ground that people would be saying that the Caliph's dishes had cost the amount of the liability he was remitting. And he confirmed the entire surcharging document, which involved a total sum of 40 million dirhams.

Ma'mūn was accounted a good ruler, nor should this anecdote be allowed to detract from his reputation. Acts of reckless and wanton generosity are all too common in Moslem annals, and all too belauded. Ma'mūn resisted the easy virtue, and was content to be just.

An anecdote on Muntasir occurs in Or. 3179, 118b, the text of which need not be set out in full, as its interest lies in the fact that it brings the Caliph, whose two years' reign began only in 247 A.H., in contact with al-Hasan b. Sahl, who, assuming him to be the vizier of Ma'mūn and father of Būrān, died in 236 A.H. (see Ṭabari, iii, 1406, where an attempt by his creditors to stop the funeral is recorded). In this anecdote Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Bukair relates how his father was in the Caliph's presence with the vizier, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, when the chamberlain announced al-Hasan b. Sahl. On the vizier exclaiming against the infliction of a bore from a bygone age,¹ the narrator's father interposed, protesting how heavily his own family were indebted to al-Hasan, more especially for an introduction to the learned world, such as Abu 'Uhaida, al-Asma'i, and Wahb b. Jarir,² with the result that the Caliph, much to the vizier's annoyance, gave al-Hasan free access to his Court and promised him his protection, saying that gratitude deserved acknowledgment.

It is difficult to suppose that any Hasan b. Sahl other than the vizier can be referred to, although another person of that name was living in 235 A.H. (Ṭab. iii, 1443).

¹ دُعَا من العظام الناحرة والرُسوم الدائرة.

² Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 388; ii, 123; and iv, 163, n. 2.

Next come anecdotes of various viziers in the service of the Abbasid Caliphs, the first in date being Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.¹ We are told in the *Aghāni*, xx, 46, how, confident of his success, he gave up good commercial prospects for a political career. Three terms of office justified his choice even in his father's eyes, which, let us hope, may have closed on him as vizier before his cruel death on the accession of Mutawakkil. A harsh cynicism was the prevailing feature of his character, and it prevailed even in his extremity. For when told that he had better have done kind acts and so have gained gratitude which might have served him in his need, he answered that this would not have profited him at all, so base and thankless were mankind. Hardly could he have exceeded the bounty of the Barmecides, and when their time came what had it availed them? "That may be so," said the other, "but the fact of your quoting them at such a moment as this redounds assuredly to their credit."²

¹ Ibn Khall., *Eng.* iii, 249.

² حدثني أبو محمد يحيى بن محمد الأزدي قال : بلغني أن ابن الزيات لما جعل في الشورى قال له بعض خدمه لهذا أو شبيهه : كنا نسير عليك بفعل الإحسان وتقليد رقاب الرجال بالامتنان والتخاض الصنائع في حال القدرة لتجازي بها الآن عند الحاجة . قال : لو كنت فعلت هذا ما حصلت منه على طائل لئما في نفوس الناس من ضعف الإحسان وكثرة العذر وقتل الوفاء وتراني كنت أفعل أكثر من أفعال البرامكة ما نفعهم لئما حصلوا على مثل حالي من اسلام الزمان وجور السلطان . فقال له الخادم : لو لم ينفعهم ذلك لم يكن ذلك أكثر نفع . (From the "Nashwan," Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 66. This episode is given briefly, at the end of the vizier's life, by Ibn Khall., *supra*.)

In *Aghāni*, xx, 47, and also in *Ibn Hamdūn*, Or. 3179, 190a, there is a story of him when sitting as vizier, to redress grievances (مظالم), which shows him to have been possessed of a sense of humour. The complainant alleged he had been wrongfully ousted from his estate by the vizier's factor, and that whilst deprived of the rents and profits he had perforce to go on paying the land tax so as to prevent the vizier's name being registered as owner in place of his own. And this, he said, was a refinement of injustice. The vizier suggested that his case required to be supported by proof, written or oral, and so forth, to which the man replied that proof merely involved bother and complication. His downright simplicity so amused the vizier that he restored the estate, set him up in funds, and admitted him to his intimacy.¹ This story is quoted by Jurjī Zaydān in his "Islamic Civilization" ² as illustrating "a remarkable form of robbery." This, perchance, it does, but it discloses also that titles to land rested on registration, and a register supposes a map on an adequate scale; further, that a registered legal title did not exclude an adverse and tortious possession. As the two co-existed it must be presumed that both devolved to the heirs on death, and were saleable *inter vivos*, and it would be of interest were we able to contrast the market value of the wrongful intruder's title with the exceedingly dry and outstanding legal estate remaining in the registered owner.

In extract E we have three anecdotes of Ibn al-Zayyāt, all illustrating his peculiar disposition. To a man who rejoiced at being his neighbour, and solicited his regard, he replied that the former was merely a question of party

¹ In Or. 3179 الحضر is inserted between the words العتي والغطرس in *Aghāni*, xx, 47, l. 11.

² Trans. D. S. Margoliouth, "Umayyads and Abbasids," p. 236.

wall, and that regard and such like weaknesses were fit only for women and children.

In the next he is acting on this view. In his humbler days he and a neighbour were on terms, not unknown between neighbours, of mutual unfriendliness. When he had attained power the neighbour waited on him, and, after a chilling reception, said that men's hopes naturally turned to him in his fortune, and that he was come to make his excuses and to beg his favour. The vizier told him to return the next day, but recalled him as he was leaving and warned him that he would obtain nothing from him. He then explained to those present that his reason for thus shattering the man's hopes was that he grudged him even the anticipation of good luck.

In the last, Qudāma (secretary to *Ītākī*, Tab. iii, 1386) relates that whilst the vizier was being assailed on all sides by complaints, al-Ḥasan b. Wahb alone kept silence, on which the vizier remarked that if this proceeded from the absence of a grievance he was glad, but that if this were not so, and he avoided complaining to him, he was doing him a wrong. Al-Ḥasan replied with apposite verse, the purport of which seems to be that silence in the midst of others' clamorous importunity imparts a feeling of moral superiority tinged with disgust.¹

From al-Ḥasan b. Wahb the transition is easy to his more eminent brother Sulaimān, whose life is given by Ibn Khallikān, i, 271; Eng. i, 596. His pedigree is remarkable from the fact that no less than six of his ancestors in the direct line had been in the service of successive Caliphs from Mu'āwīa onwards, and that he

¹ The highest talent has been exercised on these lines. One authority suggests *الْمُحْتَضَى* in place of *الْمُحْتَضَى*, which contrasts with 'silent,' whilst noticing the inconvenience of the feminine plural. Another avoids the inconvenience by substituting *الْمُحْتَضَى* and *لَرَّغِبٌ*, thus making all concerned feminine, *مُحْتَضَى* being applicable to both sexes.

and his three direct descendants attained the vizierate, the last of them under Muqtadir and Qāhir. The family's official career was thus coextensive with the active existence of the Caliphate, both Omayyad and Abbasid. Ibn Khallikān says that Sulaimān was vizier to Muhtadi (Tabari says that he was in his service), and to Mu'tamid, who was forced by his more powerful brother, Muwaffaq, to prefer him to al-Hasan b. Makhhlad.¹ Later, however, Sulaimān incurred his displeasure, and he died in prison in 272 A.H. (Tab. iii, 2108), 270 A.H. (Mas'ūdi, viii, 64).

Sulaimān's name is linked with that of Ibn al-Zayyāt in a story, told in the "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda" (i, 107-110), and somewhat differently in the "Tadhkira" (Or. 3180, fol. 231b), which may be said to impart artistic verisimilitude to a bald official statement in another work. In the "Kitāb al-Wuzarā" of Hilāl al-Ṣābi, ed. Beyrouth, is a list of carefully graduated forms for addressing officials, and on p. 159 appears that used in the case of 'Abd al-Malik al-Kharā'itī, son of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt, whose 'laqab' arose from his having presided over the Diwān of official dispatches, 'al-Kharā'it' or 'al-Barid,' for a period of thirty years. We are told that in his case the form used was somewhat in excess of his strict claim, and al-Tanūkhī's story explains why this was so. He gives the story in varying forms and on different authorities, the best version being quoted from the "Kitāb

¹ An addition to Tab. iii, 1927, from Ibn Miskawayh, says that Sulaimān's son, 'Ubayd Allah, then secretary to Muwaffaq, reconciled the rival viziers. There is no later mention of al-Hasan b. Makhhlad either by Tabari or Ibn al-Athīr, but in Vollers' "Fragmente aus d. Mughrib" of Ibn Sa'īd, p. 64, he is mentioned as visiting Ahmad b. Tulūn by invitation from his exile at Raqqa, and as behaving so haughtily that Ahmad seized an occasion of disgracing and imprisoning him, and that later he returned to Syria, where he died, and was buried at Qasr 'Isa b. Shaiḫ. A story in Yāqūt's "Irshād al-Arib," ed. D. S. Margoliouth, i, 397, tells of his niggardly provision of food for guests, and how Jalāq managed to profit by this peculiarity. In the same work, at p. 136, is a notice of Ahmad, a son of Sulaimān b. Wabb, d. 285 A.H.

al-Wuzarā" of Ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, whose informant had it from the father of Ibn al-Jarrāh, vizier to the Caliph of a day, Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Its preamble tells how Sulaimān's son 'Ubaid Allah, whilst sitting as vizier under Mu'taḍid to redress grievances, on reading one of them exclaimed, "I will follow the dictum of my father, not of yours," and in due time explained his words. When Wāthiq was Caliph and Ibn al-Zayyāt vizier, 'Ubaid Allah's father, Sulaimān, then secretary to Ītākḥ, had been made liable for a sum of 400,000 dinars, for Wāthiq, fired by a recital of his grandfather's treatment of the Barmecides,¹ had made a pecuniary raid on his State secretaries, including Sulaimān (Tab. iii, 1331-5). The vizier was examining him, and pressing him hard for the balance due, when he was called away by a servant. This enabled his secretary, who was al-Ḥasan b. Waḥb, to pass to his brother Sulaimān a note saying that a male child had been born to him who was as yet "a body without a name," and asking his instructions as to name and 'kunya.' He replied, "Abu-l-Qāsim 'Ubaid Allah," and he felt his confidence revive at the anticipation of the child's growth and prosperity. The vizier on his return perceived the change, and having got the truth from al-Ḥasan, said that what had called him away was likewise the birth of a son, whom he had named 'Abd al-Malik, after his own father, with the 'kunya' of Abu Marwān. Sulaimān congratulated him, and suggested that on a day so auspicious for both of them counsels of mercy should prevail; might their children grow up together, and might his be dedicated to the service of the other. But the vizier, persistently ill-natured, insinuated that Sulaimān's hopes really soared higher; his wish was, no doubt, that his son might some

¹ In Aghāni, xxi, 253, Wāthiq's action is attributed to his recollection of a line of verse in the mouth of his father, Mu'taṣim.

day as vizier see the other his suppliant, and refuse him. Sulaimān protested, but he was conscious too of hope's whisper that the vizier's prognostication might prove true. His release soon followed,¹ and later, when telling the story to his son 'Ubaid Allah, he charged him, should the occasion present itself, to be gracious to the son of Ibn al-Zayyāt. The occasion, said 'Ubaid Allah, was now present, for not until that day had he come across Abu Marwān. He accordingly showered on him wealth and honours, and appointed him to the post which he held down to the close of the third vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt, viz. 312 A.H. At first he used to subscribe himself the vizier's servant, but 'Ubaid Allah forbade this from a vizier's son, and said he must sign his name only. Abu Marwān compromised the matter by combining the two forms, and continued to use them in addressing all succeeding viziers. Moreover, he preferred to be known as Abu Marwān al-Kharā'itī, and to ignore his descent from Ibn al-Zayyāt.²

¹ According to a story (ib., p. 45), also derived from 'Ubaid Allah, his father's release was due to his stout-hearted reply to lines sent him by his brother, urging him to be of good cheer. These came to the knowledge of Wāḥiq, who said he would not suffer his prisons to be the grave of 'Faraj,' least of all to those who were in his service. According to another story (ib., p. 98), and also "Tadhkira," Or. 3180, fol. 88a, likewise derived from 'Ubaid Allah through the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isa, Sulaimān's release was the result of Wāḥiq's deathbed remorse for his past acts and to the advice given by the Qāḍī Ahmad b. abi Duwād that he should make what amends he could by a general gaol delivery of persons detained for non-payment of fines. And the Caliph's order to this effect was carried out by Itākh (to whom Sulaimān had been secretary) in the teeth of Ibn al-Zayyāt's resistance. Moreover, the Qāḍī, on reporting the result to the Caliph, succeeded in getting the prisoners' property restored to them. In the "Tadhkira," Or. 3179, 103a, is another story of the Qāḍī's benevolent intercession with Ma'tasim in favour of an intended victim of his anger, and other instances are given in his life by Ibn Khall, Eng. i, 61.

² Abu Marwān and a brother, when burying their father's remains, thanked Allah at being rid of him (Tab. iii, 1376).

Neither Tabari nor Ibn Khallikān chronicle Sulaimān's official vicissitudes under Mutawakkil, but his career can be further traced in the pages of the "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda."

In vol. i, p. 49, is a story telling how in his capacity of secretary to Itākh he was imprisoned on his murder in 235 A.H. (see Tab. iii, 1386). His treatment was so rigorous that he was longing for death,¹ when suddenly he was summoned for examination before an official board, the upshot of which was that on the advice of a friend, Mūsa b. 'Abd al-Malik, he submitted to pay the sum of ten million dirhams by ten monthly instalments, whereupon he was released, and given a suitable abode and facilities for procuring the sum required. But within a month's time, and just when he had prepared an instalment, arrived Mūsa with news. The accounts from Egypt had come in, and they showed that the expenditure had exhausted the receipts. Mutawakkil, on learning this from the vizier, ordered Mūsa to extract from the Diwān the general accounts of that province, so as to test this governor's administration. And he had been careful to do this in such a form as put in the forefront the year during which Sulaimān had been governor there (he had therefore already filled that post) followed by the later and leaner years for the purpose of comparison, with the object of procuring Sulaimān's release. "Who," enquired the Caliph, "was governor during the fat years?" "Sulaimān." "Why should he not resume the post?" He did so, and not merely were the instalments remitted, but he received 100,000 dirhams for his outfit, besides his forfeited property, and he started for Egypt.

Another story (ib., p. 100, and "Tadhkira," Or. 3180, fol. 230a), in which he is figuring there as governor, was

¹ He describes himself as having prayed that his fate might depend on whether or not he had been party to the murder of Najāh b. Salama, but this must be an error, as that event took place later, in 245 A.H. (see Tab. iii, 1449).

told by him to his son 'Ubaïd Allāh, in later days at Samarrā, to explain his extraordinary show of courtesy to a visitor, Ahmad b. Khālīd al-Šarīfīnī, whom, he said, he had superseded in Egypt, where he had long been governor, and where he found him on his arrival.¹

His official record extorted Sulaimān's admiration for its honesty and beneficence, and for the gratitude it had evoked. Finding that his accounts for the previous year had not yet been made up, Sulaimān now required him to reduce the total of his receipts, and to increase the items for unrecovered arrears and expenses, so as to enable himself to retain a balance of 100,000 dinars. This Ahmad refused to do in spite of Sulaimān's threats, saying that as he would not cheat for himself he certainly would not do so for another, whereupon Sulaimān imprisoned him. But he had for a friend a certain 'Irq al-Maut,² who was hostile to Sulaimān, and he, having gained the ear of the Caliph Mutawakkil, sang therein the praises of Ahmad, and declared that his successor's personal outlay alone was exhausting the revenue of Egypt. The result was that a day came when Ahmad requested a personal audience of Sulaimān. He, expecting a surrender, was unyielding, whereupon Ahmad said that, if this was his last word, he

¹ Tabari (iii, 1378) records that at a previous date, 233 A.H., Mutawakkil had disgraced Abu-l-Wazīr, whose full name is given elsewhere as Ahmad b. Khālīd, and had seized his property, and that through Abu-l-Wazīr's treachery other persons had been imprisoned and fined, one of these being Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, brother of Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik. If this Abu-l-Wazīr was identical with al-Šarīfīnī, the superseded governor, it may be that Mūsā, in procuring his dismissal was, like Scott's Harry of the Wynd, "fighting for his own hand." It was the appointment in 258 A.H. of a great-nephew of Abu-l-Wazīr to the 'Kharāj' in Egypt which led to the governor Ahmad b. Tūlūn furthering his own independence by procuring the transfer to himself of that office; see Vollers, *Fragm.*, p. 16.

² Despatched to Damascus against 'Īsā b. al-Shaikh in 257 (Tab. iii, 1841, and Vollers, *Fragm.*, p. 9). A story *ib.*, p. 44, bears witness to his ability when in charge of the 'Barid' in Egypt.

must request his perusal of the document he handed to him, which proved to be a missive from Mutawakkil to the effect that

"His power and his command was taken off,
And Ahmad ruled in Egypt,"

and that to him he was to render his accounts. Next came the constabulary^{*} to occupy his house, but Ahmad discharged them, and insisted on his remaining in occupation without a guard; further, he left his staff at liberty, taking from them only an undertaking to account; and for the next month he plied Sulaimān with gifts and attentions. He then suggested to him to leave Egypt (whose attractions in his eyes he presumed to be only those of a milch-cow) and to repair to Samarrā, where he was sure of getting preferment. Sulaimān accordingly started for the first halting-place, where he was told to await an honourable escort to Ramla. This aroused his misgivings, but next day came Ahmad in person, and he thus explained his errand. Sulaimān's brief tenure of office, he said, could not have been very profitable as his fruitless demand on him showed, and his motive in delaying his departure had been precisely to enable him to satisfy his demand, viz., by reducing the total, etc., whilst "increasing the items," etc., as above.¹ This, he said, he had done to the amount of 15,000 dinars in the year, and he had brought with him the equivalent of two years as a gift. More than this, he further showered on him other precious objects and rarities, on the ground that

¹ Sulaimān had required of him—

ان يحط من الدخل ويزيد في النفقات والأرزاق ويكثر في البقايا
and his voluntary act was—

وقد حطت من الارتفاع وزدت في البقايا.

The two processes are identical.

such were certain to be expected by the officials at the capital from a returning governor. Thus furnished, Sulaimān hied to high fortune at Court.

The author's moral is clear from the title of his work, that the blackest cloud has its silver lining, and the story is one more instance of excessive and unaccountable Moslem generosity. But it has other aspects. To begin with, the Caliph's plan of government is inscrutable. To govern, beloved and regretted by the governed, is one ideal; to fleece the governed and to feed the treasury, is another; a ruler must weigh treasure against popularity, and make his choice. Yet to alternate these mutually exclusive systems, and for mutually destructive reasons, was the course which commended itself to Mutawakkil. Sulaimān's conduct, again, is consistent and intelligible, but which of Ahmad's actions is it, his obstinate honesty or his altruistic dishonesty, which should be regarded as a deviation from his ordinary standard of conduct? Or was he insensible to the unexpressed, because obvious, maxim, "*Qui facit alio facit per se*"?

The first mention of Sulaimān's son, 'Ubaid Allah, is in Tabari, iii, 1915, where, on the death of the vizier Ibn Khākān, in 263 A.H., Sulaimān was forced on the Caliph Mu'tamid as his successor by the Turk Mūsa b. Bughā, and at the same time 'Ubaid Allah, who had acted as secretary to Mūsa,¹ was appointed to act as such both to the Caliph's son and to his brother Muwaffaq. And it was in this capacity that he, in the following year, made terms between his father and the rival vizier, al-Hasan b. Makhhlad, as already stated.

¹ In Ibn Sa'id's narrative of Mūsa's attempt to supersede Ahmad b. Tulūn as governor of Egypt, Mūsa's secretary is called Mūsa b. 'Ubaid Allah, but it is clear that 'Mūsa' should be omitted in both the passages in *Vollers, Fragm.*, p. 19, n. 2, and p. 20, n. 2. The futile expedition, which only reached Raqqa, is not noticed by Tabari. It is told by Ibn al-Athir, vii, 212, where 'Ubaid Allah is called 'Abd Allah.

In extract F we find him acting as Mūsa's secretary when at Rayy,—presumably, therefore, in 256–8 A.H., when Mūsa was resisting the Alide of Tabaristān, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid (Ṭabari, iii, 1840 and 1873). Whilst so engaged 'Ubaid Allah had realized on his own account a perquisite of 100,000 dinars. At Hamadhān, on the way back to Samarrā, he was surprised at a requisition by Mūsa that he should raise a like sum from that province which, in his opinion, had been drained dry already. He even went the length of offering his own private hoard, but Mūsa refused it, and insisted on his demand. Thereupon 'Ubaid Allah set to work and got the money. Later Mūsa told him that the sum was to be his. He foresaw that his father, Sulaimān, would enquire what he had made out of his opportunities, and would advance claims for outlay on family and dependants sufficient to exhaust the amount. The second sum of 100,000 dinars, therefore, was destined to be really his own.

It is 'Ubaid Allah who tells the story, his filial piety drowned for the time in gratitude towards the memory of his patron, whose reading of his father's character he does not question. And Sulaimān is left anticipating Harpagon in trying to get the better of his own son.

The son lived to reap the reward of the imprisonment inflicted on them both by Muwaffaq (Ṭab. iii, 1930), for on the accession of Mu'taḍid, 'Ubaid Allah was appointed vizier in place of Ibn Bulbul (ib. 2123), and held the post without interruption until his death.¹ We must therefore attribute to the earlier period the sentiment

¹ This happened in 288 A.H. according to Ibn al-Jauzi in the "Muntazam," Paris, Ar. 5909, 28a, where he relates how Mu'taḍid intended to appoint Ahmad b. al-Farāt vizier, but was persuaded by Badr to prefer 'Ubaid Allah's son, al-Qāsim; and how in doing this he foretold its evil result for Badr. Al-Qāsim had acted as deputy vizier, but the Caliph reposed more confidence in Ahmad, whose official ability was notorious (cf. Hilāl al-Šābi, "Wuzarā," pp. 187-8, 210, and 255).

addressed to him by Abu-l-'Ainā (extract G), that better be a good man in adversity than a prosperous evildoer, for he goes from bad to worse, whereas the former gains favour with Allah.¹ And Abu-l-'Ainā was no indiscriminate eulogist, for his retort to a vizier who declared most stories of generosity to be forgeries, by the enquiry why none were attributed to the speaker (Mas'ūdi, viii, 122; Ibn Khallikān, Eng. iii, 56), was in fact addressed to 'Ubaid Allah. Indeed, it would appear that Abu-l-'Ainā had himself occasion to expostulate on the cessation of the vizier's bounty, which he held to be a needless aggravation of his natural infirmity (extract H).² The vizier's wisdom is illustrated from the 'Bāb' dealing with that quality, (extract I), by an alteration he made in the language of a document intended to impose an obligation on the Caliph, so as to make it more in accordance with his eminence. The clerk who had drawn it up, Thawāba,³ had followed the form usual in 'Šikak,' meaning, I presume,

¹ So said Browning's "Patriot"—

. "now instead
'Tis God shall repay: I am safer so."

² The first two stories are given by Ibn Hamdūn, Or. 3179, fols. 117b and 135b, but all three appear on the earlier authority of the vizier at al-Rayy, Abu Sa'd Mansūr b. al-Husain al-Ābī, who died 421 A.H. (Brockelmann, i, 351) in the *Nathr al-Durar fi-l-Muhādārāt* (B.M. Or. 5769, fols. 25a, 14a, and 30a). It is to be noticed that his contemporary al-Tanūkhī in the "Nashwān" (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 6a), on the authority of a son of Yahya al-Munajjim (d. 300 A.H.), makes Abu-l-'Ainā's retort addressed to one Abu Makhlad 'Abd Allah b. Yahya al-Ṭabari, a Ṣāhib of Mu'izz al-Daula, but as Abu-l-'Ainā died in 284 A.H. and is made to address Abu Makhlad as 'vizier,' the dates do not fit.

³ The MS. has ثَوَابَا, but the error was detected by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, who refers to the mention of him in the "Fihrist," p. 130, l. 18, as a State secretary. He is mentioned too as in prison, and visited by Ibn abi 'Auf 'al-Buzārī' (mentioned *infra*) in the "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda," l. 62-3; as disputing with Ahmad b. al-Furāt before 'Ubaid Allah in Hīlāl, "Wuzarā," p. 255; and as reviled by Abu-l-'Ainā in the latter's life by Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 58.

ordinary acknowledgments of obligation as between subjects, which the vizier deemed unsuitable to the occasion. That 'Ubaid Allah died regretted by Murtaḍid is shown by the Caliph's valedictory utterance (extract K), in which he expresses his satisfaction that he had never been estranged from him nor had visited him with displeasure so as to prompt him to resign his office. No mischief-maker had ever come between them, and his own character for holding by and protecting his servants without hankering after their wealth stood unimpeached. None the less the Caliph kept an eye on his vizier. He once played in person the detective, or rather the *agent provocateur* on him (Hilāl, "Wuzarā," pp. 184-6), and a story in the Nashwān (fol. 28b) depicts him closely informed by spies as to his doings. They should have had much to report.

For 'Ubaid Allah was following in his father's footsteps. One Ibn abi 'Auf had sheltered him in time of trouble. Being now vizier, his benefactor, who was in poor circumstances, was advised to have recourse to him, but refused, saying it would look like requiring payment for his kindness. Next day, however, he was summoned and received with great honour, being seated على طرف الدست

At this point the vizier's attendance was ordered by the Caliph, and on his return he told his visitor that it was on his account, for his reception of him had already reached his ears, and he had objected that he was degrading his office by behaving to a mere trader in a way that would have been more appropriate to an heir to the throne¹; but, on the reason being told him, he was satisfied. The vizier then said to Ibn abi 'Auf, "I give you a month, and if you do not by that time get 100,000 dinars against

¹ تتبدل مجلس الوزارة بالقيام لتاجر ولو كان هذا لصاحب طرف
كان محظوراً أو ولي عهد كان كثيراً

adversity, may you perish."¹ And he instructed his secretary how to raise the sum. He was first to reduce the current prices on sales to merchants of the produce of the crown lands to somewhat below the real value, presumably to ensure acceptance; this done, he was to sell this produce to Ibn abi 'Auf at a rebate of one dinar on each of the 100,000 measures; and then to resell it on his behalf to the merchants at the agreed price, they to pay down to him the difference, and to be given credit for the balance until actual delivery of the produce.² This story is instructive. Language is ever ready to express neatly and without offence the most ambiguous acts, and a term was evolved to denote the above transaction. For, about one generation later, Ibn al-Furāt (as vizier) was doing a similar good turn to Ibn Muqla (Hilāl, "Wuzarā," p. 215), and the vizier's order is there expressed by a single verb,³ for the due understanding of which some much needed light has been afforded by the exact statement of the process in the "Nashwān."

انى قد شهرتك شهرة ان لم تكن معك مائة الف دينار معدة¹
للكفة هلكك .

احضر التجار الساعة ونقص عليهم في تسعير مائة الف كرومن²
غلات السلطان بالسواد بما يساوى وعرفنى . فخرج وعاد بعد ساعة
وقال : قد قورت ذلك معهم . فقال له : جمع على ابنى عبد الله هذه
المائة الف كرومن بدينار واحد ما قورت به السعر مع التجار
وبعد له عليهم بالسعر المقرر عليهم وظالمهم ان يجعلوا له فضل ما بين
السعرين اليوم واخبرهم بالثمن الى ان يتسلموا الغلات واكتب الى
المواحي بتقبضهم اياها . (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 29a.)

¹ امثنى, and the sum obtained مال الاستثنا. The term occurs in other passages in Hilāl, on pp. 87, 93, and 171. References to pp. 87 and 215 should be added in the Glossary, *sub* ثنى.

The above story follows in that text on one relating to 'Ubaid Allah's son and successor in the vizierate, al-Qāsim, so resembling the other in its language that, but for the evidence elsewhere of the identity of the person benefited, coupled with the inherent probability of the benefactor's conduct, the two stories might be thought to be one and the same. The authority for both is the Qāḍi Ibn 'Ayyāsh.

Al-Qāsim's tutor was Abu Ishaq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj. Of him we are told (fol. 89a) that his trade was glass bottle-making,¹ and that from his earnings of a dirham and a half a day he paid one dirham to al-Mubarrad for tuition. Such a character straight from Smiles' "Self Help" was an ideal tutor, and we may suppose his precept excellent. His conduct was as follows. He suggested to his pupil that, if and when he should attain his father's office, he should give him 20,000 dinars. When the event happened he, like Ibn abi 'Auf, was above asking, but in five days time the vizier sent for him, and told him that but for fear of Murtaḍid he should have the sum down; as it was he must procure it piecemeal by accepting petitions for presentation, which he was to do for an adequate consideration, and without regard to their being well founded or the reverse, until he had gained the promised sum.² Al-Qāsim became quite interested in his proceedings, enquiring and making suggestions as to his

¹ اخطر الزجاج.

انه المعتضد ولولا ما تعاظمني دفع ذلك اليك في مكان واحد² ولكنني اخاف ان يصير لى معه حديثا فتسمح لى باخذه مستغفرا . . . آجلس للناس وأخذ رقايعهم للجواميع الكبار واستجعل عليها ولا تمنع من مسألتي شيئا فخطب فيه صحتا كان او محالا الى ان يحصل لك مال النذر. (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 28a.)

scale of charges, which often led to a petition being hung up until the payment was increased. And in time the tutor felt constrained to admit that the promised sum had been reached. But the vizier told him to continue as before: suitors had got into the way of it, and it gave him position: to discontinue would argue loss of his, the vizier's, favour. So he went on until his death.¹

Such practices had indeed acquired the force of custom. Mu'tadid made a grant of an estate to a favourite, but the head of the Diwān delayed giving effect to it, and on

¹ In taking leave of the house of Wabb, the career of al-Qasim's son, al-Husain, may be noticed. He was a prodigal, and when pressed by his creditors, who refused to be content with his revenue and threatened to summon him before the Qādi, he consulted Ibn al-Bahlūl how to save his estates. He advised him to apply to the Qādi, Abu 'Umar (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, d. 320 A.H.), under whose jurisdiction he was as a resident on the east bank, for according to the tenets of the Mālikī school of jurists, he would be enabled to pronounce his interdiction as a spendthrift, whereby the creditors' remedy would be limited to the income. The passage runs:—

ان مذهب مالک المحجر على الرجال اذا بان مذهبهم في الاموال
وان عني بك ابو عمر جعل استدانتك من غير حاجة كانت بك
اليها وانما بدرت العمال وتخرقت في النفقة دليلا على سبك في
مالك ولو صارت تسمع في ذلك شهادة من يعرفه من حالك
فثبت حينئذ السفه عندك فيحجر عليك ويمنعك من التصرف
في مالك ويدخل فيه ايدي امواله ويحول بينك وبينه فاذا ثبت
عنده العرواء عليك الدين امرهم يعني امواله بان يصرفوا الغلات
اليهم قضاء للدين وبقيت عليك الاصول . قال : فطرح الحسين نفسه
على ابي عمر ففعل به ذلك . (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 84b.)

Later, when he had attained the vizierate (in 319 A.H.), Mūnis argued that this episode in his career showed his unsuitness to manage the revenue. He supported Muqtadir against Mūnis, but failed, and was dismissed in 320 A.H. (ʿArib, p. 173). The "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda," i. 60, speaks of him as vizier to Muqtadir's successor, Qāhir, by whom he was put to death,—Dhahabī says (Leyden, No. 863, fol. 171b), for heresy.

her complaining to the Caliph he told her that the proper way for her, as for others, was to approach the official with the customary presents. On her doing this the grant was passed, and the official boasted thereafter of having taken a present by the Caliph's order (Hilāl, "Wuzarā," pp. 182-4). And in the "Nashwān," fol. 118a, is a story by a clerk in the army office sent to distribute the troops' pay, how he, the commander's secretary, the receiving clerk (المجيب), and the 'Naqib' had between them realized a profit of some 10,000 dirhams. To effect a division they entered a mosque, when they saw but a single individual, apparently asleep. The sum to be divided accrued from the pay of men not on the roll, of their substitutes, and from profits on exchange and surplus weight.¹ As the shares were being apportioned, the reputed sleeper arose and claimed a share also, and on threatening disclosure asserted successfully his equity to share equally with the rest of them.

It thus appears that such practices were in theory illegal: to some, indeed, their immoral aspect was apparent also. Extract L, from the "Nashwān," illustrates this, and the impeachment it contains of the iniquities of revenue-collecting identifies incidentally the successive administrative acts which marked the offender's progress towards perdition, just as, so a classical friend informs me, the sites of various edifices on the Palatine have been determined by a panegyrist's enumeration of those his effusion would successively leave behind it in its progress towards Caesar's hands.

Abu-l-Qāsim b. Abī-l-'Allān, being asked why he had forsworn an administrative career, told this story. When

¹ وصل إلينا من رزق فلان المساقط كذا وفلان المبدل كذا ومن
الصرف كذا ومن فضل الوزن كذا. (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 118a.)

stationed at Ahwāz and in charge of the district, he used to receive visits from Abu 'Ali al-Jubbā'i, usually at the moment when the land-tax was collected. Abu 'Ali was a man of high position, and he had long been in the habit of taking upon himself the tax due from his favourite neighbours, and Abu-l-Qāsim used to arrange his assessment with the governor who, though he might, at times, fail to do justice to Abu 'Ali's claim to special consideration, yet never omitted to abate his assessment by a moiety or a third of its total. Abu 'Ali himself gave no thought to the matter, and in his native place he was in the habit of distributing the proportion of his land-tax, which he had thus evaded paying, among certain chosen persons, on condition that each of these maintained during the year a poor scholar to impart learning to them—a trifling burden which did not amount to the fifth part of what he saved them. And Abu 'Ali then proceeded to appropriate a proper tithe of his own revenues to various pious uses. Such practices entitled him, on occasion, to preach, and when his host sought spiritual counsel of him he said that in his opinion his outlook was gloomy. "Why so?" enquired Abu-l-Qāsim, seeing that he was but a clerk, a hand that made copies, a hand which like any other treasury hand, when a petitioner tendered in return for a lightened assessment a token of his gratitude, closed on that token. But Abu 'Ali replied: "Tush! you select and send out the surveyors with stringent orders; they bring in amended lists; you settle them; you tell the collector to see that the amounts reach the receiver, or it will be the worse for him; and he then uses measures gentle and otherwise. But it is you who determine their intensity and their incidence; and it is on your order that the money so got in is paid out; in a word, the entire proceedings are under your control, and you must bear the responsibility." Abu-l-Qāsim confessed the burden, and avoided it by retirement.

But the rest of the official world held on their course. Let us ascend to their fount, the Caliph, who at this date was Muqtadir. We find him attempting a stroke of business on his own account. Property of his at Ahwāz was to be sold to provide pay for the troops. In the story this sale is only a link in a long and intricate scheme of revenge on the part of al-Tanūkhī's uncle against an enemy (Nashwān, fol. 67*a* seq.). Confining ourselves to the sale, we learn (fol. 70*a*) that the land was bought by the adjoining owners at far below its real value, a not unusual incident of a forced sale. The uncle was a purchaser, and so was Abu 'Abd Allah al-Baridī.¹ Later came a demand from the Caliph for a large increase in the sale prices, to the amount of 100,000 dirhams. The two consulted together, and agreed that no part of the increase must fall on them. But the purchasers held to their bargains. Thereupon the uncle devised a scheme. He began by judiciously apportioning the increase among the purchasers in such a way as spared himself and al-Baridī and their friends, and threw the whole increase on the rest; he then met their protests with the magnanimous offer that any recusant might account to them for the rents and profits he had received on his purchased plot, and be paid by them the difference between that and the purchase-money, they taking over his purchase. But as the purchasers had bought the plot most convenient to be held with their own properties, they preferred to submit to the increased price.² The actual payments,

¹ Appointed in 316 A.H. to the land-tax office at Ahwāz ('Arīḥ, p. 138, where a note indicates that in the MS., as also in that of Ibn Miskawaih, the name is written 'al-Yaridī.' It is thus written also in the text of the 'Nashwān').

² فَقَسَطْنَا الْعَمَالَ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْمَدِينَةِ وَأَخْرَجْنَا أَنْفُسَنَا فَمَا زِلْمَتَاهَا شَيْئًا . . . وَنَقَّصْنَا مِنْ عَيْنِنَا بِهِ وَزِدْنَا بَارِئًا ذَلِكَ عَلَى غَيْرِهِ . . . وَنَاظَرْنَا النَّاسَ عَلَى الْإِزَامِ مَا قَسَطْنَاهُ فَاْمْتَنَعُوا وَقَالُوا : عَلَى أَيِّ حِسَابٍ هَذَا ؟

however, were preceded by certain complications which form the subject of another story (fol. 91b). It relates how a sale of property at Ahwāz¹ belonging to Muqtadir had been carried out by "Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Barīdī," during the vizierate of Ibn Muqla, before his supersession by Sulaimān b. al-Hasan b. Makhlad in 318 A.H. ('Arib, p. 150). The new vizier had recalled al-Barīdī, and his successor had accused him of having retained a part of the purchase-money, and had, therefore (?), demanded from the purchasers a largely increased price. The transaction was evidently the same as that described in the earlier story. The teller of this story is the Qāḍī Ibn al-Buhlūl, of whose honesty evidence is afforded in Hilāl's "Wuzarā," pp. 98-102 and 293-4.

The Qāḍī was summoned by Muqtadir, who told him that the new agent at Ahwāz had reported that the purchasers refused to pay their purchase-money failing a verbal declaration on his part confirming the sales, and promising no further demand on them. This he was prepared to make, and he told the Qāḍī to so inform his deputy at Ahwāz, so that he might proceed to give effect to the sales.² The Qāḍī, wishing to do an ill turn to the agent, said that in instructing his deputy he would have to specify the amount by which the prices were increased, which the Caliph disclosed with reluctance

وحاسبونا وناظرونا فقللت للجماعة : من صلح له ان يلتزم على هذا
التقسيت والآفحاسبنا على ما قبضه من غلات الصياع التي اشتراها
وانا رة عليه ما يبقى له من الشمن بعد ذلك وأخذ ما اشتراه
والتزم هذه الزيادة. (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 70a.)

¹ Called here الصياع المعروفيات.

² فأكتب الى خليعتك بانى قد قلت ذلك وان يسجل لهم بما
ابتاعوه.

and with temper, on the ground that it would cause prejudice to him and to his government.¹ It needed the efforts of 'Ali b. 'Īsa to pacify him.

It was 'Ali's opinion, as recorded in the "*Nashwān*" (fol. 91*d*), that Muqtadir's shortcomings were not due to defective judgment, and in this case of the probable effect of his disclosure to the Qādi he no doubt judged aright. To remedy or to counteract that effect was no task for him, nor for many others of his line.

In truth, it was the more worthless of the Caliphs who were the worst offenders. They were ever prepared to sacrifice any official for the sake of what might be squeezed out of him, and no consideration, whether of tried service or of ability, seems to have had any adverse weight—witness the fall of Najāh b. Salama under Mutawakkil, told by Tabari (iii, 1440-6).² There are two accounts given of his fall, but Mutawakkil's guiding motive is the same in both. Indeed, when Najāh's out-bidders had done him to death, the Caliph's insistence, both in his sober moments and otherwise, that he was not to be thereby the loser is noteworthy (ib. 1446). And his claim seems to have been justified by practice. For it appears from a passage in the "*Nashwān*," that when a man was delivered over to the custody of another to have money extorted from him, in the event of the victim dying before payment the amount which the custodian had 'guaranteed' became due from him, a practice which, let us hope, acted to some extent as a restraint on needless cruelty.³

نَحَسَ مِنْهُ وَمِنْ الْمَلِكِ¹

¹ In this case also a single word sufficed to denote the practice of undertaking to squeeze from a man a definite sum, نَحَسَ.

² فلما زاد على المكروه وخاف الفضل أن يشلف في العذاب
فيجب المال عليه في نفسه باتلافه أياد رفعت به وداراه وخلع عليه

Muqtadir, again, at the time when Hāmid b. al-'Abbās was his vizier with 'Alī b. 'Isa to assist him, had no hesitation in taking counsel of the fallen vizier, Ibn al-Furāt, then in his custody in the palace, as to a proposal by an official to 'guarantee,' for some unspecified sum, both Hāmid and 'Alī, but in the end the Caliph allowed himself to be dissuaded by Ibn al-Furāt from entertaining the project (Hilāl, "Wuzarā," pp. 81-2). Ibn al-Furāt himself was under no illusion as to the extent of reliance which was to be placed on Muqtadir (ib., pp. 118-19), and when Ibn al-Jaṣṣās threatened to requite the slights he put upon him by offering the Caliph a sufficient sum down on condition of the appointment of a nominee of his own to be vizier to whom should be given the custody of Ibn al-Furāt, the latter made no doubt of his succeeding, and came to terms with him forthwith (ib., pp. 110-13¹). And, be it observed, Ibn al-Jaṣṣās was a byword for oddity and absence of mind, and his fitness for being concerned with the selection of a vizier may be judged by this, that a stupid act on the part of a stupid vizier, al-Khaqāni, who, wishing to give his companion in a boat an apple and to spit in the water, reversed the destinations (ib. 277-8), was by later historians instinctively attributed to Ibn al-Jaṣṣās, with the heightened touch that he is made to blunder in his excuse just as he had blundered in fact.²

ورقته أياماً الحج. (Paris, Ar. 3482, fol. 44b.) And, according to the Qādi Ahmad b. al-Jawād, the property of persons executed passed, legally, failing proof of their guilt, to their heirs (Ibn Khall., Eng. i, 63).

¹ The story was popular. Hilāl took it from the "Nashwān," fol. 11a; it occurs in the "Kitāb al-Mughaffalīn" of Ibn al-Jauzi, a work largely concerned with Ibn al-Jaṣṣās (Paris, Ar. 3543, 115b), and it is quoted from the "Nashwān" by Dhahabī in the "Tārīkh al-Islām" (Leyden, No. 863, fol. 199a).

² E.g., by Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi (B.M. Or. 4619, fol. 85a) and by Dhahabī (B.M. Or. 48, fol. 70a). By Ibn Hamdūn also (Or. 3179, 205b) the story is attributed to him, but the apple becomes a pearl (Ibn al-Jaṣṣās's jewels were renowned), and the sufferer is the Caliph.

Other and innumerable instances of arbitrary, and presumably illegal, acts are the fines—'Muṣādara.' On the disgrace of a vizier the first duty of his successor was to extort by more or less violent means the most he could from him; and the same course was adopted with his secretaries. That much of their wealth was ill-derived is probable; that a balance struck between their services and their gains would have shown them heavily in debt to the State is no less probable; but there is no trace of any regular taking of account against them having been intended or attempted.¹ The fines were proportioned, not to the victim's liability, but to his pliability, under every sort of torture and ill-treatment. The list of those levied during Ibn al-Furāt's last term of office by his son al-Muḥassin is staggering, and it included all their political enemies, as was admitted by Ibn al-Furāt (see Hilāl, "Wuzarā," pp. 224-7 and 105).

These Muṣādara have found defenders. Von Kremer suggests that, failing any system of state loans, it was a means of meeting a deficit.² But to borrow by force, without promise or intention of repaying, may be expressed by a shorter verb. Jurji Zaydān again, in his "Islamic Civilization," observes that "the fining process caused money to circulate, just as trading did."³ Circulation in the body politic, as in the body physical, is no doubt a sign of a certain well-being; but when caused by

¹ The amount and nature of official salaries are obscure. Under Maqtadīr a vizier had 5,000 dinars a month besides the revenue of certain 'Abbasid Estates' (Hilāl, "Wuzarā," 201, l. ult., and 282, l. 8). The head of a Diwān got one-tenth of this sum (ib. 177-8), and the profits of subordinate officials were often large (ib. 139-40). In the sixth century the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn al-Isfahānī at Mosul had an 'Iqtā' of one-tenth of the produce of the soil, that being the usual vizier's allowance under Saljuq rule (Ibn Khall., Eng. iii, 297).

² In "Das Einnahme Budget des Abbassidenreiches v. J. 306 A.H.": *Denkschr. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. W. A.*, Bd. xxxvi, pp. 283-362.

³ Transl. D. S. Margoliouth, "Umayyads and Abbasids," p. 233.

these methods, and under these conditions, it is suggestive rather of a high and intermittent fever than of sound normal health.

In Ahmad b. Tūlūn, to whom extract M refers, we have a ruler of a higher type. Tabari's information regarding him is scanty; Ibn al-Athir's account is fuller—he notices, for instance, his occupation of Syria on the submission of the son of Mājūr, its governor, whereas Tabari mentions only the taking of Antioch. But the character of Ibn Tūlūn is best depicted in the series of anecdotes published in Vollers' "Fragmente aus d. Mughrib" from the Cairo autograph MS. of Ibn Sa'id, and which that historian declares to be taken from Ibn Tūlūn's biography by Ibn al-Dāya—d. 334 A.H. (Brock. i, 149). One anecdote there shows that he at least possessed a quality to which most of the foregoing personages were strangers, for when a man deep in his confidence utilized his position in the way we saw encouraged by al-Qāsim in his tutor, the Amīr held his conduct incompatible with honest advice, and having intercepted his attempted escape in a coffin left him to die in prison.¹

The stories relating to Ibn Tūlūn in the "Tadhkira" might conceivably have come likewise from the work of Ibn al-Dāya, but one of these, in Or. 3179, 133a, telling how the dispenser of his alms, having enquired how he was to treat applicants who were obviously above want, was told to give to every outstretched hand (Ibn Khall,

كان لاحمد بن طولون ثقة على كثير من اسراره يطالع به ما غاب
عنه فلما زاد محله انصرف عنه الناس اليه في حوائجهم وبسطا يده
في الانفاق فانتسب مالا عظيما وانكشف عنه احمد بن طولون وعلم
ان قصده الانفاق دون تجريد النصيحة له فهرب منه وشق ذلك
على احمد بن طولون لاشتماله على ما عنده من اسراره الخ.

Ibn Sa'id, Vollers, "Fragmente," p. 37.

Eng. i, 154), appears also in "Fragmente," p. 41, but in a different form to that in the "Tadhkira," which is identical with the version of it in the "Mustatraf," ed. 1308, i, 149.¹ But from whatever source they come these extracts accord with the facts of history, and with the known characteristics of Ibn Ṭulūn.

The first story relates how a slave of his, Fā'ik, obtained his permission to include in his property a dwelling belonging to the 'Umari.' He accordingly bought it and handed over the price, possession to be given in two months' time. At that date Fā'ik, after accompanying his master to the mosque, proceeded to his newly purchased house, and was met by the sound of women's wailing, caused, he was told, by their having to remove. Asked whether they were not content with the price, they replied that what distressed them was having him for a neighbour. At this he paused and eventually renounced both his purchase and its price. And his action was approved by his master.

Fā'ik's name does not occur in Ṭabari, but Ibn al-Athīr couples him (vii, 370) with Badr al-Ḥammāmi as inviting from Damascus the Caliph's army to recover Egypt and Syria from the grandson of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn (cf. Ṭab. iii, 2252). The occupiers of the purchased property—the 'Umari—were probably connected with Abu 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Umari, whose career is briefly recorded by Ibn al-Athīr (vii, 181-2).² His 'laqab' indicated his descent from the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He had aided in suppressing an Alide rebel in Egypt, and had checked Berber raids on the Moslem population by the Baja, a Berber tribe of whom an

¹ Except that *دستبند* 'bracelet' is inserted after *سوار*.

² A full account of al-'Umari from the "Muqaffa" of Maqrizi (Paris, Ar. 2144, fol. 163 ff.) is given by Quatremère, "Mém. sur l'Égypte," i, 59-80.

account is given in the *Khīṭaṭ* of Maqrizi—i, 194-7; quoted from the history of Nubia, and on p. 196, l. ult., is a reference to al-'Umari. In vol. ii, p. 455, l. 6, we are told that the tribe's raids on the old Muṣalla were so frequent that those attending prayer had to be protected by troops, until in 256 A.H., whilst Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn was Amīr, they were surprised, and their leader killed by al-'Umari, who then invaded their territory and subjected them to payment of the poll-tax.¹ And that later he attacked the Nubians, who complained to the Amīr, which led to his sending a force to attack him. This Ibn al-Athīr makes consequent on the Amīr's alarm at his success against the Baja tribe, and that having in vain protested his loyalty and good intentions he defeated the attacking force, and was henceforth left in peace, until murdered by some slaves of his, whom the Amīr put to death. Ibn Sa'īd also relates (*Fragm.*, p. 27) how the Amīr, perturbed at his success, received the news of his murder, which was followed by the arrival of the slaves with his head, and that on learning from them that he had been a good master, and that they had killed him in the hope of a reward, he had them executed, and the head interred. It may be that his regard for al-'Umari prompted his approval of Fā'iq's renunciation.

The subsequent stories of Ibn Ṭulūn in extract M, which are given consecutively in the "*Tadhkira*," Or. 3179, 191b, are all to his credit, and tend to support the favourable estimate of his character formed by Vollers (*Fragm.*, p. xviii). In the first, when sitting with eminent jurists² to redress

¹ The Baja tribe is mentioned, unfavourably, by Ibn Jubair, ed. de Goeje, 1907, pp. 70-1, transl. Schiaparelli, 1906, pp. 41, 43.

² Bakkār b. Qutaiḥa, Ibn Khall., *Eng.* i, 261, put to death by the Amīr when on his deathbed (Vollers, *Fragm.*, 71); Rabī' b. Sulaimān, *ib.*, *Eng.* i, 519; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hākim, *ib.*, *Eng.* ii, 598; and Ma'nār b. Muḥammad al-Jauhārī, mentioned *Fragm.* pp. 10, 38, and 59, where he accompanies Bakkār as envoy from the Amīr to his rebellious son al-'Abbās. All, except Bakkār, were of the Shafeite school.

grievances, a young man, destined himself to attain legal eminence, Abu Ja'far Ahmad al-Ṭahāwī,¹ complained that an ancestral estate had been interfered with. A temperate argument followed between them, the Amīr taking no advantage of his situation, and, indeed, by his admission, getting the worst of it. He ended by proposing a three days' adjournment, so that if, during the interval, any further argument occurred to him he might avail himself of it, otherwise the estate should be surrendered. But when the petitioner had withdrawn, the Amīr protested to those present that his own attitude had been deplorable; a subject's case had proved stronger than his own, and he was going to take time to meet it, whereas any conclusive argument he might have adduced then and there: his conduct was sheer usurpation. And he made restitution.

The next story bears witness to his friendly feeling towards the monks of Egypt, of which there is evidence in *Fragm.*, p. 73. A monk who claimed to recover 300 dinars of which he had been despoiled by a military officer, was persuaded by a chamberlain at Court to forego his claim and accept restitution from himself, which the monk did readily. But the Amīr heard of the transaction, and had all three summoned before him. The officer, who admitted that he had no excuse for his conduct, was dismissed from his post, and the chamberlain likewise, whilst the monk was told that it was to be regretted that his claim was not magnified tenfold so that it might have been repaid from the wrongdoer's property.

The third story relates to the Amīr's cruel and rebellious son al-'Abbās, whom he had eventually to exclude from the succession (see *Fragm.*, pp. 58, 62-3, and 74). A singing-girl, whilst on her way to him, was met by a virtuous inhabitant, who broke her lute to pieces. 'Abbās complained,

¹ Ibn Khall, Eng. i, 51, nephew to al-Muzani, *infra*, whose tenets he exchanged for those of Abu Hanifa.

and the man was told by the Amīr that he had not shown his son much respect on his account. Thereupon he asked whether he was to show his respect for him by tolerating iniquity, and he quoted Qur. ix, 72, and the Prophet, on the subject. The Amīr told him that his reforming efforts would have his support, and dismissed him with honour.

The Amīr's love of learning was notorious from his youth (Fragm., pp. 3-4), and he sought out the society of the learned. In the next story we find the illustrious Shafeite legist, al-Muzani,¹ declining his invitations. And even when the Amīr threatened to pull his house down, and sent his slave Sawwār² to do this, al-Muzani's only concern was that the ruin should not extend beyond his boundary-line. This conduct raised him yet higher in the Amīr's esteem, and increased his wish to meet him. In his case, as also, according to Ibn Khallikān, in that of al-Muzani and the Qādi Bakkār, the meeting was at a funeral, when the Amīr was careful that al-Muzani should be unaware of his scrutiny lest he should be offended.³

The last story in extract M is administrative. The Amīr, requiring to despatch bullion to the capital, assembled the Qādi, the Notaries, and the Receiver, who verified and wrote down the amount, which exceeded a million dinars. But on the document reaching Sulaimān, the official Trier, he refused to attest it until the money was weighed out in his presence. The Amīr was annoyed, but ordered it to be done, after which the Trier summoned

¹ Ibn Khall., Eng. i, 200.

² Mentioned Fragn., p. 42, L 6, as in the Amīr's service, and described as impudent, صفيق الوجه.

³ In Or. 3180, 121a, is a story how al-Muzani protested he would not attend on the Amīr, and answered his envoy by alleging an oath, thus:—

اصدقني فعليّ يمين ليس ليّا كفارة . فظنّ الرسول انها يمين
الطلاق وانما اراد ما حلف به ولا كفارة فيه.

his subordinates and had the money tested, sealed up, and delivered to the Receiver, and then Sulaimān added his attestation. This incident was the cause of the high esteem in which he came to be held by the Amīr.

A further set of stories relating to Aḥmad b. Tūlūn are given in Or. 3180, 232b; these may be stated briefly, for some of the actors therein can be identified. In the first the Amīr directs Mūsa b. Muṣliḥ¹ to make enquiry into the cases of those in prison. One prisoner, a man of excellent character, told Mūsa that he relied on the intercession of Falīḥ, the head of the police, and begged to be allowed to go home for a day on a promise to return. After hesitating from fear of the Amīr, Mūsa allowed this, and early next day the man came back to prison, saying that Falīḥ's efforts had failed, for the Amīr was pitiless and had ordered his attendance on the day following, so he had at once returned in case Mūsa should incur blame on his account. But next day Mūsa accompanied him to the Amīr and reported his honourable fulfilment of his promise, whereupon the Amīr granted him his pardon and his favour.

In the next, Sulaimān b. Thābit, who was secretary to Shuqair, informed the Amīr that his father Thābit was the depositary of money in trust for Shuqair.² Thābit was summoned and denied, whereupon the Amīr disclosed who was his informant, telling him to keep him in ignorance; he then let the matter drop. Within a year Thābit died, and the Amīr gave his son an official post. Later he told him to deliver over the money his father had held on deposit, and on his showing hesitation

¹ A Mūsa b. Ukht Muṣliḥ was serving in Muwaffaq's campaign against the Zanj in 297 A.H. (Tab. iii, 2012), and was at Baghdad in 278 A.H. (ib. 2118).

² Mentioned Fragn., p. 9, as slave to the mother of the Caliph Ma'tazz, and as head of the 'Barid' on the Amīr's arrival in Egypt, who probably treated him as hostile to his rule.

and embarrassment he handed him over to Ismā'il b. 'Ammār,¹ who bereft him both of money and life.

By Ibn Sa'id (Vollers, *Fragm.*, p. 17) Sulaimān b. Thābit is said to have been known as Ibn Dushūma, but in the same passage is a mention of 'Abd Allah b. Dushūma, who is the subject of another story there (p. 31), and also of one to follow below.

Next comes a story how the Amir, presumably early in his career, dreamt that his feet were plunged in a well filled with blood, whilst dung was rained on him from above. This was interpreted as foretelling that he would govern a distant province of the Caliph's dominions, represented by the well, whilst the blood would typify the wickedness of the world, and the dung the wealth he would amass. Had the well been filled with water, the darker slur on the Amir's reputation might have been absent.

In another dream the Amir beheld Muḥammad b. Sulaimān in the act of destroying his Maidān and his palace. Muḥammad was secretary to Lu'lu', who was in the service of the Amir, and Ibn Sa'id says (*Vollers, Fragm.*, p. 68) that when the Amir was displeased with him he visited his displeasure on the secretary. He accordingly advised his master to go over to Muwaffaq, which he did (cf. *Tab.* iii, 2025). In this story the Amir tells Lu'lu' of the dream, and on his saying his secretary was absent orders his attendance. But Lu'lu' warns him of his danger, and he flies to 'Irāq. Later, under Muktafi, came the fulfilment of the dream, when Muḥammad defeated the grandson of Ibn Tūlūn and recovered Egypt for the Caliph, in 292 A.H. (*Tab.* iii, 2252, and *'Arīb*, 7).²

The last story of the set is an abridged version of one

¹ An Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. 'Ammār is mentioned (*Fragm.*, p. 69) as brought from prison to be consulted by the Amir as to whether it was his duty to lead his army in person to the assistance of Mu'tamid against his brother Muwaffaq.

² A somewhat different version of this dream and of the career of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān is given in the "*Faraḡ ba'd al-Shidda*," i, 180-2.

given by Ibn Sa'īd (Vollers, *Fragm.*, pp. 17-19) how the unscrupulous advice as to taxation given by Ibn Dushūma (here written 'Dishwaih') to the Amīr was contradicted in a dream by a deceased friend whom the Amīr had known when at Tarsus, and who now warned him, as he told Ibn Dushūma, that he was being misled. To which Ibn Dushūma replied that advice in a dream was one thing, and advice from one wide-awake was another. But the Amīr held his subsequent discovery of treasure to be a proof of Ibn Dushūma's deception, and his disgrace followed. And Ibn Sa'īd says that he soon found occasion to deprive him of his property and to imprison him until his death.

All the foregoing anecdotes of the Amīr, it will be noticed, are not dissimilar in tone to those quoted from Ibn al-Dāya by Ibn Sa'īd, a tone higher and better, assuredly, than that of the stories in either the "*Nashwān*" or the "*Kitāb al-Wuzarā*," of official practices at the Caliph's Court.

Extract N is taken from the second volume of the "*Tadhkira*," *Ōc.* 3186, 906, and is almost the only one I have met with which relates an occurrence of the author's own lifetime. For, like most authors of works of this class, he sought his material in the remote past. The reason for the choice is not clear. A concern for the dignity of the narrative would have led to preference of subject-matter, not of period; but Moslem official life continued unchanged, and in their acts and motives Saljuq and Abbasid rulers are undistinguishable. Yet in the "*Tadhkira*" any reference to an event so recent as the rise of the Buwaihid dynasty comes as a surprise.

In 500 A.H. the Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh dismissed his vizier Sa'd al-Mulk Abu-l-Mahāsīn—see Ibn al-Athīr, x, 304.¹ His fall involved that of his staff, one of whom, the secretary, Abu Ismā'il, was handed over to the custody

¹ He is called by that historian Sa'd b. Muḥammad; here, Sa'd b. 'Alī.

of an official with whom he was on terms of intimacy. To him came a sudden and unexpected order from the Sultan to extract from his prisoner a sum of 20,000 dinars, and for this purpose to use torture to the utmost extremity. Accordingly, in spite of the man's protests of his inability to pay so much, and of his entreaties, torture was being applied until stopped by the Sultan, who ordered the man to attend his presence early and before the officials and crowd arrived. He did so, and thereafter continued to spend the earlier part of each day with the Sultan for some months, during which attentions and gifts rained on him from all quarters. The Sultan's conduct was explained later. It was customary that the superscription of letters passing between Caliph and Sultan should be in their own handwriting; Mustazhîr wrote an excellent hand, the Sultan a vile one, which he knew to be such, and he made use of the secretary's hand in secret. The resulting intimacy led to the secretary attaining the post of *Tuġhrā'i*, a title which clung to him as a 'nisba.' For, in this story, we have an early episode of the official career of the eminent poet Abu Ismā'il al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Tuġhrā'i, author of the *Qasida* "*Lāmiyyat-al-'Ajam*," which he composed in 505 A.H. Later he served the Sultan Mas'ūd, until his master's defeat at Hamadhān by his brother Maḥmūd, when al-Tuġhrā'i was captured and put to death (see his life by Ibn Khallikān, Eng. iii, 462).

The following extract, O, is the above-mentioned patent of appointment of the Nestorian Katholikos at Baghdad; it was drawn up by the author's brother, Abu Naṣr. It is addressed to Ebed Jesu, Katholikos and Patriarch, and, after a formal preamble, the text of which is omitted, it recites that the Caliph was well assured of his exemplary life, and of his possessing the most deserving qualities which his co-religionists "were agreed distinguished him from them," and of his acquaintance with the rules governing a dignity "whose especial attribute was its

accomplishments,"¹ as was testified by the form of its description: that there was an abundance of evidence from Christians competent to form a judgment on persons of his class to the effect that, after full enquiry amongst members of the various sects whether of public or private station in regard to their need of a Katholikos to supervise their affairs and watch over the welfare of their community, their choice had fallen on him to be their primate, to watch over their concerns, to manage their charitable foundations, "and to deal equally between weak and strong as a just arbitrator"; and that they had petitioned for his appointment to the office according to ancient and well-established usage; it goes on to declare that, in pursuance of a resolve to accede to such petition, "and to gather their request under the wing of concession,"² it was thereby ordered that he be appointed Katholikos of the Nestorian Christians both at Baghdad and over the rest of Islamic territory, "to be the representative of the members of that and of the other communities, whether Rām, Jacobite, or Melkite, wherever they might be," with sole right of wearing the vestments appertaining to the office at divine worship, neither sharing the name with anyone else nor permitting any Patriarch, Bishop, or Deacon to assume the same to the prejudice of his office and dignity; and that in case any of these should "enter the gate of disputation," and interfere with or disregard his authority, punishment would surely follow as a warning to others and as a safeguard to his ordinances. And it was further ordered that he should be escorted in state according to the precedents applicable to his predecessors, as also to him and to his successors; and that protection should be extended to him and to his co-religionists in their lives and property, by good

¹ أَدَانَة (see Dozy, Suppl. i, 154).

² الإِغْلَاب, a rare use of the word.

management, and by conforming to established usage in the matter of the burial of their dead, and the protection of their churches and monasteries, in accordance with the practice of the just Caliphs towards their forefathers, and the care for their sacred and inviolable rights on the part of those Imams of the past. Further, that as regards the payment of the poll-tax, he should confine himself to exacting it "from persons of sound mind and of sufficient substance, from the men and not from the women, nor from non-adults," its collection to take place once in the year, according to the approved legal method. And that he was to be at liberty to intervene in all disputes between the Christian sects, to obtain justice for the weak against the strong, to redress equitably any deviation in the direction of violence or injustice, and to manage the charitable foundations on the basis of justice and good faith, in conformity with the ordinances "and their plain course." He was enjoined to requite this favour which encompassed him, and which had realized his wishes and secret hopes, by prayers such as should indicate and make manifest his sincere gratitude. And all Patriarchs, Priests, and Bishops of the above-mentioned sects were to punctually obey the foregoing directions.

The life of Ebed Jesu is the last of those contained in the "*Kitāb al-Majdal*," being the Lives of Nestorian Patriarchs, by Mari b. Sulaimān (ed. Gismondi, Rome, 1899, pt. i, text, p. 156; trans., p. 132). The author was a Nestorian of the twelfth century (see Duval, *Litt. Syr.*, 2nd ed., p. 210), and his work was abridged and continued by 'Amr and Sliba, likewise edited by Gismondi, and containing a short notice of Ebed Jesu (part ii, text, p. 105; trans., p. 61).

From these notices it appears that he was known as Ibn al-Muqli, and was a native of Mosul and Metropolitan of Bājarmā; that the Bishop of Naṣībīn, after hesitation,

assented to his election, and that the Bishop of Mosul and those who shared his views satisfied their scruples by submitting their objections by way of precaution to the vizier, 'Ali b. Tīrād al-Zainabī;¹ that in 533 A.H. Ebed Jesu received his patent of appointment and the *Tarḥa*² in the presence of the vizier, and was conducted by the head of the police and other officials to the church in the *Sūq al-Thalātha*, this being the first occasion on which a Patriarch had been thus honoured; that he was an excellent administrator, but prone to be niggardly; and that he died in 542 A.H.

Professor Margoliouth considers the patent to be of much interest, and the fact that the Nestorian Katholikos was the representative of all the Christian communities, and referee in all disputes between members of the sects, to be of great historical value. That four of these communities are enumerated is noteworthy, "*Rūm*" being ordinarily omitted from such lists. This designation may refer to Byzantine subjects resident temporarily in the Islamic Empire, but the word is definitely used for "Crusaders" by Hariri ("*Maqāmāt*," xlviii, de Sacy, 1st ed., p. 571, l. 7; 2nd ed., ii, p. 652, l. 5),³ and since places were at this time alternating between Moslem and Frankish possession, it is likely that the existence of a Christian community differing from the other three would be known at Baghdad and recognized. But this, says the Professor, is only a conjecture.

An alternative would be to hold the term to designate Melkites whose language as well as creed was Greek, and whose liturgy, therefore, was Greek, and not Arabic or Syriac.

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the text, that of the Latin translation is more obscure. The vizier al-Zainabī fell into disfavour the year following (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, xi, 50).

² Translated 'pallium.'

³ Translated by Steingass, p. 163, "the Greeks (here mistaken for the Franks of the first Crusade)."

ADDENDA.

The story mentioned *ante*, pp. 413-14 (extract C), is given shortly and imperfectly in the "Kitāb Baghdād" of Ibn Abi Tāhir Taifūr, B.M. add. 23318, fol. 98r, of which an edition by Dr. H. Keller is announced. There Abu Dulaf promises to honour the drafts thus:—

لله علي أن لا تكتب إلي في أحد إلا أغنيته

Ahmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Jarjarā'i (p. 415) is noticed in the Tārikh al-Islām of Dhahabī (Leyden, 863, fol. 56), and is described as stupid and vain: as insulting the Caliph's mother, the Hashimites, and the Anṣār; and as saved only by Muntaṣir's death from punishment for having by a kick caused the death of a petitioner. This last incident is mentioned in the Tadhkira (Or. 3179, fol. 196a) among acts of injustice, thus:—

الرجل من المتظلمين على أحمد بن الخصيب وهو راكب إلى
جنب المنتصر فركبه برجله فقتل فيه:
قُلْ لِلخليفة يا بن عم محمد أشكل وزيرك أنه رذاك

Al-Hasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāh (p. 419, note) is noticed (*ib.*, fol. 96b) as thrice vizier to Mu'tamid and disgraced in 265 A.H., when he went to Egypt and was appointed to office by Ibn Ṭalān. But on a suggestion that he was a spy for Muwaffaq, he was imprisoned at Antioch, where he died in 269 A.H., or later. And Ibn al-Najjār is quoted (*d.* 643 A.H., Brook. i, 360) for his learning and ability and for his sumptuous mode of life.

That Bakkar b. Qutaiba (p. 441, n. 2) was put to death by Ibn Ṭalān is doubtful from Dhahabī's notice of him (*ib.*, fol. 89a), where he quotes al-Kindī, whose history (B.M. add. 23324) is now in course of publication in the Gibb Memorial Series by Mr. A. R. Guest. Dhahabī says that having been appointed Qāḍī by the Caliph, Ibn Ṭalān could not remove him.

Muhammad b. Sulaimān Abu 'Alī b. al-Munfiq (p. 445) is noticed in the "Muqaffā" of Maqrizi (Leyden MS. 1360a), where, after a mention of his campaigns (Tab. iii, 2236-45 and 2251-2), he is said to have gone to Ḥalab, whence he was sent to court to account for his gains in Egypt. He was there thrown into prison, where he remained until released by Ibn al-Furāt in 290 A.H., who sent him to Qazwīn and Zinjān in the capacity of *واليا على الصياع والأعشار بها*.

'Abd Allāh b. Dushūma, but written with a 'Sin' (pp. 445-6), is noticed in the same work (Paris, Ar. 2144, fol. 160), the notice consisting merely of the anecdote given from Ibn Sa'īd by Vollers (Fragm., pp. 16-18). For photographs of the folio I have to thank Mr. E. Blochet. In extract P the divergences between the two texts are indicated.

A.

قال مسرور الكبير : دخلت على الرشيد بعد ان قتل جعفر بن يحيى وقد خرج من مرقده وهو يريد الخلاء فلما رآنى امر بكبرى فطرح وجلس عليه وقال : انى سالك عن امر ولا تطول على فانى اريد الظهور ولست ابرح او تخبرنى . فقلت له : ليسأل امير المؤمنين عما احب . قال : اخبرنى عما وجدته من المال والجوهر للبرامكة . فقلت : ما وجدت شيئاً من ذلك لهم . فقال : وكيف ذلك وقد نهبوا مالى وذهبوا بخزائنى . قلت له : انفقوا في المكارم وأصيب لهم من الجوهر ما لا يشبه امثالهم . قال لى . فما تقول الناس فينا . فقلت : الله الله فى امرى . قال : ما لك . قلت : الصدق يغضبك . (وكان استخلفنى ورشيدها والحسين المخاضمين ان صدقه عن كل شئ يسألنا عنه فنحنف ان أصدقه فلا يعجبه لانى كنت قد صدقته عن شئ من امر الحرم فغضب وحجبنى اربعين يوماً) فاذكرته بذلك فقال : كان ذلك منى غلظه ولن اعود لعلها . فقلت له : يقول الناس انك لم تقتلهم الا لانك طمعت فى اموالهم . قال : فأتى شئ حصلت منها . قلت : نياغهم هى مال . قال : البس سيفك واحضرنى يحيى بن خالد فاقمه وراء السترة . فقلت فى نفسى : انا لله وانا اليه راجعون ماذا صنعت فتلأت ابنته واقتله . ثم

احضرت يحيى فلما خرج الرشيد من الخلا قال لى : اخرج اليه
فقل له " ما حملك على ان حملت السى يحيى بن عبدالله
بالديلم مائتى الف دينار " فقلت له ذاك قال : فقل له : اليس قد
صفحت عن هذا . فقال لى : اوصفح الانسان عن دمه . فقلت له
ذاك فقال : اردت ان تقوى شوكة يحيى بن عبدالله فيظفر به
الفصل بعد قوته فيكون احظي له عندك . قال : فقلت له : ما كان
يؤمنك ان تقوى فيقتل الفصل ويقتلنى وما حملك على ان
حملت السى احمد بن عيسى بن زيد بالبصرة مع غلامك رباح
سبعين الف دينار . فقلت له ذلك قال : فقل له : افليس قد
صفحت عن ذلك . فقال : اوصفح الانسان عن دمه . ثم قال له :
انت تعلم موقع عيالى منى وطلبت منك وانا بالبصرة الف الف
درهم وقد كان ورد من مال فارس مئة الف الف درهم فقلت لى :
ان اخذت منها درهما واحدا لهذا الشان ذهببت هيبتك
فامسكت فاخذت انت منها الف الف وخمسمائة الف ففترقتها
في عيالك واحتلت انا بقرض تولد يونس ففترقته فيهم . ثم قال لى :
قل له كذا وقل له كذا حتى عد اربعة عشر شيئا ثم امرنى برده الى
محبسه وقال : يا مسرور يقول الناس انى ما وفيت . فقلت : يا امير
المؤمنين ما احب ان تستجھلنى . فقال : وكيف لك ان تعلم
الناس كعلمي اني اعلم انه لن يودى فيهم دھراً من الدهور ما
حفظوه .

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 164a.

B.

قال ابراهيم الموصلي : كنت عند الرشيد يوماً فُرفع اليه في الخبر ان رجلاً اخذه صاحب الجسر رُفع في قضيته انه يجمع بين الرجال والنساء في منزله فانه مثل عما رُفع اليه فاقرب بذلك على نفسه . وذكر انه يجمع بينهم على تزويج لا على دنيّة وعلى نكاح لا على سفاح وانه شهد له بذلك جماعة من المستورين من جيرانه وخلق كثير من وجود الناس واشرافهم وشفع فيه من الكتاب والاعوان والقواد واعيان العسكر قوم اسماء هم في آخر كتابه وما رُفع من خبره . (قال) فلما قرأ الرشيد الخبر واستوفاه ترتد واغتاظ وغضب واستشاط حتى انكرناه وظننا انه سينكل بالرجل وبمن تكلم فيه حتى قال : وما سبيلهم على رجل وقع في منزله لصديقه واسبل عليه ستره وسعى له فيما يطيب ويحل من لذة وهو يعدّ مستراح للاحرار والاشراف وذوى الاقدار ونحن نعلم ان الرجل الطريف المستور الاريب قد تكون عنده العقيلة من بنات عمه واشراف قومه ونظرانه فتحظر عليه شهوته ويمل عليه امره وهي اقبح من السحر وأظمج من القرد وأهتر من الكلب واشدّ تعدياً من الليث العادى فيريد شراء الجارية او تزويج الحرة فلا يقدر على ذلك لمكانها حتى يستريح الى مثل هذا من الفتيان ويغشى منزل مثله من الاخوان يجعله سكّنه وينزل به سهيقه فيُساعدده على حاجته ويسعى له فيما يجب له من لدّة ويستتره في منزله آكثبوا في إطلاقه والسؤال عن حاله فان كان كما ذكر عنه من الستر وكان صادقاً فيما حكى عن نفسه من القعل أعيين بالث دينار على مروتة وأومن من روعته وعُرف ما امرنا به فيه . (قال) فقلنا جميعاً : صدّك الله يا امير المؤمنين ووفقك .

C.

كان العباس بن الحسن بن عبيد الله بن العباس بن علي بن ابي طالب عليهم السلام شاعراً عالماً فصيحاً وكان يُقال : مَنْ اراد لذة لا تبعة فيها فليسمع كلام العباس بن الحسن . ودخل ابو دلف العجلي على الرشيد وهو جالس على طنفسة في طارمة وعند باب الطارمة شيخ على طنفسة مثلها فقال الرشيد : يا قاسم ما خبر الجبل ؟ قال : خراب يباب اعتوره الاكراد والاعراب . قال : انت سبب خرابه وفساده فان وقيتك اياه ؟ قال : اعتزته واصلحه . فقال بعض من حضر : او غير ذلك . فقال ابو دلف : وكيف يكون غير ذلك وامير المؤمنين يزعم اني ملكته فافسده وهو علي أفترى لا اقدر على إصلاحه وهو معي . فقال الشيخ : ان ههنا ليرمى به وراء سته مرمي بعيداً واخلق به ان يزيد فعله علي قوله . فقبل الرشيد رأيه وولاه وامر بان يخلع عليه . فلما خرج ابو دلف سأل عن الشيخ فقيل له : هو العباس بن الحسن العلوي . فعمل اليه عشرة آلاف دينار وشكر فعله فقال له العباس : ما اخذت علي معروف اجراً قط . واضطرب ابو دلف وقال : ان رايت ان تكمل النعمة عتدي وتنعمها علي بقبولها . فقال : افعل هي لي عندك فاذا لزممتني حقوق لقوم يقتصر عنها مالي صككت عليك بما تدفعه لهم الى ان استنفدوها . ففزع بذلك ابو دلف فما زال يصكك عليه للناس حتى افناها من

غير ان يصل الى العباس درهم منها . B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 103b.

D.

اشتبهى العامون ان يأكل من الكوامين فقال له اخوه ابو اسحق :
 ان لى نبطيًا يجيدها . فاستدعى منه ما عجل عنده فاحضر في
 الحال ثمانين غلامًا على رؤوسهم خُون واطباق فيسها ألوان من
 الكوامين والمعجلات والشواريز والسمك الطرى والمملوح ومن الموار
 بالفرايج وغيرها من العزورات فاستكثرها العامون واعجبه واستطابه
 فقال لابي اسحق : قل له يعمل مثل ذلك في كل عام مرة . فقال :
 بلى في كل يوم فان منازلنا لا تملأ منه وليس عليّ فيه كلفة . ثم رفع
 صاحب الدبران بعد هذه مؤامرة ببقايا الستة فوجد المأمون فيها
 اسم مالك بن شاهي فقال : قد مرّ بي هذا الاسم . فقيل له : هو الذي
 اكلت كوامينه . قال : فشاكل طعامه وتحاسبه ! وكان عليه ثلاثة
 عشر الف درهم فوّع تحتها : يعان بها على مرّته . ورمى بها من
 يده ثم قال : ردوها اليّ ان الناس يتحدثون ان العامون اكل شُكْرَجات
 قامت عليه بكذا وكذا واطلق صاحبها من الحبس . ثم وّسع في
 المؤامرة وكان مبلغ ما عليها اربعين الف درهم .

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 121a.

E.

كان محمد بن عبد الملك الزيات قاضيًا مع غير ذلك من
 رذائل جمعت فيه على فضله وعلمه وادبه وكفايته فذكروا ان رجلاً
 دخل عليه فقال : انا اصلحك الله امّك اليك بجواري وارغب
 اليك في عطفك عليّ . فقال له : اما الجوار فنسب بين الحيطان
 واما العطف والرفقة فهما للصبيان والنساء

وقيل كان له جاراً أيام انخفاض حاله وكان بينهما ما يكون بين
 الجيران من التباعد فلما بلغ محمد ما بلغ من الولاية شخص الى
 سر من رأى فورد بابه وهو يتغذى فوصل اليه وهو على طعامه فتركه
 قائماً لا يرفع اليه طرفه وهو يأكل حتى فرغ من أكله ثم رفع رأسه اليه
 وقال له : ما خبرك . فقال الرجل : قد أمارك الله تعالى أيها
 الوزير الى أجل الآمال وصرف رغبات الناس اليك وقد علمت
 ما كنت تنعمه عليّ وقد شير الله حالي فوفدت اليك مستقيلاً
 عثرتي مستعظماً لك على خلتي . فقال له : لقد علمت هذا
 فأنصرف وعُد الى في غد . فولى الرجل من بين يديه فلما صار في
 صحن داره دعى به فلما وقف بين يديه قال : لا والله ما لك عندي
 شيء مما أملكته وقدرته فلا تغم عليّ . ثم أقبل على بعض من بين
 يديه فقال : انما رددته وايسته بخلاً عليه بفسحة الامل وأنس الرجا
 في بقية يومه .

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 105b.

قال قدامة بن زياد الكاتب : دخلت والحسن بن وهب الى
 محمد بن عبد الملك الزيات وعنده جماعة من خاصة اخوانه
 فجعل الجماعة منهم يشكون احوالهم والحسن ساكت وكنت ممن
 شكنا فقال له محمد : يا ابا علي ان كانت حالك تستغني عن الشكوى
 فان ذلك يسترني وان كانت علي غير ذلك وانفت من الشكوى
 التي لقد شوقني . فقال الحسن : لا ولكني اخذت

صوت اذا نحي الحظي كانما نكرم عن اخلاقيين ويرغب

F.

حكى بعض اسباب عبید الله بن سليمان بن وهب الوزير انه كان في ايام وزارته يذكر موسى بن بغا فيترحم عليه ويتلطف على ايامه وطيبتها فقلت له يوما : قد اسرفت في هذا الباب ولو راك موسى بن بغا في حالك هذه لرضى ان يقف على سيفه بين يديك . فقال لي : انا احذثك الان بحديث واحد من احاديثه فان استحق ما انا عليه والا فلمنى . وانشا يحذثنى قال : كنا بالري وكنت قد عرفت انى استفدت معه مائة الف دينار ورحلنا نريد سر من رأى فلما نزلنا همدان دعانى يوما واذا هو مشتمتر مقطب فقال لى : اريد مائة الف دينار لا بد منها . فقلت له : قد استخرجنا مال البلاد واخريناه واجحفنا باهلها فمن اين . قال : لا ادرى لا بد منها البتة . فقام في نفسى انه يريد المال الذى عرفته انى افدته فقلت له : عندى المال الذى قد علمته وهو مائة الف دينار اخذه . فقال : تلك دعتها بحالها لست اريدها ولى فيها تدبير وما ابرح من هاهنا او احصل لى من مال البلاد مائة الف دينار . وما زلت قائما قاعدا ومكاتباً وهو مقيم بهمدان لا يرحل منها حتى حصلتها وعرفته خبرها فلما عرفة امسك عنى حتى اذا صار بخانقين دعانى وسألنى عن المال فعرفته حصوله وحضوره فقال لى : كنت عرفت انى انك حصلت من الفائدة معى مائة الف دينار فعلمت ان ابا ايوب (يعنى ابا سليمان) يلقاك فيقول لك : اى شئ معك وكم مقدار ما افدت . فاعرفه ذلك فيقول لك : على ديون ومئون وقد امتدت عيون اهلك ومواليك الى ما ينصرف . وبأخذ منك المائة

الالف وتحصل انت على غير شىء فاردت المائة الاخرى ليكون لك
بعد الذى اخذ منك ابو ايوب . فهذا يا فلان لا تحب ان يذكرك
في كل وقت فيترحم عليه ؟ فقلت : بلى والله يا سيدى .

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 111b.

G.

كتب عبيد الله بن سليمان وقد نكبه واباه المعتمد وهما مطالبان
بمال يبيعان له ما يملكان من عقار واثاث وعبيد وامته فكتب اليه
ابو العيثة : قد علمت اطال الله بقاءك ان الكريم المنكوب اجدى
على الاحرار من اللئيم الموفور لان اللئيم يزيد مع النعمة لومًا ولا يزيد
المحنة الكريم الا كرمًا هذا متكىل على رازقه وهذا يسى الظن بخالقه .

B.M. Or. 5769, fol. 25a.

H.

وكتب (ابو العيثة) الى عبيد الله بن سليمان : انا وولدى وعيالى
زرع من زرعك ان سقيته راع وزكا وان جفوتك ذبل واودي وقد مسنى
منك جفأ بعد بتر واغفال بعد تعهد حتى شمت عدو وتكلم حاسد
ولبس في ظنون رجال وشديد عادة متبرعة (كذا). Ib., fol. 30a.

I.

احتجج ان يكتب على المعتضد كتاب يشهد عليه فيه الشهود فلما
عرضت القصة على عبيد الله بن سليمان وكان ثوابه قد كتبها كما
يكتب في الصكاك : في صحة من عقله وجواز من امره . فضرب
صليه عبيد الله وقال : هذا لا يجوز ان يقال للخليفة . وكتب : في

سلامة من جسمه واصالة من رايه . B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 201a.

K.

لما مات عبيد الله بن سليمان بن وهب وارتفع الصراح من داره سجد المعتمد فاطال السجود وكان بحضرته بدر المعتمد فلما رفع راسه قال له بدر: والسنة يا امير المؤمنين لقد كان صحيح الولا سجدًا في خدمتك عفيقًا عن اموالك واموال رعيّتك ميمون النقيبة حسن التدبير. قال: افظننت يا بدر انى سجدت سرورًا لموته انما سجدت شكرًا لله اذ وفّقنى فلم اصرفه ولم اوحشه ولم يبلغ بى الطمع فيه الى القبض عليه ولم يبلغ به الفزع منى الى التدبير الى مغارقتى ومضى راضيًا وما بيننا مستور ولم تجد اعداؤنا طريقًا الى ان يصغونى بقلّة الرعاية والمصارعة الى الاستبدال بالخدم والشره في اموال حاشيتى. B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 104b.

L.

قلت لابي القسم بن ابي علّان: كيف كان توبتك من التصرف وما سببها؟ قال: كان سبب ذلك ان ابا علي محمد بن عبد الوهاب الحنّاي رحمه الله كان يجيى الى الاهواز فينزل علي لاني كنيت كاتب ديوان الاهواز وخليفة ابي احمد بن الحسين بن يوسف على العمالة والامر كنه التي أدبره. وكان ابو علي يقدم الاهواز في كل سنة دفعةً وقت افتتاح الخراج ويستضيف الى خراج ضيعته بجيى خراج قوم كان رسمهم ان يكونوا في اثره على مرور السنين فاذا قدم البلد اعظمه الناس واكرموه ولا ينزل الآ علي في اكثر الاوقات فافترّ امره مع العامل وربما كان العامل غير صاحبي او من لا يعرف

محلّ أبى عليّ فيكون ما يُقرّر عليه امرؤه أقلّ من ذلك ألا انه كان لا
 يخلوا من أن يسقط عنه نصف الخراج أو ثلثه فإذا عاد الى جُبي
 لم يلزم نفسه من خراج ضيعته شيئاً بقاءً ونظر الى ما بقى بعد اسقاط
 خراجها من النظر ففحص على القوم الذين في اثره القوم والزمهم بازاء
 ذلك أن يُصيف كلّ واحدٍ منهم رجلاً من الفقراء الذين يتعلّمون
 منه العِلْم طول السنة فيكون ما يلزم الواحد على الواحد منهم شيئاً
 يسيراً لا يبلغ خمس ما اسقطه عنه من الخراج بجاهه ويعود هو
 فيخرج من ضيعته العشر الصحيح فينتدق به على الفقراء من اهل
 الحوز قرية التي هو مقيم فيها اهل مجلسه وكانت هذه دأبه في كل
 سنة . فنزل عليّ في بعض قديماته فبلغت له مراده في امر الخراج
 وجلسنا ليلةً نتحدّث فقلت له : يا ابا عليّ تخاف عليّ مما انا فيه
 شيئاً ؟ فقال : يا ابا القسم وكيف لا اخاف عليك والله لئن مُتّ على
 هذه الحال لا رحمت رابحة الجحّة . فقلت : ولم ولأت شئني اني وانما
 انا اعمل الحساب واجرى مجرى ناسخ ومجرى واحد اجرى من
 بيت المال او يجنّى رجل مظلوم قد لزمته زيادة باطله في خراجها
 فاستقطبها عنه واصلحها له في الحساب فيهدى الي بطيب قلبه او
 ارتفع من مال السلطان بشئ في فيه المسلمين قسط يكون هذا
 بازائه . فقال : يا ابا القسم ان الله لا يخادع أخبرني الست انت
 مختار المساج وتنفذهم الى المساحة وتوصيهم بالشقوى فيخرجون
 فيزيدون بالقلم واحداً او اثنين في العشر ويجيئك بالتزوير فتسقطها
 انت وتعمل الجرايد وتسلمها الى المستخرج وتقول له : أريد ان
 يصحّ المال في كذا وكذا يوماً عند الجهد والا دقت يدك على

رجليك؟ فقلت: نعم. قال: فيخرج المستخرج فيثبت الفرسان والرجالة والرؤس والمستحقين يخرب ويصفع ويقيّد وانت تأمره وتنهاه وإذا قلت له: أطلق رجلاً وأخره بما عليه. قبل أمرك وإذا لم نأذن له طالبه حتى يؤدى. قلت: نعم. قال: فيحصل المال عند الجبّ فيخرج إليه الصّكاك من ديوانك ويعلمانك. فقلت: نعم. قال: فإى شئ بقى من العمل لم تتولّه وتضمن غرمه وتتحمل ائمه تُب الى الله والآ فانت هالك ونح التصرف وأصلح آخرتك.

Paris Ar. 3482, fol. 72a.

M.

اشترى فايق غلام احمد بن طولون داراً عظيمة بمصر وأراد ان يدخل فيها دار العمرين وما يليها فاستأذن مولاه في ذلك فأذن له فاشتراها وما حولها بعشرين الف دينار واقتبصهم الثمن واشهد عليهم واجلهم شهرين فلما انقضى الشهران ركب احمد بن طولون الى صلاة الجمعة ثم رجع وانصرف فايق الى داره. فسمع صياحاً عظيماً فانكره وقال: ما هذا الصياح. فقالوا: الصياح للعمرين ينتقلون ويكون فدعاهم وقال: اليس بطيب نفوسكم بعثم. قالوا: نعم. قال: وقبضتم الثمن. قالوا: نعم. قال: فما هذا البكاء والصياح حتى يظن مولاي انكم ظلمتم. قالوا: ما نيكى الا على جوارك. فاطرق وامر بالكتب فركبت عليهم ووجه لهم الثمن. وركب الى مولاه فاخبره فصوّب رأيه واستحسن فعله. B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 109b.

كان احمد بن طولون والى مصر متحلياً بالعدل مع "جبره" وصفكه الدماء وكان يجلس للمظالم ويحضر مجلسه القاضى بكار بن قتيبة

وجماعة من الفقهاء مثل الربيع بن سليمان ومحمد بن عبد الله (بن عبد) الحكم ومعتز بن محمد وكان ابن طولون يمكن المتكلم من الكلام وكشف ظلامته جالساً مقرباً . قال ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد بن سلامة الطحاوي الفقيه : فأعرضت ضيعة لنا بالصعيد من ضياع جدي سلامة فاحتجت الى الدخول اليه والتظلم مما جرى وانا يومئذ شابٌ الا ان العلم ومعرفة المحاضرين نشطتني الى الكلام والتمكّن من الحجّة فخطبته في الضيعة فاحتج عليّ بحجج كثيرة واجيبه عنها بما يلزمه الرجوع اليه . ثم ناظرني مناظرة الخصوم بغير انتهاز ولا سطوة عليّ وانا اجيبه واحلّ حججه الى ان وقف ولم يبق له حجة فامسك عني ساعة ثم قال لي : الى هذا الموضع انتهى كلامي وكلامك والحجة فقد ظهرت لك ولكن اجلسنا ثلاثة ايام وان ظهرت لنا حجة الزمناك اياها والا سلمنا اليك الضيعة . فقممت مسترقاً . فقال ابن طولون بعد خروجه للمحاضرين : ما اقمع ما اشهدتكم به عليّ نفسي اقول لرجل من رعيتي : قد ظهرت لك حجة أنظرني الى ان اطلب حجة وأبطل الحكم الذي ثوجّهت حجة . من يمنعني اذا وجبت لي حجة ان احضره والزومه اياها ؟ هذا والغصب واحد . ثم راسلني : بانى قد انزمت حجة وازلت الاعتراض عن الضيعة وتقدم بالكتاب له . وعرف الطحاوي الحال بينهم فصار الى الديوان وأخذ الكتاب بازاله الاعتراض عن الضيعة .

وروى عن بعض قواده انه كان يتولّى كورة من كور مصر فدخل راهب من رهبان النصاري متظلماً من ذلك القائد فسراه بعض الحجاب الذين يختصون بذلك القائد فقال : ما لك . قال : ظلمني

وأخذ منى ثلاثمائة دينار . فقال له الحاجب : لا تتظلم وانا اسلم اليك ثلثمائة دينار . فاغتنمها الراهب وطار . ونقل الخبر الى احمد بن طولون فامر باحضار القائد والحاجب والراهب وقال للقائد : أليس عليك مزاحاة ورزقك داراً وليس لك سبب يحوجك الى مد يدك . قال : هو ذلك . قال : ما حملك على ما صنعت . وامر بصرفه عن الكورة وصرف الحاجب عن حجبه واحضر النصراني وقال : كم اخذ منك . قال : ثلثمائة دينار . قال : لعنك الله لم لم تقل ثلاثة الاف دينار فأخذاها لك من ماله بقولك . ثم صاح بالقائد الى المطبخ فحمل اليه .

وروى ان العباس بن احمد بن طولون استدعى مغنية وهو مصطبح فلقبها بعض صالحى مصر ومعه غلام يحمل عودها فكسره ودخل العباس الى ابيه فاخبره فارسل احمد بن طولون فاحضر الرجل الصالح وقال له : انت الذى كسرت العود . قال : نعم . قال : افعلت لمن هو . قال : لابنك العباس . قال : فما اكرمه لى . قال : أكرم لك بمعصية والسب عزر وجل يقول " والمؤمنون والمؤمنات بعضهم اولياء بعض يأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر " وقال رسول الله صلعم " لا طاعة لمخلوق فى معصية الخالق " فاطرق احمد بن طولون ثم رفع راسه وقال : كل منكر تراه فغيره وانا من ورثك . وعرفه مكرماً .

وكان احمد بن طولون يحب العلماء ويحضرهم مجلسه واراد ابا ابراهيم اسمعيل بن يحيى المزنى الفقيه ان يحضره فامتنع عليه زهداً وتورعاً فشهدده بهدم داره فلم يجبه وامر سوار حاجبه بهدمها فقام المزنى مع سوار يريه حدودها حين تقدم وقال : لا تهدم هذا

الجدار فليس هو لي . فعاد سوار فاخبره فعظم في قلب احمد بن طولون وقلق الي رؤيته . وكان احمد بن طولون يحضر جنازته وجوه البلد وصالحهم واشرافهم ويتولى الصلاة بنفسه فحضر يوماً جنازة فقيل له : هذا ابو ابراهيم المزني في الجنازة . فقال : أرونيه من غير ان يعلم نكلاً يتأدى . فأروه اياد .

واراد ان يحمل مال الى الحضرة فاحضر القاضي والشهود يشهدون على القابض فكتبوا وقد عاينوا المال ومبلغه الف الف ومائة الف دينار فلما بلغ الكتاب الى سليمان الناقض الخادم المعدل قال له : ايها الامير لست اشهد حتى يوزن المال بخضرتي . فغاضه ذلك فقال للوزانين : زوده . فلما فرغ الوزن قال : النقد . فدعى بالثقاق وسليمان جالس معهم حتى فرغ وختمت وتسلمها حاملها فكتب شهادته وانصرف . وكان ذلك سبب اختصاص سليمان باحمد بن طولون وقربه منه . B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 191b-192a.

N.

حدثني النقيب ابو الغنائم ابن المختار العلوي قال : حدثني اصفهسلار شيخ متقدم الخراسانية على باب محمد ابن ملك شاه قال : لما قبض السلطان محمد علي وزيره سعد الملك ابى المحاسن سعد بن علي الابن وصلبه قبض على اصحابه ومن جملتهم ابو اسماعيل الكاتب المنشق وسلمه التي وكان صديقي وله علي حقوق . ثم انه استدعاني في بعض الايام ووقفني حيث لم يجر عادتي به وتقدم التي بالخروج من حضرة وعرض ابى اسماعيل علي

العذاب حتى يؤذى عشرين ألف دينار أو يموت تحت العقوبة وتشدد عليّ. فخرّجت واحضرته مقتيداً وعترفه ما يجري فحلف عليّ انه لا يقدر عليّ أكثر من أربعة آلاف دينار هي مودعة عند انسان ذكره "وليس لي ملك ولا ذخيرة" فقلت: لا بد من انقاذ امر السلطان فيك. فتصوّر وبكى فلم اتمكّن من الدفع عنه مع مودّتي له خوفاً من السلطان ولتمكّن هيمته في النفوس. قال: فامررت به فضرب ثلاث مقارع وإذا بعن يستدعيني الى السلطان حثيثاً فامررت اصحابي ان يكون عليّ حاله السي ان ارجع فلما دخلت عليه قال لي: ما فعلت في امر ابني اسماعيل؟ فاخبرته فلما انتهيت السي ذكر العقوبة قال: لبتك لم تكن فعلت. ثم قال: آخرج فاحمله الى الحمام واعط له الذرور^١ وكخذ له من الخزانة جبة وعمامة ومرد ان يباكر السي الدار قبل الكتاب وقبل الناس كلمهم. فخرّجت من بين يديه وأنا شديد التعجب وامررت به الى الحمام فارتاب بي فاكخذ يتمرّغ على قدمي ويقول "من انا حتى أقتل في الحمام" وأنا أقول "لا بأس عليك" وكلما سكته انزعج السي ان احضرت العزيز فاكخذ من شعره والبسته ثياباً نظيفة وجي بالجمّة والعمامة من الخزانة فلبسها فركبت واصحابي معه. وشاع الخبر فاستغربه الوزير وجماعة الكتاب. وحضر ابو اسماعيل من بكرة عند فوصل السي الخدمة السلطانية واقام ستة شهور يخلو بالسلطان كل يوم من بكرة الى الظهر والناس يهابونه ويواصلونه بالخدم والتخف والالطاف واناس منهم ولا يعرف السبب فيما اتفق له. ثم ظهر من بعد ان السلطان

عرض عليه مكتوب مستظهر وقد كتبت جوابه عنه بخط الكاتب
ومن العادة ان يكون عنوان المكتوب السلطاني الى الخليفة بخط
السلطان فتأمل خط الخليفة فاستحسنه واسترد خطه وقال " كيف
اكتب الجواب عن هذا الخط الحسن بهذا الخط الرذل " فاليوم الله
بما قدره من خلاص ابى اسماعيل ان يجود خطه وان يعول عليه في
ذلك . واستر اليه بهذا الامر وطواد عن كل احد وكانت خلوته لاجله
وقرب منه وقدمه وجعله طغرائيا وكبر محله عنده .

B.M. Or. 3180, fol. 90a.

O.

نسخة عهد الجاثليق من انشاء اخي رحمه الله

هذا كتاب امر بانشاء سيدنا ومولانا امير المؤمنين لعبد يوشوع
الجاثليق البطريرك اما بعد . . . ولما انهيت حالك الى امير
المؤمنين وانك امثل اهل ملتك طريقة واقربهم الى الصلاح مذهباً
وخليفة واحراهم¹ للخلال التي اجمعوا على تمييزك عنهم بها²
حالياً بشروط الجثقة المتعارفة عندهم بادواتها مشهوداً له بنعوتها
الكاملة وصفاتها . وحضر جماعة من النصارى الذين يرجع اليهم في
استعلام سيرة امثالك واستطلاع انباء³ مشاريحك واشبالك

¹ Read by von Kr. احواهم .

² Text: التي اجمعوا بها على تمييزك عنهم .

³ Ibid. انباء .

وذكروا انهم تصفّحوا احوال ذوى الديانات واستبشّروا باديهم منها
وخافهم بحكم مساس حاجتهم الى جائلليق ينظر فى امورهم ويراعى
مصالح جمهورهم فاتفقوا باجتماع من ارائهم والتّمام من قلوبهم
واهوائهم على اختيارك لرياسة (من) دولتهم¹ ومراعاة شؤونهم وتدبير
وقوفهم والتسوية فى عدل الوساطة بين قوتهم وضعيفهم وسألوا ايضاً
تصبيك عليهم بالاذن التى به تثبت قواعد وتصدّق مواعده وتستحكم
مباينته وتقوى اواخيه . فأوعز باساعفهم فيما سألوه بالإيجاب والإحاطة
فيما طلبوا جناح الإطلاب وبرز الاذن الامامي الاشرف لا زال اوامره
معضودة بالتوفيق² بترتيبك جائلليقا لنسطور التصارى بمدينة السلام
ومن تضمته ديار الاسلام وزعيمًا لهم ولعن عداهم ومن السروم واليعاقبة
والملكية فى جميع البلاد وكل حاضر فى هذه الطوائف وباد وانفرادك
عن كافة اهل خُلُتْكَ . . .³ بتقمّص اهبة الجشلة المتعارفة فى اماكن
صلواتكم ومجامع عباداتكم غير مشارك هذا اللسان ولا مُفسّح⁴ فى
التّحلى به لمطران او اسقف او شماس حتّى لهم عن رتبك ووقوفاً
بهم دون محلك الذى خُصّت به ومنزلتك وان ولج احد
المذكورين فى باب المجادلة⁵ لك والخلاف وراغ سرب المتابعة لك
واخاف وابى النزول على حكمك وعدل الى حربك عن سلمك

¹ Ib., دينهم .

² Ib., بالتوفيق معضودة .

³ Qy. some rhyme to جشلة .

⁴ Ib., منسوخ .

⁵ Ib., وان ولج فى المذكورين باب المجادلة .

كانت المقابلة له لاحقة والعقوبة به على شقائه حائقة حتى تعادل قناته وتلين بالفرج . . . ¹ ويزجر امثاله عن مثل مقامه ويكرس قانونك عن ان يقدح عن نظامه . وأمر بحملك على مقتضى الامثلة الامامية في حق من تقدمك من المجاثلة وسبقك واجرائه امره عليك ² ومن تلك منهم ولحقك والحيطة لك ولاهل ملكك في النفس والاموال والحراسة للكافة بمصالح الاحوال واتباع العادة المستمرة في مزاولة امواتكم وحماية بيعكم ³ ودياراتكم والعمل في ذلك على المشاكلة التي عمل عليها الخلفاء الراشدون مع من قبلكم ورعى بها الانعمة السابقون رضوان الله عليهم عهدكم وإلكم ⁴ وان يقتصر ⁵ في استيفاء الجزية على تناولها من العقلاء والواجدين من رجالكم دون النساء ومن لم يبلغ الحلم من اطفالكم ويكون استيفاءها نوبة واحدة في كل سنة من غير عدول في قبضها عن قبضة الشرع المسماة حسنة وتيسر في ان يتوسط طوائف النصارى في مصادماتها فياخذ النصف من القوت للمستضعف ويقود الى الحق ما اخلد الى القسطنطين والحيث وينظر في قوفهم نظرا يقوم بحقوق الامامة واشراطها ويعضى على واضح حدودها وسوى صراطها ⁶ . فقابل هذا الانعام الذي شملك

¹ Qy. a word missing.

² Text: . واجرى امرك عليك .

³ Ib., بيعتكم .

⁴ Ib., وإلكم, read by von Kr. لكم .

⁵ Ib., يقتض .

⁶ Ib., سوى صراطها .

وَحَقَّقَ مِنْكَ فِيمَا نَاجَتْكَ نَفْسُكَ بِهِ وَأَمْلَكَ بِدَعَا يَشْنِي عَنِ
الْإِشْرَافِ وَيُعْرِبُ وَيُبْدِعُ فِي الْإِخْلَاصِ وَيُعْرِبُ . وَسَبِيلُ كَافَّةِ الْمَطَارِنَةِ
وَالْقَسْبِيسِينَ وَالْإِسَاقِفَةِ مِنَ الطَّوَائِفِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ أَنْ يَخِيرُوا الْعَامُورَ بِهِ فِي
هَذَا الْمِثَالِ وَيَتَلَقَّوْهُ بِالْإِنْقِيَادِ وَالْإِمْتِثَالِ أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

B.M. Or. 3179, fol. 225a-b.

P.

Variations between the text of the "Mughrib" of Ibn Sa'id (Vollers, "Fragmente," pp. 16-18) and the "Muqaffā" of Maqrizi (Paris, Ar. 2144, fol. 160).

p. 16, l. nlt. أَبِي أَيُّوبَ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ شِجَاعٍ

p. 17, l. 1. نَعِيمًا الْمَعْرُوفَ بَابِ الذُّؤَيْبِ

p. 17, ll. 4-8 :

يَرَى أَنْ الشُّنَاءَ مِمَّنْ يُعْمَلُ مَعَهُ الْجَمِيلُ أَمَّا هُوَ حِيلَةٌ مِنَ الْقَاصِدِ
عَلَى الْمَقْصُودِ لِيُنَالَ بِهَا مَا يَرِيدُهُ وَكَانَ لَا يَهْتَشُ إِلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَعْمَالِ
الْبَرِّ وَكَانَ فِيهِ مَسَّحٌ هَذَا مَعَايَةِ فَمَقَّتَهُ النَّاسُ وَكَثُرَ الدَّعَاءُ عَلَيْهِ وَكَانَ
أَحْمَدُ بْنُ طُولُونَ رَقِيبًا عَلَى نَفْسِهِ يَتَصَدَّقُ فِي أَثَرِ الْإِسَاءَةِ إِذَا جَرَتْ
مِنْهُ إِلَى أَحَدٍ بَصَدَقَاتٍ جَزِيلَةٍ وَيَتَضَرَّعُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي تَهْمِينِ
مَا جَنَاهُ وَكَانَ بِذَلِكَ يَوْقَى وَيُكْفَى وَيَنْتَصِرُ فَلَمَّا خَلَجَ

p. 17, ll. 16-17. أَفْعَالُ الْخَبِيرِ فِي أَفْعَالِ الْمُجْتَارِينَ

p. 18, l. 1 :

وَأَنْ فَسَحَ شِجَاعُ الْأَمْرَاءِ وَالْمُعْتَبِلِينَ فِي هَذِهِ السَّنَةِ لِأَنَّهَا سَنَةُ ظُلُمَاءٍ
تَوْجِبُ الْفَسْحَ زَادَ مَالُ الْبِلَدِ وَتَوَفَّرَ تَوْفِيرًا عَظِيمًا يَنْصَافُ إِلَى مَالِ
الْمَرَافِقِ فَتَسْبَطُ بِهِ الْخُجْ

XV.

**THE RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION AND
THE CONVERSION OF ASOKA TO BUDDHISM.**

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I. The Rummindēi inscription.

THE text of the Rummindēi inscription, styled at first "the Aśōka edict of Paḍariā," appears to have been first published by Professor Bühler, in the *Anzeiger* for the 7th January, 1897, of the Philosophical and Historical Section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna. A translation of it was given by M. Barth in the *Journal des Savants*, 1897. 73. The record was fully edited by Professor Bühler, with an excellent facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 5. 1 ff. Some difficult terms in it have been examined by Professor Pischel in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, 1903. 724 ff. And Mr. Vincent Smith has favoured us with one translation of it in his *Asoka*, 145, and another in an article entitled "The Rummindēi Inscription, hitherto known as the Paḍariyā Inscription, of Aśōka," published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1905. 1 ff. From this last article we learn that the broken pillar which bears the inscription stands close to a mound of ruins, near the top of which there is a shrine of a goddess known as Rummindēi; that this mound is close on the north of another mound which marks the site of an ancient village or small town; that the *tappā* itself, the subdivision, including a number of villages, also is known by the name Rummindēi; and that, consequently, the record is to be

known as the Rummindēi inscription, better than as the Padariyā inscription from the name of the nearest inhabited village, about a mile to the south. In connexion with the statement that Rummindēi is also the name of the *tappā*, I may observe that the Suttanipāta, verse 683, tells us that Buddha was born :—Sakyāna gāmē janapadē Lumbineyyē ; “ in a village of the Sakyas in the Lumbini country, territory, or district.” I may add that the record cannot be properly classed as an “ edict ” of Aśoka, inasmuch as it does not commence with any of the formulae presented in the edicts, and that there is not, in fact, anything to mark it as a record framed by the king at all : it appears to have been drawn up by the local authorities, and incised by them on the pillar set up by Aśoka.

The special interest which attaches to this record lies in the fact, which was recognized as soon as the record was discovered, that, as there is no reason for supposing that the pillar does not stand in the very place in which it was originally set up, the record locates the exact traditional site of the place where Buddha was born,— the Lumbini or Lumbinivana grove or garden of the Divyāvadāna and the Lalitavistara, and the Lumbinivana, v.l. Lumbinivana, of the Nidānakathā. The name of the village as given in the record, Lummini, is the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Lumbini¹ : and, the change of *l* to *r* being a very common one, we recognize at once that the first component of the modern name Rummindēi is the ancient Lumbini, Lummini.¹

The text of the inscription, which I give from the facsimile accompanying Professor Bühler's article, runs as follows :—

¹ The name Rummindēi appears to be not unique. Baba P. C. Mukherji's sketch-map, *Antiquities in the Terai*, plate I, shows a village 'Rumin-dei' about twenty-four miles towards the west-by-south from the place where the inscribed pillar is. It may give an indication of the stretch of the ancient Lumbini district.

Text.

- 1 Dēvānapīyēna Piyadasina lājina visati-vas-ābhisitēna
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakya-mun-iti
- 3 sil-āvi-gaḍa-bhichā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte
- 4 hida Bhagavam jāte-ti Lummīni-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭhabhāgiye cha

The text is clear and unmistakable throughout. And my reading is exactly the same as that laid down by previous writers; except that in line 3 I take *chā*, not as another form of *cha*, 'and,' but as forming with the preceding syllable the word *bhīchā*. There are, however, certain expressions in the record, regarding the interpretation of which I differ.

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The first term that calls for notice is *mahīyite*, line 2. This is equivalent to the Sanskrit *mahīyitam*, the nominative singular neuter of the past participle passive of the nominal verb *mahīy*, 'to be joyous or happy; to prosper, thrive; to be held in high honour.'

This word has been taken here as meaning 'homage was done,' 'worship was done,' 'reverence was done.' And, without doubt, instances might be cited in which *mahīy*, which is explained by grammarians and commentators as being used *pūjāyām*, 'in the sense of *pūjā*,' and *vriddhau*, 'in the sense of growth, increase, etc.,' has a meaning which is fully equivalent to that of 'to be worshipped as a religious object.' But 'to do *pūjā*' does not necessarily mean 'to do religious worship:' it denotes also the act of paying respect to great, influential, or venerable people. And, whereas *mahīy* is ultimately connected with the root from which we have also *mahat*, 'great,' there are numerous passages in which, we can see, it plainly means 'to be made great, to be honoured.'

Thus :—

Mānavadharmasāstra, 4. 260 :— Vyapēta-kalmashō nityaṁ Brahma-lōkē mahiyatē ; “(a Brāhmaṇ, conducting himself in this manner, and becoming acquainted with the Vēdas), becomes freed from sin, and is ever glorified in the world of Brahman.”

Ibid., 5. 155 :— Patim śuśrūṣatē yēna tēna svargē mahiyatē ; “if (a woman) obeys her husband, by that she is exalted in heaven.”

Ibid., 8. 313 :— Yat-kshiptō marśhayaty-ārtais-tēna svargē mahiyatē ; “if (a king), when he is reviled by those in distress, bears it with patience, he is on that account magnified in heaven.”

In rendering the word in the above three passages by “is glorified, exalted, magnified,” I have simply followed Dr. Burnell, *The Ordinances of Manu*, endorsed by Professor Bühler, *The Laws of Manu* (SBE, vol. 25) ; the latter using ‘exalted’ in the three cases. But it is obvious that the idea of being ‘worshipped’ is inadmissible here.

Again, we have in the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed.), 3. § 83, 6027 :— Sarva-vyādhi-vinirmuktō Brahma-lōkē mahiyatē ; “(O best of the Bharatas !, a man who bathes at the *tīrtha* of Kāśīśvara) becomes freed from all ailments and is exalted in the world of Brahman.”

So, also, we have in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.), 1. § 1, 99 :— Sa-putra-pautrah sa-gaṇaḥ prētya svargē mahiyatē ; “(the man who reads this tale, the Rāmāyaṇa, which confers long life),— when he dies, he is exalted in heaven along with his sons, his sons’ sons, and his followers.”

Ibid. (Gorresio), 2. § 12, 37 :— Vivēśa Rāmasya mahātmanō grīhaṁ mahīyamānaṁ ; “(Sumantra) entered the honoured house of the high-minded Rāma.”

And in the Bhaṭṭikāvya, 2. 38, Viśvāmitra says to Rāma :— Mahīyyamānā bhavat-ātīmātraṁ bhūmiḥ ; “honoured beyond all measure by thee (who didst overcome the voracious demons at the sacrifice of

the gods), the earth, (thus possessed of a hero, is not ashamed even before the heavens adorned by Indra)."

It is thus plain that *mahīyite* may mean in the Rummindei inscription 'it was honoured, honour was done,' quite as much as 'it was worshipped, worship was done.' But Aśoka cannot have done "worship" at the Lumbinivana unless he was a Buddhist. And, whatever may be the apparent purport and bearing of certain statements in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, his records make it certain that he had not become a Buddhist when he visited the village Lummīni,—in the twenty-first year after his anointment to the sovereignty: they make it clear (see page 496 f. below) that it was only about the middle of the thirtieth year that he was converted to Buddhism, and became a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper.

In these circumstances, I take *mahīyite* as meaning here, not 'worship was done,' but 'honour was done.' And I take the whole phrase:—*lājina atana āgācha mahīyite*,—literally "by the king, by himself, having come, honour was done,"—as meaning "the king did (*this place*) the honour of coming (*here*) in person." Aśoka was on a state progress through part of the northern districts of his dominions: he was making a *dhammayātā*, a tour in connexion with his duties as a king, in accordance with a practice which, as he plainly tells us in his eighth rock-edict (see more fully page 490 below), he had laid down for himself.¹ He was encamped somewhere near the village Lummīni. And, attracted by what was told him in connexion with a site at that place,

¹ Quite possibly, of course, it was this identical tour that provided the basis for the story in the *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, 389 ff., of how Aśoka went round, under the guidance of the Śthavira Upagupta, to the various places at which Buddha had resided, commencing with the Lumbinivana, 'in order to honour them and to mark them out for the benefit of future generations.'

he paid that site a visit, and, naturally enough in the case of so liberal-minded a monarch,¹ conferred favours on its possessors in recognition of the interesting event which had occurred there, and made arrangements that the site should be marked out and protected. It was doubtless on the same occasion that, as is recorded in the Nigliṇa inscription (EI, 5. 5), he visited the Stūpa of Konākamāna, on which he had previously conferred the favour either of causing it to be restored so as to make it twice as large as it had become, or of doubling an endowment which was attached to it.

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The next expression calling for notice is one which we have in line 3,—*śilāvigaḍabhāchā*.

Previous examiners of this record have taken the *chā* as a variant, met with in the edicts, of *cha*, 'and.' Before it, they have found the compound *śilā-vigaḍabhī*. And this they have proposed to interpret in various ways: (1) as meaning 'a stone (*slab*) bearing a big sun,' to mark the point that tradition represents Buddha as a scion of the Solar Race of Ikshvāku; (2) as meaning 'a stone horse,' because Hiuen-tsiang says that the Aśoka pillar which he saw in the Lumbinī garden was surmounted by the figure of a horse; (3) as meaning 'a flawless or faultless block of stone,' from which the pillar, which the text mentions immediately afterwards, was made. The suggestion seems also to have been made, that we might find here the equivalent of a Sanskrit **śilāvin* + *gardabhī*, 'a stone she-ass.' But none of those proposals has received any substantial justification.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, has expressed the opinion, but without going farther into the matter

¹ And, in fact, in accordance with the general behaviour of ancient Indian kings. The inscriptions give us numerous instances of Vaiṣṇava kings making or sanctioning grants to Śaiva and other temples or priests, and vice versa.

(JBBRAS, 20, 366, note 14), that "*silāvigaḍabbhīchā* must be an enclosure or railing made of stone," and that "*bhīchā* is probably connected with *bhitti* or *bhittikā*, 'a wall.'"

That is the way in which I take the word *bhīchā*. Just as we have in this same record *āgācha* for *āgachcha* = *āgatya*,— (and various other analogous forms might be cited),— so *bhīchā* stands for *bhīchchā* = *bhittikā* through such forms as **bhittīā*, **bhittiyā*, **bhityā*.

Before that, we might have *vigaḍa* as representing *vikata*, 'having an unusual size or aspect,' in the sense of 'huge, large, great;' with the result 'a stone great wall.' But the natural expression for such a meaning as that would so obviously be *mahā-silā-bhīchā* that such a possibility can hardly be admitted. Again, using *vikata* in another meaning which it appears to have, 'unusually handsome,' we might possibly say 'a stone ornate wall,' in the sense of something like a "Buddhist railing." But this, also, somehow does not seem satisfactory: and no traces of such a railing at Rummindēi have been reported.

The syllables which stand before *bhīchā* divide quite naturally into *silā* + *avi* + *gaḍa*: and that is the way in which I take them. The Śābdakalpadrūma cites Daṇḍin as assigning to *avi* the meaning of *prāchīra*, 'an enclosure, hedge, fence, wall;' and it cites the Śābdaratnāvalī as assigning to *gaḍa* the meaning of *vyavadhāna*, 'covering; a cover, a screen.' It would, no doubt, be satisfactory if we could quote passages from texts, in which these two words, *avi* and *gaḍa*, are actually found in those meanings. But we can hardly think that the Śābdakalpadrūma, or the authorities cited by it, invented those meanings in order to enable us to explain the Rummindēi inscription. Accordingly, I do not hesitate to use those meanings, and to explain the whole expression as denoting 'a stone wall which is an enclosure and a screen,' or in other terms 'a stone surrounding and

screening wall;’ exactly what would naturally be built round such a site as that with which we are concerned.

The remaining expressions which demand attention are two words in lines 4 and 5 which are plainly fiscal terms: the record says:—“the village Lummini was made *ubalika* and *athabhāgiya*.”¹

On the understanding that in *ubalike* we have *bali*, ‘tax, impost, royal revenue,’ this term has been rendered as meaning ‘exempt from assessment,’ ‘free of taxes,’ ‘revenue-free.’

The base *ubalika* would stand quite well, according to the inscriptional orthography of the period, for *ubbalika* as = to a Sanskrit **udbalika*. Professor Bühler, however, pointed out that, on the analogy of *uchchhriṃkhala*, ‘unbridled, uncurbed,’ *unnidra*, ‘sleepless,’ and other words, **udbali*, as the basis of **udbalika*, would have to be analysed into *balēr=utkrānta* or *udgata*, ‘one who has gone up from, left, the taxes,’ and that the use of it in the sense of ‘exempt from taxes’ would be unidiomatic. Accordingly, while rendering *ubalike* by “free of taxes,” he thought that the word may perhaps be explained as = **avabalikah* or **apabalikah*; in support of which suggestion he cited Müller’s Pāli Grammar, p. 42, as giving instances of a contraction of *ava* and *apa* to *u*.

It is certain that such a word as *udbalika* cannot be grammatically explained as meaning ‘exempt from *bali*:’ and the suggestion of *apabalika* or *avabalika* does not seem very satisfactory. In these circumstances, I treat this word otherwise. It is permissible to complete the *ubalike*

¹ It may be observed that in *pāṇi* we might find the locative quite as much as the nominative, and so the text might mean:—“at the village Lummini an *ubalika* was made, and an *athabhāgiya*.” It is, however, difficult to suggest any meanings for the two words in question from that point of view: moreover, we should then expect *kāḍāpita*, ‘was caused to be made,’ rather than *kāṭa*.

of the text into *umbalike*, by supplying an Anusvāra.¹ And, doing that, I venture to find here a vernacular word *umbalika*, 'free from rent,' which may be traced in Southern India in the Kanarese *umbali*, *umbaliḡe*, *unmali*, etc., 'a rent-free grant,' as applied to either a plot of land or a village, and in the Telugu *umbala*, *umbali*, *umbaliḡe*, and the Tamil *umbaliḡkari*, with more or less similar meanings.²

In *aṭṭhabhāgiye*, the second component represents the Sanskrit *bhāgya*, 'entitled to a share.' The first component is capable of representing either *aṭṭha*, *aṭṭha*, Prākṛit forms of *aṣṭan*, 'eight,' or the *aṭṭha* which, alongside of *aṭṭha*, is a Prākṛit form of *artha*, 'substance, wealth, property, etc.' On the view that it stands here for *artha*, the term *aṭṭhabhāgiye* has been rendered as meaning 'loaded with benefits,' 'a recipient of wealth,' and 'sharing in wealth, partaking of the king's bounty.' On the view that it stands for *aṣṭan*, the term has been rendered as meaning 'having eight plots (of the fiscal lands) granted to it,' and '(revenue-free) in its entirety;' the latter proposal being based on the curious assumption that, just as we now say "sixteen annas" to denote the whole of anything, so "eight shares" may have been used in ancient times.

I find the explanation of this term in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, 7. 130, where it is said:—Pañchāśad-bhāga ādōyō rājñā paṣu-hiranyayōḥ dhānyānām-aṣṭamō bhāgaḥ śhaśṭhō dvādaśa ēva vā; "the king may take a fiftieth

¹ In our text, the Anusvāra is shown in *bhagavān* and *lunnidā*, but is omitted from *dāśanuppiyāna*.

² It would appear that grammarians propose to derive *umbali* from *un*, 'to eat, enjoy,' with *bali* in the sense of 'a gift, a present;' so that the primary meaning is 'an enjoyment-gift.' But we need not regard that proposal as conclusive; especially as it does not seem to account satisfactorily for the second component, except in the form *bali*, *bali*. More noteworthy is the use of the Dravidian *l* in the Kanarese forms: instances can be cited, however, in which that letter has been substituted for a Sanskrit *l*.

share of the cattle and gold; an eighth share, or a sixth, or indeed a twelfth, of the grains." I take it that in the time of Aśoka the royal share in the grain in the district which included the village Lummīni was one-eighth.¹ And I gather that, while this royal share would ordinarily have been reserved in the case of such privileges as those which Aśoka conferred, even this right was relinquished in this instance, and the village Lummīni was made absolutely and entirely rent-free as against the State.

Some remarks may be made regarding the various appellations of the king who is mentioned in this record.

His personal name according to literary works was Aśoka or Aśokavardhana. The latter form is found in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, book 4, chapter 24, and in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 12. 1, 13; and the former of these works describes him as a son of Bindusāra son of the Maurya king Chandragupta. The shorter form, Aśoka, is found in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, part 2, chap. 37, verse 326, in the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvamsa, in the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghōṣa, in the Divyāvadāna, and in the Jain Parīśiṣṭaparvan.

As is well known, his personal name has not yet been found in any records of his own time. And the earliest epigraphic mention of it is in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, containing a date falling in A.D. 150, which speaks of "the Maurya king Chandragupta" and "Aśoka the Maurya" (EI, 8. 46 f.).

In his edicts, as in the inscription which we have before us, the king is mentioned only by Prākṛit forms of appellations which would in Sanskrit be Dēvānāmpriya and Priyadarśin. But there is no question about his

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that, while *aṣṭabhāga* might mean 'eight shares,' i.e. 'eight per cent.,' it also means 'an eighth share' just as freely; compare *pañcāśat-bhāga* in the verse quoted above, and *ṣaṣṭi-bhāga*, 'a sixth share,' in, e.g., 8. 304, 305, 308.

identity. The *Dipavaṃsa* uses the names *Piyadassi*, *Piyadassana*, *Asōka*, *Asōkadhamma*, and *Dhammāsōka*, just as may suit its verses, to denote one and the same person, whom it describes (6. 15) as a grandson of *Chandragutta* and a son of *Bindusāra*. The same work, mentioning him as *Piyadassana*, tells us (6. 1) that he was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of *Buddha*, and, mentioning him as *Asōkadhamma*, informs us (5. 101) that he reigned for 37 years. And the edict which we have at *Sahasrām* and other places (see page 495 below) gives for *Dēvānampiya* the date of 256 years after the death of *Buddha*, with details which carry back certain events in his career to almost the year, the twenty-eighth after his anointment, in which *Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi* was still issuing his proclamations dated in that manner, and which further explain how it was that he was alive a year later than the time—(255 after the death of *Buddha*)—when his reign ended according to the *Dipavaṃsa*. Again, the statements of the Greek writers show that *Chandragupta* was a contemporary of *Seleucus I.*, *Nicator*, of *Syria* (a.c. 312–280), and became king of Northern India at some time between b.c. 326 and 312: and we do best, as I have intimated before now (this *Journal*, 1906. 985), if we take a.c. 320 as his initial year. The *Dipavaṃsa*, 5. 100, assigns to *Chandragupta* a reign of 24 years.¹ It does not state the length of the reign of *Bindusāra*: but *Buddhaghōṣa* and the *Mahāvamsa* (*Turnour*, p. 21, line 11) give 28 years; and the same period is deducible from statements made in the *Dipavaṃsa*, 11. 5, 12, 13, about king *Muṭasīva* of *Ceylon*. There was then a period of four years (see this *Journal*, 1906. 985, note), during which *Asōka*, having seized the sovereignty,

¹ So also *Buddhaghōṣa*: see his *Samantapāsādikā*, in *Oldenberg's Vinayapitaka*, 3. 321, quoted in this *Journal*, 1906. 985, note. The *Mahāvamsa* (*Turnour*, p. 21, line 11) gives 34 years: but there can be no doubt that this is the result of some early copyist's mistake.

was reigning without anointment. He was then anointed, ($24 + 28 + 4 =$) 56 years after the initial date of Chandragupta; that is, in B.C. 264 (or 263). And, in perfect accordance with that, the thirteenth rock-edict of Dēvānampīya-Piyadassi mentions, as his contemporaries, Antiochus II, Theos, of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander II. of Epirus, whose dates fit in exactly with that reference to them.

There is, thus, no doubt that the Aśoka of literary works and the Junāgaḍh inscription is the Dēvānampīya-Piyadassi of the edicts and the other inscriptions of that group, though the name Aśoka is not found in them.

The fullest appellation of this king in his records is that which we have here in the Rummindei inscription,—“the king Dēvānampīya-Piyadassi.”

The full style, however, was not always employed: the following deviations occur:—

(1) With an omission, whether accidental or intentional, of the word meaning ‘king,’ we have “Dēvānampīya-Piyadassi” in the opening clause of the Kālsi text of rock-edict 1 (EI, 2. 449); in the opening clause of the Shāhbāzgarhi text of rock-edict 2 (ibid.); and in lines 2 and 4 of the circular part of pillar-edict 7 (ibid., 270).

(2) We have “the king Piyadassi” in the inscriptions at the Barābar Hill caves (IA, 20. 364), and in the Bhabra or Second Bairāt edict (Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, CII, 1. plate 15).

(3) “The king Dēvānampīya” is found, quite exceptionally, in the opening clause of the Shāhbāzgarhi text of rock-edict 1 (EI, 2. 448).

(4) “Dēvānampīya” alone is found (a) in lines 14, 22, respectively, of the Dhauli and Jaugada texts of rock-edict 10 (ASSI, 1. 121); (b) through the whole (as far as we can judge by the extant portions) of all the texts of rock-edict 13 after the opening clause, in which the full

style is presented (EI, 2. 462 ff.); (*e*) in the Dhauli and Jaugada separate edict 1 (ASSI, 1. 125, 127); (*d*) in the opening clause of the Dhauli and Jaugada separate edict 2 (ibid., 127), and in lines 4, 5, 7, and 8 of the Dhauli text of the same; (*e*) in line 10 of the circular part of pillar-edict 7 (EI, 2. 271); (*f*) in the Queen's edict, and evidently in the Kōsambi edict (IA, 19. 125 f.); (*g*) in both places (we can hardly doubt), in line 1 as well as line 6, of the Sārnāth edict (EI, 8. 168);¹ (*h*) in the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt edict (IA, 22. 302); and (*i*) in the Brahmagiri, Śiddhāpura, and Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara edicts (EI, 3. 138 ff.).

In the appellation Piyadassi, = Priyadarśin, 'one who sees affectionately,' or freely 'one who is of gracious mien,' there has been generally recognized a formal *biruda* or secondary name, almost, if not quite, amounting to a subsidiary personal name, and used by Aśoka as his personal name for all practical purposes in the proclamations issued by him.² And this appellation has been customarily treated without translation.

¹ The restoration of the full style from simply the extant syllables *devi* in line 1 can hardly be admitted against the use of simply "Devānampiya" in line 6 and in the face of so many other indications to the contrary. It may also be remarked that it is by no means certain that the syllables *piṣa* in line 3 may be restored into *Pāṇiputā*.

² This appellation appears to be found elsewhere, either in Sanskrit or in Pāli, only in the cases of a Thera (Dīpavaṇṇa, 19. 5) and one of the previous Buddhas (Nidānakathā, 38 f.; Mahāvastu, 2).

The other form, Piyadassana, presented by the Dīpavaṇṇa, is not found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and seems to have been used in the Ceylonese work simply for metrical conveniences. It has not the same purport; its meaning being 'dear or grateful to the sight.' It is found elsewhere as an ordinary epithet. In one of the Nāsik inscriptions (ASWI, 4. 108, No. 18; EI, 8. 60; line 3-4) king Gotamiputta-Siri-Sātakaṃpi is described as *puṇipūṇa-chāda-maḍala-maṇḍika-piṇa-dassana*, "lovely and grateful to the sight like the orb of the full moon." The epithet is applied to Sita in the Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio), 5. § 24, 1, and is probably of frequent occurrence in literature. As a proper name, it is presented in the case of a mythical Chakravartin by the Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, I. 114, line 12.

The appellation *Dēvānāṃpiya*, = *Dēvānāṃpriya*, 'dear to the gods,' has been treated differently, as an epithet.¹ Prinsep started with a preference for using it without translation:—"Thus spake king *Devānampiya Piyadasi*" (*JASB*, 6, 1837, 581-4, 590, 596-9, 603-8). Almost directly, however, he introduced translations,—"*king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods*" (*ibid.*, 585; 7, 1838, 257, 259), and "*the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi*" (*ibid.*, 7, 1838, 249-56, 258, 259, 262). And the practice has been continued, of translating it by "*Beloved of the gods.*"²

Now, the enjoyment of the appellation *Dēvānāṃpiya* was not confined to *Aśoka*. In the first place, the text in the *Nāgārjunī* Hill cave inscriptions (*IA*, 20, 364 f.) :—*Dashalathēnā Dēvānāṃpiyēnā ānāṃtaliyaṃ abhishitēnā*, is interpreted as meaning "by *Dashalatha-Dēvānāṃpiya*, as soon as he was anointed," and as assigning the appellation to *Dashalatha*, = *Daśaratha*, who according to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* was a grandson of *Aśoka*. That, however, is open to question : the appellation *Dēvānāṃpiya* elsewhere always stands before any other name which it qualifies ; and this point, coupled with the free use of the appellation

¹ The curious later use of this word in the sense of 'dull, stupid, silly, simple, foolish,' is well known : *Hemachandra* in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, verse 353, gives it as synonymous with *māḍha*, *mārka*, and similar words. The idea underlying that seems to be a fairly universal one ; that people of weak intellect are under the special protection of heaven.

The promiscuous use of the Jain variant *dēvānāṃpiya* is well illustrated in the *Antagada-Dasāo*, which I quote from Dr. Barnett's appreciative translation in our *Oriental Translation Fund Series*. The epithet is there applied to kings, of course, and to queens and princes ; but also to chamberlains (19), to "the readers of tokens of dreams" (23), to city-folk in general (36), to a prince's waiting-man (37), to a saint (38), to a king's barber (45), to friars (65), and even to the members of a gang of hooligans (87).

² Except that Mr. Vincent Smith would regard *Dēvānāṃpiya* as "a mere formal title of kings" and *Piyadasi* as "a mere epithet or title," and would substitute for both "*His Sacred and Gracious Majesty*" (*IA*, 1905, 4), which words do not preserve any reminiscence of the original terms.

by itself to denote Aśoka (see page 482-3 above), suggests that we should perhaps here translate "by Dashalatha, as soon as he was anointed by Dēvānampiya (i.e. Aśoka),"—such anointment having been made in circumstances indicated on page 497 below. But, however that may be, the Dīpavaṃsa shews (II. 25) that the appellation belonged also to Aśoka's contemporary, Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon, and often (e.g., II. 14, 19, 20, 29, 30, 39) uses it alone to denote that king. And an inscription from Ceylon shews (*Epi. Zeylanica*, I. 60 f.) that, among other kings there, it belonged to Vaṅkanāsika-Tissa, Gaḍabāhuka-Gāmini, and Mahallaka-Nāga.

Further, this appellation seems to have been to a certain extent interchangeable with the word *rājan*, *lājan*, 'king.' In rock-edict 8, where the Kālsi, Shāhbazgarhi, and Mansehra texts say:—"In times gone by, the Dēvānampiyas went forth on pleasure-tours," the Girnār text (see page 488 below) and the Dhauli and Jaugada texts (ASSI, I. 199) present *rājāno*, *lājāne*:—"In times gone by, the kings went forth," etc.: which suggests that the appellation belonged at least to Chandragupta and Bindusāra, if not to also other kings before them. And five times, in lines 5, 6, 10, 11, in the Jaugada text of the separate edict 2, *lājan* is presented against the *dēvānampiya* of the Dhauli text (op. cit., 128).

At the same time, the extent to which this appellation was used above to denote Aśoka marks it as more than a mere epithet in his case. It has been customary to use the appellation without translation in the case of Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon. And it seems appropriate to adopt the course which suggested itself at first to Prinsep, and to use the appellation without translation in the case of Aśoka also.

With this introduction, I give my translation of the Rummindei inscription as follows; substituting the

nominative for the instrumental construction of the original :—

Translation.

The king Dēvānampiya-Piyadassi, when he was twenty-years-anointed, did (*this place*) the honour of coming (*here*) in person. Because Buddha was born here, the Sakya saint,¹ he caused a stone surrounding and screening wall to be made, and a stone pillar to be set up. Because the Blessed One was born here, he made the village Lummini free of rent and entitled to the (*king's*) eighth share (*of the grain*).

II. The conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism.

In connexion with a remark made on page 475 above in discussing the meaning of *mahāvīte*, and for some other purposes, we must now determine the stage in Aśoka's career at which he became converted to Buddhism.

The Dipavaṃsa makes it clear (6. 18) that Buddhism was not his original creed, but leaves the matter otherwise doubtful. The Mahāvamsa, however (Turnour, 23, line 3),² describes him as starting by favouring the Brāhmins,

¹ The question of the extent to which we must or may restore or complete forms which are presented more or less imperfectly in original texts in consequence of peculiarities of spelling, is liable to be somewhat complex. In the present case, we must certainly write "Buddha" for the "Budha" of the original, and supply the omitted Anusvara of "Dēvānampiya;" and it is proper to write "Piyadassi" with the double *ss*. But there is neither necessity nor authority for substituting, as previous translators of this record have done, "Sakya" for the "Sakya" of the original; the latter form is well substantiated by the Mahāpari-nibbāna-Sutta, the Vinayapitaka, and other early texts; and there is no evidence in support of the form "Śakya" until very much later times. On the general question of this tribal name, see my remarks in this Journal, 1905. 645 ff.; 1906. 161 ff.

² Compare Buddhaghōṣa in his Samantapāsādikā; see the Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, §. 301.

as his father had done. This latter work also states (28, line 4 ff.)¹ that the Thēras of the Second Council, which was held 100 years after the death of Buddha, foresaw that 118 years later,—that is, at the time when Aśōka was to be anointed to the sovereignty,—a calamity would befall the faith, to remove which it was arranged that the great priest Moggaliputta-Tissa should be born: and this seems to suggest that Aśōka was at first actively hostile to the Buddhists. The Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvamsa both appear to place the conversion of Aśōka to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment to the sovereignty. But his records shew that any such statement as that is not correct.

The fourteen rock-edicts of Aśōka were framed and published in and after the thirteenth and fourteenth years after his anointment. Edicts 1 and 2, indeed, do not contain dates, and may possibly have been framed somewhat earlier.² But edict 3 says (EI, 2, 450, Girnār text):—*Dhādasa-vās-ābhisitēna mayā idaṃ āṇapitaṃ*; "by me, twelve-years-anointed, this command has been issued."³ In the same way, edict 4 concludes with the statement:—"By the king *Dēvānāmpiya-Piyadassi*, twelve-years-anointed, this has been caused to be written." And in edict 5 the king says:—"By me, thirteen-years-anointed, *Dhammamahāmātas* (High Ministers for *dhamma*) have been created."

¹ Compare, again, *Buddhaghōṣa*: loc. cit., 204 f.

² It has, however, been inferred from pillar-edict 6 that no edicts were issued before the thirteenth year.

³ This and similar passages in the edicts of both series have sometimes been translated as if the records were subsequent ones, registering past events: for instance, the above words have been rendered thus (EI, 2, 450):—"When I had been anointed twelve years, this following order was given by me." But the edicts were certainly framed and actually issued by proclamation, as synchronous records of current acts, before being brought together on the rocks and pillars: and the dates are better translated accordingly.

The remaining rock-edicts are not dated. But two of them mention events of earlier date, and present important statements in connexion with them.

The 13th edict commences by reciting that the king conquered the Kālīṅga countries when he was eight years anointed, and goes on to say that, from the time when those territories were annexed, the king had zealously protected *dhamma*, had felt love for *dhamma*, and had inculcated *dhamma*. And that recital, and the words which follow it, including a declaration that "Dēvānaṃpiya holds the conquest by *dhamma* to be the chief of all conquests," make clear the point that the king's thoughts were first led into the direction of *dhamma* by the miseries that attended the war by which Kālīṅga was added to the empire.¹

The 8th edict contains something which is regarded as still more noticeable: it commences by reciting (EI, 2. 456 f., Gīrnār text):—*Atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ṇayāsu*² *eta magayvā aṇāni cha etārisāni abhiramakāni ahuṃsu so Dēvānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā dasa-vas-ābhisito saṃto ayāya saṃbōdhiṃ tē-ṇsā dhamma-yātā*; "in times gone by, the kings went forth on pleasure-tours, on which there were hunting and other similar amusements: this king Dēvānaṃpiya-Piyadassi, when he was ten-years-anointed, went to *saṃbōdhi*; therefore (*there is now*) this touring for *dhamma*."

There have been various discussions of this passage, based principally on the use in it of the term *saṃbōdhi*, 'proper, true, or perfect knowledge, understanding, enlightenment;' with at least one plain expression of

¹ Those miseries are indicated in the edict: "150,000 living beings were carried away (*as captives*): 100,000 were slain; and many times as many died;" etc.

² It seems hardly necessary to treat this word as an irregular spelling of *niyyāsa*. The *ṇ* implies an original *ny*; Childers gives *niyā*, as well as *niyyā*, as = *niryā*, 'to go forth:' and from *niryā* we might surely have *niyāṇa*, which would become *ṇayāsa*.

opinion that the two edicts, taken together, shew that Aśoka felt a preliminary call to Buddhism in the ninth year after his anointment to the sovereignty, and was definitely converted to that faith in the eleventh year.

Now, a similar and practically identical word, *sambōdha*, with exactly the same sense, is found, not only in Buddhist literature,¹ but also elsewhere: in the Mahābhārata, 3. § 312, 17,375 we are told:—*Jñānam tattvārtha-sambōdhaḥ*; "knowledge is the proper understanding of true meaning:" again, in the same work, 12. § 17, 531, we have:—*Ajñātānām cha vijñānāt=sambōdhād=buddhir=uchyatē*; "wisdom is so called (*as resulting*) from a knowledge and proper understanding of things not (*generally*) known." But it may be urged that we have here, not *sambōdha*, but *sambōdhi*; that the latter form is (or seems to be) confined to Buddhist literature, in which we have also the appellation *Sam-buddha* as synonymous with the name *Buddha* itself; and that in that literature it denotes (see this Journal, 1898, 620) "the insight of the higher stages of the path to Arahatsip." Further, stress may be laid on the point that, in the place of the *ayāya* of the Gīrṇār text, all the other versions² present forms from the verb *nikkham*, = *nishkram*, which suggests the idea of the technical Buddhist *nikkhamāṇa*, *nishkramaṇa*, 'the going forth from the house-life to the houseless state of asceticism and wandering mendicancy.' But any force which the latter argument might have is at least reduced by the fact that, instead of the *ñayāsu* of the Gīrṇār text, all the other versions present there again, in connexion with even the pleasure-tours, forms from the verb *nikkham*.

¹ For instance, in the Vinayapīṭaka, Mahāvagga, 1. 6, 17, 18.

² With the qualification, which applies also just below, that the word is illegible in the Jaogada text.

It is not known when the 8th rock-edict was framed; except that it was not framed earlier than the fourteenth year after the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty. It may be taken that each set of the whole series of the rock-edicts was incised all at once, and not in instalments. But it does not follow that edicts 6 to 14 were framed in the fourteenth year along with edict 5, and that the whole series was published in a collective form in that year; and it seems improbable that that was the case. We know from the seventh pillar-edict that Aśoka was still issuing his formal proclamations up to at any rate the twenty-eighth year. And it is quite possible that the 8th rock-edict was framed even later than that, and at a time when, having really become a declared Buddhist, Aśoka might not unnaturally introduce a technically not quite correct term in referring to a previous stage in his career. But all that we need really understand from the reference to *sambōdhi* in the 8th rock-edict is that Aśoka had then, in the eleventh year, realized fully the propriety of attending to *dhamma*.

This much at any rate is certain, whatever may be doubtful; namely, that Aśoka did not renounce the house-life and take up the life of asceticism and wandering mendicancy at the time specified in the 8th rock-edict, viz. the eleventh year after his anointment. What he did do then was to substitute tours of *dhamma* for pleasure-tours. And the edict goes on to explain the nature of the said tours of *dhamma*; it says:—"On these tours this is what takes place: the interviewing of Bāmbhaṇas (Brāhmaṇas) and Samaṇas, and the giving of gifts to them; the interviewing of Elders, and the distribution of gold to them; the interviewing of the people of the country-side; the inculcation of *dhamma*; and the making of inquiries about *dhamma*."

The question remains:—What was the *dhamma* for which these tours were instituted, and which forms so

constant a topic of all the edicts? The answer is given by an exact definition of *dhamma* in the second pillar edict, which was framed, as we gather from the dates in the first and fourth edicts of that series, in the twenty-seventh year after the anointment of Aśoka: we are there told (EI, 2. 249):—*Dēvānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hēvaṃ āha dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhammē=ti ap-āsinave bahu-kayāne dayā dāne sache sōchayē=ti*; “thus saith the king *Dēvānāmpiya-Piyadasi*: ‘*dhamma* is good: but it will be said, to what does *dhamma* amount?: the answer is, little addition to evil passions,¹ many beneficial deeds, compassion, charity, truthfulness, and purity.’”

This definition is plain and instructive. And a perusal of the rock and pillar edicts makes it clear that it governs, throughout, the *dhamma* which is inculcated and provided for by them. That *dhamma* is not in any way the Buddhist Dhamma, the Faith; and the term is not properly rendered by “the Religion,” “the Sacred Law,” or any such expression. It is the ordinary *dharma* of kings, which is laid down in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, 1. 114, as one of the topics of that work.² In the rock and pillar

¹ The word *apāsinave* is difficult. One component of it, *asinava*, occurs again twice in pillar-edict 3. M. Senart has explained it as = *āsinava*, through such forms as **āśirava*, **āśilava* (*Inscri. de Piyadasi*, 2. 13). And the Pāli equivalent, *āsava*, is given by Childers as meaning ‘human passion, sin, corruption, depravity.’

M. Senart has taken *apāsinave* as = *app-āsinavā*, and has rendered the term by “le moins de mal possible” (op. cit., 2. 15). Professor Bühler took it as = *apāśramam* (with *apa* as the first component) in the sense of *apāśramam*, and rendered it by “sinlessness” (EI, 2. 249).

The *bahu* in *bahu-kayāne* seems to point clearly to *apa* standing for *appa* = *alpa*. And *āsinava*, whatever may be its etymology, is explained in the second passage in the third pillar-edict, where we are told (EI, 2. 250 f.):—*Imāni āsinava-gāminī nāmā = ti aha chātthiye nithūliye kōdhe māne isyā*; “these things verily constitute *āsinava*; namely, hot temper, harshness, anger, pride, envy.”

² *Rājāsāz cha dharmam = akhilaṃ*; “and the whole duty of a king:” this is Professor Bühler’s rendering. *The Laws of Manu*, SBE, 25. 28.

edicts, Buddha is not mentioned at all, and the Saṅgha only once, in a passage in the latest of the pillar-edicts (see the next paragraph) which simply places it on a par with all the other creeds. The twelfth rock-edict is an express declaration of Aśoka's desire to treat all beliefs with impartial toleration and encouragement. And the distinct object of both the rock and the pillar edicts was, not to propagate Buddhism or any other particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Aśoka to govern his realm righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings, and with considerateness for all forms of religious belief, and to acquaint his subjects with certain measures which he had taken to that end, and to explain to them how they might co-operate with him.

We shall come directly to the proclamations issued by Aśoka as a Buddhist. We must first notice a declaration made by him as to the duties of the Dhammahāmātas, the High Ministers for *dharmma*, the appointment of whom was made in the fourteenth year after his anointment, as recorded in the fifth rock-edict. A general description of their functions is given in that edict (EI, 2. 467 f.), and commences with the statement that they were concerned with all the sects. This statement is amplified in the circular part of the seventh pillar-edict, framed in the twenty-eighth year: Aśoka there says (EI, 2. 270, line 4 f.):— "My Dhammahāmātas are occupied with various affairs of a beneficent nature: they are occupied with all the creeds, both of wandering ascetics and of those who are living the house-life: they were appointed by me in order that they should be occupied with the affairs of the Saṅgha, and so also with Bābhanas (Brāhmanas), Ājivikas, Niggaṇṭhas (Jains), and (*all*) the different creeds: the various Mahāmātas (*are occupied*) with various specific (*affairs*): but my Dhammahāmātas are occupied with these (*just mentioned*) and all the other creeds." We have here the only reference to the

Buddhist Saṅgha that is to be found in the rock and pillar edicts :¹ and, as has been said, Buddha is not mentioned in them at all. The Saṅgha is mentioned here on equal terms with Brāhmaṇs, Jains, etc. And we can plainly see that, in the twenty-eighth year after his anointment, Aśoka was still treating all the religious sects with the impartial toleration and encouragement which is the express topic of the twelfth rock-edict (EI, 2. 470), and that, even if he had then begun to feel any leaning towards the Buddhists, he had at least not identified his interests with theirs. We are, indeed, sometimes told that Aśoka convened the Third Buddhist Council in the seventeenth or eighteenth year after his anointment, and then despatched missionaries to propagate the faith in the border-countries. But there is nothing in that assertion. In the records of Aśoka, there is no mention of the Council; and it is at least difficult to find fairly any allusion to missions of the kind described in the books. And neither by the Dipavaṃsa, nor by Buddhaghōṣa, nor by the Mahāvaṃsa, are the occurrences in question attributed to him. The three authorities agree that it was Moggaliputta-Tissa who convened the Council and sent out the missionaries. Aśoka is not mentioned by them in connexion with the missions at all. In respect of the Council, the Mahāvaṃsa fills out a verse by saying (Turnour, 42, line 12) that it was held *rakkhāy-Āśoka-rājinō*, "under the protection of king Aśoka;" but, beyond that, Aśoka is mentioned in connexion with it merely by way of stating the date of it.

¹ It is assumed that the reference here really is to the Buddhist Saṅgha. But the word *saṅgha* may denote any community whatsoever, and is explained by Mōhātīthi under Mānavadharmasāstra, 8. 219, as meaning 'communities and corporations of merchants, mendicants or monks, Chaturvēdins, and so forth' (SBE, 25. 293, note). The term in the text of the seventh pillar-edict, *saṅghaḥṣaṇi*, might be taken as meaning "the affairs of (all recognized) communities."

The only records of Aśoka which are Buddhist records and mark him as a Buddhist are the following:—

(1) The Bhabra or Second Bairāt edict: *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 198; IA, 20. 165. In this, the king, addressing the Māgadha Saṅgha, the Buddhist Community in Magadha, says:—"Ye know, Sirs!, how great are my reverence and favour towards Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha: everything, Sirs!, that was said by the Blessed Buddha was truly well said: and so far indeed, Sirs!, as I myself can foresee, I ought to feel confident (?)¹ that the true religion will thus endure for a long time." And the edict goes on to mention by name certain Buddhist texts which the king commends to the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs, the monks and nuns, for constant study by them. This record is not dated: but it is plainly of later date than the seventh pillar-edict framed in the twenty-eighth year, and is certainly to be referred, along with Nos. 2, 3, and 4, to some time in the period of six years which is mentioned in No. 5 below.

(2) The Sārnāth edict: EI, 8. 168; and see JASB, 1907. No. 1. 1. Amongst other things, this prescribes, in line 4 f., a penalty to which Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs were to be subjected if they should break the rules of the Saṅgha: and a passage in line 9 f. connects it closely with No. 5 below. If this record was dated, the date was in lines 1 and 2, and has been lost.

(3) The Sāñchi edict: EI, 2. 87, 367. This is very fragmentary: the extant remnant of it, however, mostly

¹ Cunningham's lithograph in *Inscriptions of Asoka*, CII, 1. plate 15, shows *taṁvase*: and the alteration of that into *taṁ vāṣave* does not seem either necessary or satisfactory. I take the word *na taṁvase* = *taṁvum*, *tātam*, the infinitive of *ta*, 'to have authority, be strong.' Or we might perhaps take it as = *stavitum*, *stotum*,—"I ought to give praise,"—with an exceptional change of *st* to *tt*, *t*, instead of *tt*h, *th*.

In the preceding clause we seem to have *disāgam* as = *drisāgam*, the Vedic potential of *drīś*, 'to see.'

coincides with line 4 f. of No. 2. Here, again, the date, if any was recorded, is lost.

(4) The Kōsambī edict: IA, 19. 126. This, also, is very fragmentary: but here, again, the extant portion mostly coincides with line 4 f. of No. 2. It seems not to have been dated.

(5) The edict which we have at Sahasrām, Rāpnāth, and Bairāt in Northern India (*Inscr. de Piyadasi*, 2. 166; IA, 20. 155; 22. 302), and at Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara in Mysore (JA, 1892, 1. 486; EI, 3. 138).¹ This record is a lecture on the good results of displaying energy in matters of religion. It is dated 256 years after the death of Buddha,² inasmuch as it quotes a short sermon which, it says, was delivered 256 years previously by the Vivutha, Vyūtha, or Vyūtha, i.e. Buddha.³

This last record is, by reason of its date, perhaps the most important of all the records of Aśoka. The Dipavaṃsa tells us (6. 1) that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, and (5. 101) that he reigned for 37 years (from the time of his anointment). We thus see that this edict was framed (256 - 218 =) 38 years after his anointment, and one year, more or less, after the end of his reign. This last detail seems at first sight somewhat puzzling. But the

¹ For the Mysore texts, see also *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 11. Mk. 14, 21, 34, and plates.

² The meaning, of course, is 'at some time in the 257th year current, when 256 years had been completed.'

³ As regards some remarks by Professor Norman on page 131. above, I think I have made it clear (see this Journal, 1907. 521, and note 2) that I am prepared to concede that my proposal to render the appellation Vivutha, etc., by "the Wanderer" is not to be regarded as final; the meaning which we must assign to *lakkhaṇapetavaya* indicates that we must find for *vivastavaya*, and so perhaps for Vivutha, etc., some meaning which is not connected with the idea of 'wandering forth.' But the points will remain, that the appellation denotes Buddha, and that the 256 years mean the period elapsed since his death.

Brahmagiri text, which is the clearest version, discloses the explanation.¹ There was a period of "somewhat more than two and a half years," during which Aśoka was a Sāvaka or an Upāsaka, a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper,² without much exerting himself. That was followed by a period of "somewhat more than six years," including a specially signalized period of one year, during which Aśoka, having joined the Saṃgha, did exert himself strenuously; with the result (we are told) that the gods of Jambudvīpa (India) with their followers were proved to be false,—and (it follows) the doctrine of Buddha was established as the true religion. Further, the Mysore versions differ from those of Northern India in presenting a preamble, which tells us that the edict was issued from a place named Suvānnagiri, and that it was communicated to the Mahāmātas, the High Ministers, at Isila in Mysore, not directly by Aśoka himself, but through the Ayaputa, i.e. the Prince, and the Mahāmātas, who were in charge of the district which included Suvānnagiri. We have, further, the well-known statement of I-tsing, mentioning an image of Aśoka dressed as a Buddhist monk.³ And, putting all these details together, we see that the facts were as follows:—

Aśoka was converted to Buddhism and became a disciple or lay-worshipper about half-way through the 30th year

¹ I still hope to find leisure, some day, to demonstrate this matter by a critical comparison of the texts. Meanwhile, I think that anyone, able to read the originals, who will examine them in the light of what I say, will readily see that the facts were as I state them.

² The word in the Rūpnāth text is perhaps *śāvaka*: in the Sahasrārā, Bairāt, and Siddhāpura texts, it is *upāsaka*. In the Jātīgā-Rāmēśvara text, this part of the record is hopelessly illegible. In the Brahmagiri text, while all the rest is remarkably clear, this word cannot be decided either way; owing apparently to some exceptional hardness of the rock at this point, it seems to have been left unincised, or almost so: but the preference is in favour of *upāsaka*.

³ Takakusa, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, 73.

after his anointment to the sovereignty.¹ A little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ years later, and consequently soon after the commencement of the 33rd year, he formally joined the Buddhist Saṃgha. A little more than 5 years after that, early in the 38th year,—when he had completed 37 years and something over,²—he followed a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian rulers, and abdicated, and, taking the vows of a monk, withdrew to spend his remaining days in religious retirement; perhaps (see page 485 above) installing Daśaratha as his successor, and anointing him with his own hand. And from that retirement, one year later, early in the 39th year, he sent forth this notification, proclaiming Buddhism as the true and established religion. In Northern India, which had formed his own dominions, he was still able to issue the edict without any intermediaries. But, in communicating it to a foreign power in Mysore, where quite possibly he was personally unknown, he had to send it through the channel of the officials of the district in which he was living in retirement. And to that necessity

¹ So also, practically, Professor Bühler, basing the result on his later and mature consideration of the Saṃśrām, Rāpnāth, and Bairāt texts: "his conversion falls about the twenty-ninth year of his reign" (IA, 22, 302; compare EI, 3, 138). Originally, guided by the Mahāvamsa, he had placed it in the fourth year (IA, 6, 153a).

Professor Kern, treating the expression *dāyādō nīmanā* in the Dipavaṃsa, 7, 13 ff., as meaning that Aśoka was still, in the seventh year, only a "pretender" to the Faith, but holding it to be not improbable that he had become a convert in the twenty-eighth year when the seventh pillar-edict was issued, has nevertheless expressed the opinion that the Saṃśrām, etc., edict must be placed after the latter date, because it stamps Aśoka as a decided Buddhist zealot (*Manual of Buddhism*, 114, and note 3).

It has been shewn above that the Saṃśrām, etc., edict was framed $256 - 218 = 38$ years after the anointment of Aśoka. On the other side we have $29\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2} + 6 = 38$, with an indefinite but small "somewhat more" to be added in connexion with the $2\frac{1}{2}$ and the 6.

² The statement of the Dipavaṃsa, that he reigned for thirty-seven years (from the date of his anointment), of course does not mean thirty-seven years exactly to the day; but it does mean that he had completed thirty-seven years.

we owe the interesting result that we can point, not merely to the locality, but perhaps to the actual abode in which Aśoka spent his closing days: we may find it in a cave-temple, measuring (see LA, 1902. 71) forty feet by fifteen, and containing in 1820 a Jain image and a stone couch, and occupied then by a Bairāgi, which exists in Suvarṇagiri, Sōnagiri, Sōngīr, one of the hills surrounding the site of the ancient city Girivraja in Magadha, Behar.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

ON ŚĪSŪPĀLAVADHA, II, 112.

In this verse Māgha, speaking of the *śabda-vidyā*, uses the words *ṛitti* and *nyāsa*. By these words the poet has been understood, already by Mallinātha, to allude distinctly to the Kāśikā Vṛitti and to a commentary on it sometimes called Nyāsa,¹ which was composed by Jinēndrabuddhi; and the verse has then been made use of in an attempt to ascertain the time of Māgha as well as that of Jinēndrabuddhi. We know now from epigraphical evidence that Māgha has to be placed in about the second half of the seventh century A.D.² I may nevertheless perhaps be permitted to point out that there is nothing to prove that the poet must necessarily have alluded to the Kāśikā Vṛitti, and that the allusion to

¹ In an introductory verse in the Deccan College MS. No. 34 of 1881-2, Jinēndrabuddhi's commentary is called simply *Pañjikā* (corrected to *Pañchikā*), and in the same verse it is intimated that the author made use of other commentaries, so that his work cannot have been the first commentary on the Kāśikā Vṛitti. In the same MS. the title given at the end of chapters is *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-panchikā* (or *-pañjikā*), e.g. on fol. 45a, *iti bōdhisattvādāśyāchārya - Jinēndrabuddhipāda - virachitāyām Kāśikāvivaraṇapanchikāyām prathamāṣṭhāyāṁ prathamah paḍaḥ* ||. On the margin of the leaves the title in the same MS. is *Kāśikānyāsa*. In No. 284 of the Kāśmīr Collection of the Deccan College the title is *Nyāsa-panchikā*, e.g. fol. 191b, *iti śrīnathavīrachārya - Jinēndrabuddhiy-upara-chitāyām Nyāsa-panchikāyām dvitīyāṣṭhāyāṁ samāptah* ||. No. 285 of the same collection has on the margin of the leaves *Kā nyā* (i.e. *Kāśikā-nyāsa*). The title *Nyāsa* (which also denotes a gloss on Hēma-chandra's *Śabdātamanī-ṛitti*) I have not found in any of the five MSS. which I have examined.

² See the article referred to in this Journal, 1906, 728.

Jinēndrabuddhi's commentary which has been found in the word *nyāsa* is solely due to a wrong interpretation of the verse. To show this I give the text of the verse with my translation and notes :—

Anuṣṭupadanyāsā sadvṛttir sannibandhanā |
śabdavidyēva nō bhāti rājanītir=apaspasā ||

"The policy of kings, even when it takes no step that is contrary to rule, and when it provides a livelihood (for dependents) and makes donations (for services rendered), by no means prospers without (the employment of) spies—just as the study of grammar does not prosper without (a knowledge of) the (introduction called) *paspasā*, even when (in the interpretation of rules) no words are supplied¹ that are not in the *sūtras*, and when (the study is) aided by commentaries and the Mahābhāṣya."

An introductory verse of the Kāśikā Vṛtti tells us that that work contains the essence of the doctrines which were scattered about in the *vṛtti* (used in the singular and in a collective sense) and the *bhāṣya*. Māgha here speaks of the *vṛtti* and the Mahābhāṣya as the two aids in the study of grammar, and, like the author of the Kāśikā Vṛtti, he by *vṛtti* does not mean any particular commentary, but commentaries generally of the Ashtādhyāyī, whatever is *Pāṇini-praṇīta-sūtrāṇām vivaraṇam*. This, of course, may include the Kāśikā Vṛtti, but it would equally include such commentaries as were composed by Kuṇi and other Āchāryas, and those composed by Chulli (?),² Bhaṭṭi, and Nallūra, which according to Haradatta and Jinēndrabuddhi were made

¹ Compare the use of the word *nyāsa* in the well-known *arthāntara-nyāsa*.

² I am not sure about this name; the writer of the MS. which I have used seems to have altered *Chulli* to *Bulli*.

use of by the authors of the Kāśikā Vṛtti in the compilation of their work; and it is quite impossible to infer from the poet's words what particular commentary or commentaries he was acquainted with. On the other hand, the very unusual term *nibandhana*, which, in order to obtain a suitable word with a double meaning, he chooses to denote the Mahābhāṣya, renders it highly probable that Māgha was acquainted with that verse of the Vākyapadiya, ii, 485, in which the Mahābhāṣya is described as *sarvāśhām nyāya-bījānām nibandhanam*.

In addition to mentioning the two chief aids in the study of grammar, the poet also speaks of the proper method of interpreting Pāṇini's rules; and in using the expression *anutsūtrapadanyāsā* he clearly has in view, and actually paraphrases, a passage of the Mahābhāṣya which will be found in my edition, vol. i, p. 12, last line: *yā hy=utsūtram kathayēn=n=ādō grīhyēta*, "if anybody (in interpreting a rule) should say anything that is not contained in the *sūtra*, such a statement of his would not be accepted." Interpretation ought not to supply anything that is not contained in the *sūtras* themselves—a statement to which later grammarians have given the somewhat different and wider meaning, that the *sūtras* already contain all that is found in the commentaries and in the Vārttikas (*sūtrēshv=eva hi tat=sarvām yad=vṛttāu gach=cha vārttikē*).

The grammarian, moreover, must not only interpret Pāṇini's rules in the proper manner and avail himself in the explanation of rules of such assistance as may be afforded by commentaries and the Mahābhāṣya, but he must primarily be familiar also with those more general and fundamental questions regarding the necessity and the object of the study of grammar, the benefit to be derived from it and the ways to secure that benefit, and generally all such matters as are handled in the *paspasū* or introductory chapter of the Mahābhāṣya, where no

individual rules of Pāṇini's are as yet treated of. That Māgha, profound grammarian as he was, had himself studied that chapter, he shows by the very term *anutsūtra-padanyāsa* which he uses in the verse under discussion, and he shows it also, e.g., by the manner in which in two consecutive verses (xiv, 23 and 24) he speaks of the *ūha* and *asamdeha*, which are both treated of among the objects of grammar on the first page of the Mahābhāṣya.

Any interpretation of the verse which would take the word *nyāsa* to denote here Jinēndrabuddhi's gloss on the Kāśikā Vṛitti would seem to me to be based solely, if I may say so, on the outward form of the word and its proximity to the word *vṛitti*, and would completely disregard the meaning and context of the poet's interesting and scholarly statement. But apart from this, there probably is a very simple way of finding out whether Jinēndrabuddhi could possibly be older than Māgha, a way which I would strongly recommend to those to whom the MSS. of the Deccan College are readily accessible. Many years ago, when I myself was able to study those MSS., my impression certainly was that Jinēndrabuddhi had freely copied from Haradatta's Padamañjarī, and if this should prove to be correct it would make Jinēndrabuddhi decidedly much later than Māgha, because that poet is quoted, even by name, more than once in the Padamañjarī.

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BHAGAVAT, TATRAHAYAT, AND DEVĀNAMPRIYA.

In an article on the child Kṛishṇa, Mr. Keith, above, p. 171 f., says that "in discussing Pāṇini, iv, 2, 98"—which is a misprint for iv, 3, 98—"Patañjali distinctly says that Vāsudeva is a *saṃjñā* of the Bhagavant." As

the same statement has already been made more than once and would be likely to be repeated, I need not apologize for drawing attention to the fact that it is based on a wrong reading of the Benares edition of the Mahābhāṣya (*saṁjñāishā tatra bhagavataḥ*). The true reading of the passage, uniformly given by more than half a dozen MSS. from different parts of India which I have compared, is *saṁjñāishā tatrābhavataḥ*. Patañjali's remark on the word *Vāsudēva* of Pāṇini's rule may be compared with another remark of his, regarding the word *Ka* (= Prajāpati), in vol. ii, p. 275, l. 21, of my edition. There he says that *Ka* is not a pronoun (*sarvanāman*), but a proper name (*saṁjñā chaishā tatrābhavataḥ*), so that, e.g., the dative case of this *Ka* would be *Kāya*, not *Kasmāi*. Similarly, the word *Vāsudēva* of P. iv, 3, 98, does not denote a certain class of persons descended from Vasudēva, but is the proper name of an individual called Vāsudēva (quite independently of the etymological derivation of the word). In either case the word *tatrābhavataḥ*, by which *saṁjñāishā* is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being; the word indeed conveys an honorific sense, but would be equally applicable to a human being.

It is a curious fact that in the text of the Mahābhāṣya the word *bhagavat*, with a single exception, is only used as an epithet of, or as a word denoting, Pāṇini, and that in the case of the exception referred to (in a verse in vol. ii, p. 97, l. 26) it is an epithet of Kātyāyana. In vol. iii, p. 467, l. 1 (in a Vārttika), we have *bhagavataḥ Pāṇinēḥ*; in vol. i, p. 6, l. 14, vol. iii, p. 3, l. 22, p. 241, l. 20, and p. 467, l. 3, *bhagavataḥ Pāṇinēḥ āchāryasya*. We have besides *āha bhagavān* or *āha hi bhagavān* in vol. i, p. 362, l. 10, p. 363, l. 9, and vol. iii, p. 293, l. 4, in each case with reference to certain rules given by Pāṇini; and similarly *bhagavān* denotes Pāṇini in vol. iii, p. 93, l. 21, and (in verses) p. 54, l. 3, and p. 189, l. 21. The

Mahābhāshya itself was composed by the *bhagavat* Patañjali, as he is styled at the end of every Āhnikā.

The honorific *tatrabhavat*, used in the singular or plural, in addition to the two passages already given, occurs twelve times in the Mahābhāshya. We find *tatrabhavān* as an epithet of, or denoting, Viśvāmitra, Gādhi, and Kuśika, in vol. ii, p. 254, ll. 17, 18, and 19. Other Rishis are spoken of as *tatrabhavantah* in vol. i, p. 11, l. 12, and vol. ii, p. 233, l. 13; authors of Prātiśākhya and Yājñikās in vol. i, p. 22, l. 23, p. 117, l. 23, and p. 38, l. 17; and Brāhmaṇas who speak pure Sanskrit even without having studied grammar, in vol. iii, p. 174, l. 10. We have besides *tatrabhavantō Gārgyāyanāḥ* and *tatrabhavantō Vātsyāyanāḥ* (where the *gvan* derivative is used to denote in an honorific way the *vridhā*), and with reference to them *tatrabhavantah* separately, in vol. ii, p. 265, ll. 23 and 24.

In the only remaining passage where *tatrabhavat* occurs, in vol. i, p. 3, l. 5, this honorific word—being used with reference to an author who composed a śloka which is described as sung by one who was not in his proper senses—appears to me to be used in an ironical sense. And so the word would have to be compared with the honorific *dēvānāmpriya*, when used in an ironical sense in the well-known dialogue of the grammarian and the charioteer in vol. i, p. 488, l. 20, of the Mahābhāshya. I may add that in imitation of this passage of the Mahābhāshya the word *dēvānāmpriya* has been used in a similar way by later writers (e.g. in the Śāṅkarabrahmasūtrabhāshya, vol. i, p. 176, l. 8; in the Kāvyaaprakāśa, p. 255, l. 3, of Vāmanāchārya's edition; and in the Padamañjarī, vol. i, p. 523, l. 19), and that to that passage is due in the first instance the meaning *mārka*, assigned to *dēvānāmpriya* in more modern times. In grammar even Hēmachandā (in iii, 2, 34) only seeks to account for the form of *dēvānāmpriya* (i.e. the retention in the compound of the

genitive ending), and, so far as I know, it is only the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*¹ who first combines with that form the meaning of *mūrkhā*,² to the exclusion of every other sense. If he were a contemporary, I should refer him to the *Harshacharita*, p. 28, l. 13, and p. 268, l. 14, of the Bombay edition, where the honorific sense is unmistakable.

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THE CHILD KRISHNA AND HIS CRITICS.

The worship of Kṛṣṇa occupies such a prominent place in the Hinduism of the present day that everything which throws light on its past history is of interest. I hope I shall be pardoned, therefore, if I return to the subject which I discussed in my recent paper on "The Child Kṛṣṇa, Christianity, and the Gujars,"³ partly in order to add fresh matter, partly to discuss objections which have been raised, and to reply to the courteous and able criticism⁴ with which Mr. Keith has favoured me.

My paper had a twofold purpose: I sketched in outline what I conceived to be the history of the elder Kṛṣṇa

¹ Like the *Siddhāntakaumudī* the *Prakriyākaumudī* has: *dēvānām-priya īti cha mūrkhā | anyaten dēvapriyaḥ |*

² It is amusing to see how commentators try to account for this meaning of the word *dēvānām-priya*. The author of the *Manōramā* says: *mūrkhā hi dēvānām prītiṁ janayanti dēvapakuteḥ*; to which is added in my MSS. the marginal note *mūrkhā hīti | brahmayjñānarahitā ity-arthah | tē hi pakuteḥ-dēvanigamyāḥ-tad-āha dēvapakuteḥ-iti |*. And the *Tattvabodhinī*, in commenting on the above passage of the *Manōramā*, has: *brahmayjñānarahitāstē-tad-āhā-dēvānām-prītiṁ mūrkhāstē tu yāgādīkarmāṇy-antīkṣhantah parīkṣāślipradānādvārā dēvānām-sātyantapriṣṭhā janayanti | brahmayjñānīnastu na tathā tēhām yāgādyanushṭhānābhāvāt | atō pavadīkṣhānāpānatvīnām mūrkhā eva dēvapakuteḥ īti |*. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, on the other hand, following Kṛiṣṇa, takes the gods themselves to be fools, and appropriately adds that fools are fond of fools.

³ J. R. A. S. 1907, p. 951 ff.

⁴ J. R. A. S. 1908, p. 169 ff.

of Dwārakā; and I tried to show that the child-god of Mathurā was a totally distinct creation, who had a Christian origin probably derived from certain pastoral nomads, emigrants from Central Asia. For the proof of the Christian element in the Mathurā legend I depended upon Weber's classical treatise, "The Kṛishṇajanmāshṭami." That formed the foundation of my argument, and I tried to add to its probability by giving it a historical framework. Most of the objections I have heard apply to the Christian element in the legend, and are primarily objections to Weber's theory. Mr. Keith, however, and some other friends, have commented on my sketch of the evolution of the elder Kṛishṇa. I shall first address myself to this part of the subject in the following remarks; I shall next consider the objections raised against the Christian element in the Mathurā legend; and I shall end with discussing the original character of Kṛishṇa—a point on which Mr. Keith and I fundamentally differ.

The Kṛishṇa of Dwārakā, in my conception of him, was a great semi-aboriginal deity, whose worship was confined to the Indus Valley and to Kabul. The Macedonians identified him with Dionysos, and the orthodox Hindus assimilated him to Indra, and more especially to Arjuna, the heroic counterpart of the celestial Indra. Viṣṇu, on the other hand, according to my theory, long abstained from contact with the aboriginal deities; his worship was confined to the most purely Aryan communities; his elevation to supreme monotheist rank might be dated between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.; and his *rapprochement* with Kṛishṇa, Buddha, Rāma, and other local gods and heroes represented the final stage of his career. I pointed out that in the case of Kṛishṇa the earliest evidence, whether literary or epigraphic, outside the Mahābhārata for his identification with Viṣṇu did not go beyond 400 A.D.; while in the epic the later the passage the more complete the identification became. And some details in the epic

description of the siege of Dwārakā by Śālwa suggested to me that the identification was not everywhere admitted even a century earlier. Mr. Keith, on the other hand, carries back the connection to a very early date; chiefly, I think, because he will not admit that Kṛishṇa was originally a solar hero, and regards all his solar characteristics as derived from Viṣṇu, a question which I shall discuss at length. Mr. Keith quotes two passages of the *Mahābhāṣya* to show that there was a certain connection, he will not say identification, of the two gods in the days of *Patañjali*. Very possibly there was; the assimilation of Kṛishṇa to Viṣṇu must have been very gradual, and the passages in question show that in the north-west, where the *rapprochement* would naturally begin, Kṛishṇa was regarded by orthodox Hindus as a divine hero, while the binding of *Bali* and the killing of *Kaṃsa* were popular open-air spectacles. The story of *Bali* calls up Viṣṇu; but the story of *Kaṃsa*, like the story of *Rāma*, must have formed the subject of rustic dramas long before either Kṛishṇa or *Rāma* had become Avatars, probably long before they had any connection with Viṣṇu. Indeed, the story of *Kaṃsa* is so closely interwoven with the history of Kṛishṇa that it has never been superseded either by the part which Kṛishṇa played in the great war or by the Mathurā legend, and it still forms the climax of the *Kṛṣṇalīla*. To my mind it is a part of the nature-myth out of which Kṛishṇa was conceived, and is coeval with his birth. *Patañjali*'s evidence, therefore, although it proves the popularity of Kṛishṇa, goes very little way in proving his connection with Viṣṇu; that is still an open question. On the other hand, I frankly admit that the inference drawn from Śālwa's siege of Dwārakā is weak. Not precisely for the reasons Mr. Keith assigns, nor because I regard the date of the passage which I quoted as uncertain (Milton's mention of cannon in "Paradise Lost" does not furnish a more certain clue

to the date of that poem); but because the combat of Śālwa with Kṛishṇa has all the marks of an early nature-myth; and I regard the details of the siege as very possibly due to a late reviser.

I have said that the myth of Kāṃsa slain by his nephew, the youthful Kṛishṇa, is a very old one; the Asura Kāṃsa, chief of the powers of darkness, is slain by the youthful Sun-god bursting forth from the clouds. Such, at least, is my interpretation of the fable. But, it is said, does not this very story of Kāṃsa imply some history, not only of Kṛishṇa's birth, but of his infancy and boyhood? And may not that story have been the kernel round which other legendary accretions have subsequently gathered? To which I shall reply by a parallel from Greek mythology. Kāṃsa is a demon king, and his sister of the same race is the mother of Kṛishṇa, the solar god who is destined to slay his devourer. Apollo, too, is a god of light, born after hard travail of Leto *κυανόπεπλος*, the 'dark night.' No sooner is he born than he proceeds to Delphi and slays the mephitic Python, emblem of the poisonous earthborn vapours of the valley.¹ It is the story of Siegfried and of many another solar hero. The fact that a god was born does not in the least imply that he ever went through infancy or childhood. The Mahābhārata mentions the birthplaces of various gods, but it describes the infancy of never a one. An Egyptian god, when he attained supremacy, claimed to be his own ancestor; he was the 'son of his son,' but Horus is the only child-god in the Egyptian Pantheon. Even the stars were, in Plato's theology, *θεοὶ ἄρατοι καὶ γεννητοί*, although they were ageless beings and fixed. All the gods have been born, so a Greek rhetor expressly tells us, although their birthplace may be disputed and their parentage obscure. For the high gods were born beyond the ken of mortal men in

¹ Preller: "Griechische Mythologie," 2nd ed., vol. I, p. 187.

the misty morning of the world; and when they appear before mankind they appear with splendour and with pomp, radiant in the might of celestial manhood. Such beings are ignorant of growth and of decay; they know neither the evolution of the years nor the weathering touch of time, being timelessly divine. And if the story of the youthful Apollo does not imply any story of Apollo's infancy and boyhood, why should we require it in the history of Krishna?

The Jain legends of the Antagaḍa-Dasāo furnish us with some confirmatory evidence. They are obviously taken from the earlier Brahmanical story, but they know nothing of Yaśōdā and Nanda and the pastoral nomads, or of Krishna's infant sports and childish pranks. On the other hand, they restore Dēvakī to the rightful place which Skanda Gupta's inscription shows us she once held in the Krishna legend. Moreover, they sharply distinguish between the three Krishnas. These legends were unknown to me when I wrote my former paper, and I give the substance of them here. The first part of Krishna's history is the part most fully given in the Antagaḍa-Dasāo.¹ Devaī (Dēvakī), the wife of Vasudeva, had borne seven sons, of whom Kaṇhe (Krishna) was the last, but she was not allowed the pleasure of rearing them, for the Lady Sulasā had brought forth in succession seven infants which were stillborn in consequence of a curse. Now Sulasā was a devotee of the god Hariṇe-gamesī, and prayed him for assistance. Her prayers and her devotion prevailed; so the god Hariṇe-gamesī, in compassion for the Lady Sulasā, took away her stillborn babes and carried them to Devaī, taking back to Sulasā Devaī's vigorous offspring, and so Sulasā became their

¹ v. Dr. Barnett's translation of the Antagaḍa-Dasāo (O.T.F., vol. xvii), pp. 67-82, for the legend, and pp. 13-15 for a description of Kaṇhe (Krishna) Vāsudeva.

reputed mother, and brought them up. Devaī's six elder sons took no notice of her, but the youngest, Kāṇhe, a magnificent monarch, came every six months in state "to do homage at her feet." On one of these visits he discovered his mother's secret grief, and that she longed for the joys of motherhood. Thereupon Kāṇhe, by the magic of his fasting, induced Harīṇe-gamesī to grant Devaī her desire, and an eighth son was born who became a Jaina monk, and ultimately an Arhat. The scene of the story is Bāravaī (Dwārakā), and the death of Kāṁsa is omitted, being repugnant to Jain feeling.

The rest of the story is told by way of prophecy. Kāṇhe asks the saint Ariṭṭhapemi (who, by the way, had married Kāṁsa's sister): "Sir, when I come to my death in my death-month, whither shall I go from here, where shall I be reborn?" And the saint said to him, "Verily, Kāṇhe, thou shalt be sent forth by thy mother and father's behest from the city of Bāravaī, when it shall be consumed by reason of strong waters, fire, and the wrath of Divāyane; together with Rāme and Baladeve thou shalt set forth towards the southern ocean unto Pandu-Mahura, unto the five Pandaves . . . in the Kosamba forest, underneath a goodly nyagrodha-tree . . . thou shalt be wounded in the left foot by a sharp arrow shot by Jarākumāre from his bow. So shalt thou come to death in thy death-month, and be reborn as a hell-dweller in a flaming hell in the third earth"¹—a fate which the hero of the Mahābhārata richly deserved. But the 'Beloved of the Gods' ultimately emerges from hell, and becomes the twelfth saint, Amame, and after many years he is beatified. Thus the Jain legend, despite its theological preoccupations, has preserved most markedly the distinction between the three Kṛishṇas as well as between the scenes of their exploits. The son of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

Dēvakī is the hero of Dwārakā; then comes the hero of the great war; and lastly Kṛishṇa is purged, beatified, and glorified. The three stages are precisely those through which the worship of the elder Kṛishṇa developed, as I tried to show in my former paper. The Jains know nothing of Kṛishṇa's infancy and childhood, or of his pastoral companions. The Mathurā legend was apparently unheard of when the Jaina version was framed.

I next turn to the Christian element in the Mathurā story, or rather to the objections made against it; for it is not my purpose to repeat what Weber has set forth so well. The more important objections appear to be three:—

I. Stress has often been laid upon the resemblance in sound between the two names *Krishna* and *Christos*; but, it is urged in reply, our Lord has always been known in the Orient as the Messiah, and not as the Christ. This is certainly true of the Syrian Christians, and also of the Christians of Central Asia, if one may judge by the fragments in the Sogdian speech recently deciphered by Müller. The name *Christos* is not found in Pahlavi. On the other hand, the word for 'Christian,' which contains the root, appears to have been in fairly common use. And we have also to bear in mind the masses of Christians, subjects of the Byzantine Empire, settled by the Sassanians in Merv and Seistan. But it is evident that any argument based upon the mere resemblance of names is doubtful.¹

¹ The following note by Dr. McLean, of Christ's College, Cambridge, is of interest:—"The name 'Christ' does not appear to have been used by the early Syriac-speaking Christians. The N.T. has always **ܕܡܫܝܚܐ**: you will find that Brockelmann's *Lexicon* does not mention **ܡܫܝܚܐ** at all, and that Payne Smith's only authorities for it are a Bodleian MS. (Or. lix, of which the age may be ascertained from

II. It is further urged that many of the parallels noted by Weber are taken from the Apocryphal Gospels, and that the Apocryphal Gospels and the Hindu legends may well have borrowed independently from a common source. The existence of a common stock of folklore is undeniable. It appears in the Apocryphal Gospels, in the Krishna legends, in the history of Buddha, in Barlaam and Josaphat, and in the life of Apollonius of Tyana. Most of it was probably Syrian or Mesopotamian, the rest partly Greek and partly Indian. If the coincidences in question depended solely upon the Apocryphal Gospels, the evidence for a Christian origin would certainly be weak, although the Apocryphal Gospels admit of being dated roughly, and the priority of authorship is on their side. But the case does not depend on the Apocryphal Gospels. The birth in a stable, the star, the massacre of the Innocents, the details of the ritual, above all, that which appears to me the strongest point, the glorification of Infancy and Childhood—these things were not taken from folklore materials; the most natural explanation is that they are the result of actual contact. If this contact is otherwise probable, and if we find the novel cult accompanied by a violent dislocation of the older story, we have strong reason, I think, for admitting the Christian origin of the legend.

his catalogue) and two Syriac lexicographers, who give it as ܡܥܨܝܐ. On the other hand, 'Christian' (ܡܥܨܝܐ) appears in 1 Pet. iv, 16, and in early Syriac books, and some of its derivatives (such as ܡܥܨܝܐܐ) are fairly common. But my impression is that the more usual words for 'Christian' are ܡܥܨܝܐ and ܡܥܨܝܐ. So that the evidence is not quite clear: only ܡܥܨܝܐ must have been very rarely used, if at all." Dr. Mills says: "The nearest to your matter is the Kalāsiyāḳāh of Neryosangh at Y. 9. 75 (Sp.). Ner. seems to have seen a resemblance between *Kacāni* and Christos, so he coins Kalāsiyāḳāh to imitate ecclesia. The term Christos does not occur, so far as I remember, in the texts with which I have to do."

III. The worship of the infant Jesus involves a number of obscure questions on which liturgical students are much divided; many regard it as late. It is a subject, moreover, on which Weber was ill-informed, and his speculations regarding the connection between representations of Isis and Horus and the Virgin Mary were both unfounded and calculated to give just offence. For various reasons I avoided all reference to the subject in my former paper; but it is a point of capital importance which has been urged by way of objection; and fortunately the great doctor and poet of the Syrian Church, S. Ephraem Syrus, can furnish us with all the evidence our present purpose requires. S. Ephraem died in 373 A.D., and we have no better guide to the popular beliefs and practices of the Christians of Mesopotamia and the countries further east in the fourth century.

Now S. Ephraem devotes no less than thirteen of his 'Rhythms' or hymns, to the festival of the Nativity. These Rhythms show the greatness of the festival and the honour paid to Mary; they also show that the festival was celebrated in midwinter. Of Mary he says: "Who else will hush her Son in her bosom as Mary did? Who ever will dare to call her Son the Son of the Maker, Son of the Creator, Son of the Most High? Who ever will dare to speak to her Son as in prayer?"¹

In the Vishnu-Purāṇa the gods hymn the praises of Dēvakī, and Dēvakī addresses her son: "God of gods, who art all things, who comprisest all the regions of the world in thy person, and who by thine illusion hast assumed the form of an infant, have compassion upon us."²

S. Ephraem celebrates the greatness of the festival in

¹ Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, translated by J. B. Morris, Rhythm VI, p. 37 (Eph. Opp. Syr.-Lat., iii, 420 f. Professor Burkitt has very kindly revised Mr. Morris' renderings for me).

² Wilson, Vishnu Purāṇa, v. c. 3, p. 302.

glowing language. He invites in detail the years and days, the sun and moon, the winds and clouds, the air and the sea, angels and men and beasts and plants, to praise the "mighty lord that had become a little child in a little bosom."¹ "On the day of Kṛishṇa's birth," says the Vishṇu-Purāṇa,² "the quarters of the heavens were irradiate with joy, as if moonlight was diffused over the whole earth. The virtuous experienced new delight; the strong winds were hushed and the rivers glided tranquilly when Janārdana was about to be born. The seas with their own melodious murmurings made the music, whilst the spirits and the nymphs of heaven danced and sang; the gods, walking the sky, showered down flowers upon the earth; and the holy fires glowed with a mild and gentle flame."

Weber has given at length the Hindu ritual of the night preceding the Kṛishṇajannmāṣṭamī. It closely resembles the practice of the Eastern Church. Mr. Morris says: "It was usual formerly to usher in all the greater feasts with a vigil";³ and of the vigil before Christmas S. Ephraem says: "Joyous were to-day the watchers that the Watcher came to wake us! Who would pass this night in slumber, in which all the world was watching?"⁴ Clemens of Alexandria tells us that in the second century the Basilideans passed the night before the Epiphany (their Christmas) in readings and fasting and prayer.⁵

¹ Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, tr. by Morris.

² Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, v, c. 3, p. 542.

³ Select works of S. Ephraem the Syrian, tr. by Morris, p. 6.

⁴ Ibid., Rhythm I, p. 6. (Opp. Syr.-Lat., iii, 400). Professor Burkitt says that Gabriel is called the Watcher in the Nestorian Epiphany Service (Rituale Armenorum, p. 227). Cf. Daniel iv, 10.)

⁵ "The followers of Basilides," says Clement, "celebrate the day of the Baptism as a feast, *ἐποδοντες ἐπεβορτες ἀναγινώσκοντες*. They say it happened in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, on the 15th day of the month Tybi, but some of them hold it on the 11th of the same month" (Strom. i. c. 21, p. 147 S.). These Gnostics held that the

The exact day on which S. Ephraem and the Eastern Church of his time celebrated Christmas cannot be ascertained from his words, but the general idea which fixed the date is clear. "In December,"¹ says S. Ephraem, "when the nights are long, rose for us 'the inexhaustible Day, the Beauty.' In Winter, when all the world is gloomy, forth came 'the Fair one' that cheered all in the world. Winter, that maketh the earth barren, virginity in it learned to bring forth. December,¹ that causeth the travails of the earth to cease, in it were the travails of virginity."²

The essential point with S. Ephraem was that the festival should be in midwinter, when the sun begins to turn in its course and impart new life to creation; then, too, must the Sun of Righteousness have been born, "who brought life and healing to the world." This idea was not peculiar to S. Ephraem; the turn of the year, the preceding death, the commencement of new life, determined all the calculations regarding the date of the festival.

The people of Mathurā celebrate the birthday of Krishna on Bhādrapada badi 8th, forty-one days after the Sun-god has entered on his four months' sleep. It is held in the height of the rainy season, the dark and inauspicious season when no marriage may be celebrated, when the

Christ descended on the man Jesus at the Baptism; and this naturally suggested the month of Tybi, 'the first month of growth' in the Egyptian calendar, as an appropriate season for the festival. They avoided any connection with the great heathen festivals of the Egyptians, which were celebrated in the month preceding.

¹ 'December,' Syr. 'Kanun': Kanun i = December, Kanun ii = January. S. Ephraem gives no indication which is meant; his words would equally well suit January 6th.

² Select works of S. Ephraem, etc., Rhythm III, pp. 20, 21. Cf. Rhythm IV, p. 27: "The sun gave longer light, and foreshadowed the mystery by the degrees which it had gone up." "The increase of light at the time of the Nativity is noticed by S. Gregory Naz., S. Augustine, and S. Leo," says Morris.

heaven is covered with clouds, and the Sun-god has disappeared. The reasons which caused the people of Mathurā to fix their festival on this date are not very obvious, but whatever the reasons may have been, they had nothing to do with the Winter solstice or the first upspringing of new life, nothing therefore in common with the reasons which determined the date of Christmas. The height of the monsoon is appropriate to the festival of the dark Sun-god. Probably the festival was a very ancient one, in which the birth of Krishna was celebrated (as it still is) with its necessary complement, the killing of Kamsa. And upon this ancient festival a Christian legend and a Christian ritual appear to have been superimposed at Mathurā, as the Christians superimposed their own Christmas observances on the *brumalia* at Rome. The contemporary history of the Turks shows how easy it was to adapt Christian practices to heathen use. In 591 A.D. Khosrou Parviz captured a large number of Turks from Central Asia who had come to the aid of his rival Bahram. Many of the captives bore a cross on their foreheads, and these he sent to his ally, the Byzantine Emperor, Maurice. The Turks, on being questioned by the Emperor, said that when they were children a terrible epidemic had ravaged the Turkish hordes, and at the suggestion of some Christians their mothers had saved them by marking their foreheads with the cross. Thus the sign of the cross was in a fair way to become a prophylactic against both pestilence and the sword.

One point remains, the original character of Krishna, and it is a point on which my friendly critic Mr. Keith and I fundamentally differ. Mr. Keith regards Krishna as a vegetation spirit, and every step Krishna takes towards solar divinity is due, in his opinion, to a gradual assimilation with Vishnu. "It hardly seems possible," he says, "to ascribe to Krishna an original solar character. His name tells seriously against it: the 'dark sun' requires

more explanation than it seems likely to receive, and the characteristics enumerated by Mr. Kennedy point with much greater likeliness to Kṛṣṇa having once been a vegetation spirit. If, then, we find Kṛṣṇa appearing distinctly as a solar divinity, we are fairly justified in saying that he was, in the poet's mind, not far different from Viṣṇu."¹ Now, in my opinion, the Kṛishṇa of Dwārakā was a solar deity from the first. He appears to me to be the dark sun of the monsoon, born of the storm, the hidden sun who pastures the clouds and controls the storm-demons, and dives beneath the ocean. His elder brother is the harvest-god, and his mother is of the Asura race. His emblems show his essential character, and these are the thunderbolt and the ox-goad. The thunderbolt leaves no doubt that he is an atmospheric or storm-god, and as such he naturally associates with Indra. The ox-goad is equally a sign of his solar character, for the sun-gods were herdsmen in many mythologies. Was not Apollo the herdsman of Admetus? Did not Herakles drive cattle? And had not Helios and Hyperion each his sacred herd? So also the Rig-veda says of Viṣṇu: "Three steps he made, the herdsman sure."² But of all the Vedic deities, Pūshan, god of the setting sun, most resembles Kṛishṇa. Pūshan is *par excellence* both warrior and hind. "He uses the ox-goad, which, however, according to Bergaigne, is a thunderbolt";³ and the Rig-veda describes him as driving "the golden chariot of the sun among the speckled kine (the clouds)."⁴ Like Kṛishṇa, he is the "god with the braided hair";⁵ his mother is the night, and the dawn is both his sister and his mistress.⁶ Kṛishṇa had an Asura for his mother, and was the lover of his sister. But Kṛishṇa is much

¹ J.B.A.S., 1908, p. 171.

² Hopkins, "Religions of India," p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

more of a purely solar deity than Pūshan, for Pūshan ate mush, and it was his business to recover strayed cattle. Now there is nothing whatever to connect the elder Kṛishṇa with real cow-herds or with actual cattle. The cows of Kṛishṇa are the cows of other solar deities, the heavenly cows, most probably the clouds. And this must not be conceived as a mere figure of poetic speech, for the savage regards the gods as living in heaven much the same life as men live upon earth; they have their houses, their chariots, their horses, and their cattle. Not, of course, in the shape which these things have upon earth, for, seeing that the gods are not like men, why should their animals have earthly shapes? A village watchman in India explained to me one night the connection between Orion and the Pleiades; he said that Indra spent the night in chasing the deer (which the Greeks called the Peleides or doves) from the celestial fields. And by this he meant no figure of speech, but actual fact. If the elder Kṛishṇa had had any connection with cow-herds, how comes it that the Ahirins of Dwārakā practised the *lāsya* dance which Pārvati had taught,¹ while Kṛishṇa's sacred dance, the *rāsamaṇḍala*, was known only to the Gopīs of Vrindāvana?

Nor is the dark sun at all a rare figure of mythology, as Mr. Keith supposes. Apollo himself descends *νυκτὶ σκοτεινῇ*, and the dark Osiris, the sun of the night and of the dead, was worshipped by every Egyptian. To come to India, Mr. Hopkins says: "As Savitar and all sun-gods are at once luminous and dark, so Pūshan has a clear and again a revered (terrible) appearance; he is like day and night, like Dyaus (the sky); at one time bright, at another plunged in darkness. . . . He herds the stars."² Why may not Kṛishṇa be reckoned in the cycle

¹ S. Lévi: "Théâtre Indien," p. 290.

² Hopkins: "Religions of India," p. 52.

of the dark sun-gods, he who was born in the season of storm and rain, whose home was by the sunset, who dived under the sea, and who was the guardian of the city where the fury of the monsoon first breaks upon the shores of India?

Like most solar heroes, Krishna is a mighty warrior, endowed with great wisdom, and especially skilful in stratagems and sudden surprises. His most famous feats are the capture of his brides by force from the neighbouring tribes, feats which the savage cannot sufficiently admire. But the great gods play many parts, for they are 'maids of all work,' in Sir A. C. Lyall's happy phrase, and good for everything. Apollo and Herakles, when they choose, are quite as good at healing as Æsculapius himself. And Mr. Hopkins says: "It must be recognised once for all that identical attributes are not enough to identify Vedic gods. Who gives wealth? Indra, Soma, Agni, Heaven and Earth, Wind, Sun, the Maruts, etc. Who forgives sins? Agni, Varuna, Indra, the Sun, etc. Who helps in war? Agni, Pūshan, Indra, Soma, etc.," and so on and so on.¹ Krishna's principal rôle is that of a warrior, but he was worshipped by an agricultural people as well as by warriors, and that he was to some extent a patron of agriculture is probable enough. He is the younger brother of the harvest-god, and he is styled Dāmōdara, the god "with a cord round his belly," a title possibly transferred to him from his elder brother, and now explained by a childish story. Moreover, the six elder brothers devoured by Kāṁsa must have formed a part of the original legend; and they may possibly have had something to do with the agricultural calendar, or they may only be the first six days of the dark half of Bhādra-pada, or we know not what. But the rustic side of the elder Krishna's character is far from prominent. Mr. Keith

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

suggests¹ that the ox was his totem. But why the ox? Would not the bear do as well, seeing that Krishna married the daughter of the Bear-king? I confess I am very sceptical of totems, and if the aborigines and degraded Āryas of Dwārakā at all resembled the Bhils and other modern representatives, their reverence for the ox showed itself chiefly in a desire to eat him.

Mr. Keith seems happier in his suggestion² that the red colour adopted by the party of Krishna in the mimic fight with Kamsa was an act of sympathetic magic. Possibly it was, although I doubt if any who now join in the fray would give this explanation; and some other explanations are more obvious. Both Kamsa and Krishna are still black, but Krishna's followers now daub themselves with yellow turmeric, and the throwing of red powder is relegated to the Holi.

In fine, I think it certain, so far as certainty in such matters is attainable, that the elder Krishna was a solar deity of the monsoon and a mighty warrior, who had nothing to do with real oxen except by chance, and whose connection with agriculture was slight. Mr. Keith has not developed his theory of the vegetation spirit, and I for my part regard the vegetation spirit of the Golden Bough as anathema, a upas-tree which poisons everything. Forty years ago solar myths ruled the world. Sunrise and sunset, the dawn and the gloaming, the dying suns of Autumn and of Winter, the promise of the Spring sun slain by the Summer heats—these with the allied phenomena of the storm-clouds and the vapours of the marsh, or the gentle breeze which ushers in the morn, these and the like of these formed the tissue of all mythology and folklore. Atys, Adonis, Memnon, Dionysos, Baldur, and the rest were resolved into simple allegories by the new interpretation. But fashions change, and now the vegetation

¹ J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 174.

² J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 172.

spirit has entered into these selfsame divinities to rack and torment them; it is a parasite which threatens to choke and strangle everything. The older theory had at least for its basis some occasional truth and (frequently conjectural) etymology; it erred chiefly by vast excess. But the modern theory contradicts, as it seems to me, all the laws of savage thought. For instead of closely associating vegetable and animal life, and laying the greater stress upon the former, as Mr. Frazer assumes, savages, so far as my knowledge and experience go, distinguish in the sharpest way between them. Gods, men, and animals are three species of one genus, akin by nature and frequently interchanging, but plants have neither personality nor will; and the vegetable soul and metempsychosis into plants are among the latest developments of polytheist theology both in India and in Greece. But for a critique of such things volumes are required. Suffice it to say that solar myths and totems and vegetation spirits appear to me aerial creations of the Professorial laboratory, reared on the slenderest of foundations. Realms of fancy, infinitely ingenious, frequently poetic, I bid them all adieu, for I am disillusioned, and I know that although there may be universal laws of savage thought, there is no universal key to all the mythologies.

And so we revert to our original problem. The Mathurā legends are late. Mr. Hopkins 'tentatively' dates them after 600 A.D.¹ They substituted an infant god for a great warrior. If they were not of Christian origin, whence came they?

J. KENNEDY.

¹ Hopkins: "Religions of India," p. 430.

THE DATE OF UDAYANĀCĀRYA AND OF VĀCASPATI MIŚRA.

In his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*¹ the late Professor Bendall assigned to Vācaspati Miśra, the well-known commentator² on the philosophic systems, a date about A.D. 1164, accepting the view of M. Barth that the king Nṛga, under whom the *Bhāmātī* was written, was Nṛga Visaladeva of the Delhi Siwālikh pillar, who was reigning at that date. At the same time he accepts³ for Udayana, it would seem, the view of Candrakānta that Udayana is earlier than Śrīdhara, who is dated about A.D. 991.

It is clear that one or both of these views must be wrong. For the most certain fact about Vācaspati Miśra and Udayana is that the latter in his *Nyāyavārttika-tātparyapariśuddhi* commented on the *Nyāyavārttika-tātparyatīkā* of the former author. This is proved decisively by the first verse of the *Pariśuddhi*:—⁴

vācetasor mama tathā bhava sāvadhānā |
Vācāspater vacasi na śkhalato yathaite ||

This at once gives for Vācaspati an earlier date than that rendered necessary⁵ by his priority to Amalānanda, who wrote his commentary on Vācaspati's *Bhāmātī* shortly before A.D. 1260.⁶ For Udayana is cited by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa⁷ (A.D. 1252), and cannot therefore be well later

¹ p. 120, and note.

² A list of his works is given in his *Bhāmātī*, see Candrakānta, *Anukramanīkā* to his edition of the *Kuṣumājālī*, p. 16. Garbe (trans. of *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, pp. 16, 17) praises highly his work.

³ Op. cit., p. 137. The difficulty of reconciling these views was noted in my *Indian Institute Catal.*, p. 91.

⁴ Quoted by Cowell, *Kuṣumājālī*, p. vii; Candrakānta, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵ Bendall; op. cit., p. 120, n. 288.

⁶ Ibid., n. 289.

⁷ Hall, *Bibliographical Index*, p. 26; Rājendralāla Mitra, *Yoga Aphorisms*, p. lxxvii. Rāghava also mentions Vācaspati; see Hall, *Sāṅkhyasāra*, p. 40.

than A.D. 1225, and Vācaspati must be considerably earlier than A.D. 1200 to be commented on by Udayana.

So far the evidence leaves possible the attribution of Vācaspati Miśra to A.D. 1160. But it appears certain that Udayana was known to Śrīharsa, the author of the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā*. Not only does Candrakānta¹ report a tradition of a *Śāstrīyavivāda* between Śrīhira, father of Śrīharsa, and Udayana (a fact on which little stress need be laid), but in the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* Śrīharsa undoubtedly makes fun of a verse² of the *Kuṣumāñjali*, and his date is about A.D. 1150.³ It may be added that Śrīharsa also knew the works of Vācaspati. It becomes accordingly practically impossible to accept the proposed identification of Nṛga, since even Udayana must have been a good deal older than Śrīharsa to be deliberately attacked by the latter.

On the other hand, there is cogent evidence that Udayana preceded Śrīdhara. In the first place, it is at least possible, as suggested by Candrakānta,⁴ that in the *Nyāyakanulālī* Śrīdhara had before him a passage of Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*. Secondly, it is certainly unlikely that the writer of the *Kiraṇāvalī* could have ignored the *Nyāyakanulālī* had he known of its existence, as he does in the introduction to that work.⁵ Thirdly, Candrakānta quotes from the *Nyāyakanulālī* the date of its composition as *tryadhikadaśottaranavaśataśakābde* (= A.D. 991),⁶ while

¹ Op. cit., p. 15.

² Ibid. He has—

tasmād asambhīr apy asmīn arthe na khalu duṣpaṭhā |
tvadgāthāivedugāthakāram akṣarāṇi kṛṇty api ||
vyāghāto yaśi śaikhāṇī na cec chūṅkā tarastarīm |
vyāghātūrādhrīś śaikhā tarkaś śaikhāśudhrīś kutuḥ ||

See *Kuṣumāñjali*, iii, 7. The only answer to this argument is to assume that in the *Kuṣumāñjali* the verse is not original.

³ *J.B.R.A.S.*, x, 31 : xi, 279 seq.

⁴ See Candrakānta, p. 20.

⁵ See also Bühler, *Kaśmīr Report*, p. 76.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 19.

Yadunātha, in his edition¹ of the *Āmatattvavivēka* gives for Udayana's date the following verse:—

tarkāmbarāṅkapramīteṣu atīteṣu śakāntataḥ |
varṣeṣūdayanaś cakre subodhāṁ Lakṣaṇāvalīm ||

which gives A.D. 984 as the date of the completion of one of his works.

It is only fair, however, to note a possible objection to this view. In the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, which is certainly² the work of the author of the *Bhāmātī*, is quoted a fragment of the *Rājavārttika* on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, which is attributed to Raṇaraṅga Malla, i.e. Bhoja of Dhārā,³ whose date is certainly about A.D. 1010–1050. It is certainly very improbable that in the brief space between, say, A.D. 975 and 1000 could be crowded an early work of Bhoja's, Vācaspati Miśra, and Udayana. The most probable solution is to assume either that the attribution to Bhoja is false or that there were two princes of Dhārā and that they bore the same name, and that the *Rājavārttika* was the work of the earlier of the two.⁴ For this suggestion may be urged the fact that

¹ Calcutta, 1900, *Bhāmikā*.

² He mentions a work on the Sāṅkhya in the *Bhāmātī*, and cf. the end of the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*.

³ The work seems only to be described on the best MSS. of the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* as *Rājavārttika* (cf. Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catal.*, p. 237; Garbe's trans., p. 111), and it is quite probable that the attribution to Bhoja (cf. Garbe, *Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, p. 62, n. 2) may be incorrect, and may rest merely on a confusion with the *Rājamārtanda*, his commentary on the *Yoga Sātra*.

⁴ There appears to be nothing to prevent us holding this, as far as the recorded history goes. Hall (op. cit., p. viii) believed (though for reasons other than ours) in two Bhojas. Bhoja as the name of a king is presumably a complimentary title, and to Rājasekhara is attributed by Harikavi in the *Harikāṇḍī* (Peterson, *Report*, 1883-4, pp. 59 seq.) a Bhojaprabandha. Peterson refers this to Bhoja of Dhārā, the beginning of whose reign he sets in A.D. 906, but this view is not now tenable. Konow, *Karpūramāñjarī*, p. 196, thinks of the younger Rājasekhara (A.D. 1247), but there was a Bhoja in A.D. 862–882, *Epigr. Ind.*, i, p. 171, and the younger Rājasekhara's work is, according to Bühler, written in barbarous Sanskrit prose.

Kavirāja in his *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*¹ mentions a Muñja of Dhārā. Now Kavirāja seems to have been imitated by Dhananjaya in his *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*,² which is certainly before A.D. 1140, and may be earlier than A.D. 900, since Rājaśekhara, who is almost certainly³ the dramatist, praises Dhananjaya in one of his verses on famous poets.⁴ The date of Kavirāja may therefore go back to A.D. 800,⁵ in which case we must assume an earlier Muñja of Dhārā. Presumably the king, Kāmadeva, under whom he wrote was one of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi (= Jayanti).⁶

The evidence available seems to me to tell definitely against the identification proposed by M. Barth and accepted by the late Professor Bendall of Nṛga and Visaladeva.⁷ But the question of the exact date of both

¹ I, 18; see Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

² See references in Zacharias, *Die indisch. Wörterbücher*, p. 28.

³ Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 579. Peterson's objections to this view (*Subhāṣitāvalī*, p. 101) rest on the former erroneous view of Rājaśekhara's date; see *Epigr. Ind.*, i, pp. 170-1. The idea of regarding the verses as not the dramatist's is peculiarly gratuitous; it is not suggested in one of the original authorities, and rests only on errors in dating the dramatist, but seems on the high road to general acceptance.

⁴ Cf. Peterson, *Report*, 1883-4, pp. 59, 61; *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, p. 4. Probably Rājaśekhara knew Kavirāja also. He states that Surānanda, who was most probably his grandfather or great-grandfather, surpassed the poets Kavirāja and Tārāla. It is certainly in favour of the identity of the Rājaśekhara of the verses on poets and the dramatist that in the former Tārāla appears also a great poet and a member of Rājaśekhara's family.

⁵ Cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 331. Pischel (*Rudraṇa*, p. 25) assigns him to the beginning of the eighth century, in view of his claim to be an equal of Subandhu and Bāṇa. Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 183, simply denies the identity of the two Kavirājas.

⁶ On them, cf. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, i, 6, pp. 285 seq.; *Epigr. Ind.*, viii, 28.

⁷ Garbe (*Ber. der königl. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1888, p. 9; cf. *Sāṅkhyā Philosophie*, p. 61, n. 1) holds that Vācaspati belongs to the first third of the eleventh century, which date also would exclude M. Barth's hypothesis. He bases his view, however, merely upon Cowell and Hall's results.

Udayana and Vācaspati remains doubtful,¹ and I publish this note, written some years ago, in the hope that further light may be thrown on the matter by some student of Indian philosophy.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

CEYLON EPIGRAPHY.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Müller for his review of the second and third parts of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, which appeared in the October number of the *Journal*, and for his criticisms and suggestions in regard to the interpretation of certain obsolete words and phrases occurring in the inscriptions. I am still more grateful to him for recording his opinion as to the difficulty of my task. Anyone who has had the Professor's experience in treating these lithic records cannot fail to be convinced of the fact that it is far easier to edit and translate Sanskrit or Pāli, than Sinhalese, inscriptions, written as these are in a language more or less unfixed and containing a complex variety of words at different stages of philological decay, not to speak of words and phrases with obscure meanings.

It is in view of these difficulties that I have always emphasised the importance of supplying me with ample material in the way of 'squeezes,' photographs, etc., of

¹ Mention should be made of Rājendralāla's view (op. cit., p. lxxvii) that the Bhoja of Vācaspati Miśra is not the Bhoja of the eleventh century. Unfortunately he carries this view to the point of ascribing the *Rājamārtanḍa* on the *Yoga Sūtra* to the earlier Bhoja (pp. lxxxi, lxxxii) on the ground of the worthless *Bhojaprabandha* and of the fact of the existence of the astronomical *Rājamārtanḍa*. His objections are in the main removed by the fact that these works are, of course, not the king's own production, and the improbability of the *Rājendralāla* being Bhoja's is increased by the fact that the preface to the *Rājamārtanḍa* ignores that work.

inscriptions. It is not fair that I should be expected to edit an inscription from one single 'estampage.' I need, as a rule, two (if not three), for letters indistinct in one are often clear in the other, and *vice versâ*. Photographs are only useful if they are taken after the inscription has been carefully cleaned, *but not after its letters have been chalked over*; whilst notes descriptive of the record itself and of the ruins near by are a *sine quâ non* in the historical discussion of its contents.

Turning now to the Professor's remarks, I may be permitted to state that I have always made it a point to give my authority in support of or against any theory I discuss. If I have not done so in some instances it must be by an oversight, but this has not happened in the case of the Pâli words *daka-patti* quoted by me. Had the Professor run his eye through the last paragraph of the page in question he would not have failed to see the reference to the Mahāvamsa Tīkā (p. 471 of the Colombo edition of 1895).

I admit that better plates of the Mihintale tablets can be obtained, but those given in part iii of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* are the best reproductions that could be prepared from the ink-estampages supplied to me by the Archaeological Department. They are, however, much more accurate than those in A.I.C. Compare, for example, the words *siri-bar* and *kāta* in line 1 of slab A (pl. 14) with *siri-bara* and *kata* in plate No. 121* of A.I.C.

It is equally true that the meanings of certain words and phrases are obscure, but I have duly drawn the reader's attention to them, and have offered tentative interpretations for his guidance.

With regard to the two words *vasag* and *damīya*, I must submit that the Professor has no ground for thinking that I have given up my interpretation of them. I am still of opinion that the expression *damīyen vasagak*

means 'a measured quantity of provisions (*vasaga*) from the common store or almonry (*damiya*),' for reasons adduced on p. 83 of E.Z. In my translation I treated *vasaga* as a technical term, and left it untranslated just as one would the name of a foreign weight or measure. The word *damiya* was also treated similarly. It was printed in full-faced pica type, for the purpose of indicating the possibility of its having been a special name given to the common store of the Mihintale Vihāra.

The word *piṇis* occurs in the slab inscription of Kassapa V (E.Z., p. 48, lines 38 and 41) under the forms *piṇis-vāvan* and *piṇisvā* in the phrases *pirit satar banear piṇis-vāvan*, 'those who have made themselves versed in the four bhānavāras of the Paritta,' and *avis dannāse piṇisvā*, 'having instructed them conformably to the known practice of the cells.' The first is a participial noun, and the second is the gerund of what seems to be a causative verb, *piṇis-vanavā*,¹ now obsolete. Though the exact meaning of this word is not quite clear, yet there can be no doubt as to its etymology. The causative suffix *va* and the cerebral *ṇ* make it obvious that *piṇis* is a derivative of the present stem of *pra-ṇi-sri*.² The question whether the word *piṇisa*, which means 'for the purpose of,' and which is sometimes (probably more correctly) written with a dental *n*, is another form of our word or not, I am unable to decide just now, considering the possibility of its connection either with Pāli *upanissāya* or *upanisā*.

Mudaliyar Guṇasēkara is perfectly correct in treating *melāṭṭi* as one word. This is quite obvious from the

¹ Cf. the corresponding forms *karavāvan* and *karavā* from *karavānand*, causative verb derived from the present stem of $\sqrt{\text{kr}}$.

² Cf. Professor Geiger's *Litt. und Spr. der Singhalesen*, p. 81, § 65, and also the etymology of such words as *piṇi* (Skt. *pranīta*), *piṇauvā* (Skt. $\sqrt{\text{prī}}$) in his most useful Sinhalese vocabulary.

context wherever it occurs. Professor Müller's rendering of it by *melāṭ* and *sī* is, therefore, I submit, not tenable. Besides, *sī* is hardly ever used for Skt. *śrī* (P. *sirī*, Sinh. *siri*), and it cannot be connected with *rad kol kāmīyēn* for the simple reason that neither in the slab inscription of Kassapa V¹ nor in the Mihintale Tablets² do these words follow *sī* or even occur in the same sentence.

The Professor's suggestion that *māṇḍi* may be a derivative of Skt. *manṭha* (P. *maṇḍa*) is worth consideration, although we must not overlook the fact that Skt. or Pāli *e* hardly ever becomes Sinh. *ī*.

The above are not the only difficult words and phrases in the two parts of the Epigraphia Zeylanica under review. I have noted several others, and I trust that Professor Müller will favour us with his views on them also. In the meantime I am sure he will agree with me that it is better to leave them untranslated than give a doubtful interpretation.

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January 3rd, 1908.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Date of the Harivaṃśa; see J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 408 and 681.

The Harivaṃśa was certainly written before the middle of the fifth century, for an inscription of A.D. 462 speaks of the Mahābhārata as consisting of 100,000 ślokaś, a total which it does not reach even approximately unless the Harivaṃśa be included.³ The Harivaṃśa does not deal by

¹ E.Z., p. 47, l. 18.

² Ibid., p. 97, l. 55.

³ [The inscription in question is *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 31, a record of the Mahārāja Śarvaṇātha, dated in the year 214. Its date is A.D. 533, the year being taken as the year 214 of the Gupta era: it would be A.D. 462 if the year were taken as the year 214 of the so-called Kalachuri

any means exclusively with the history of Kṛishṇa, or even with the other incarnations of Viṣṇu. In at least one place (ch. 216) it speaks of itself as a Purāṇa, and its contents do in fact correspond very nearly with those of a Purāṇa as defined in the well-known verse :—

Sargaśca pratisargaśca vaiśo manvantarāṇi ca
bhūmyādīsanīsthānañcaiva purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam.

Sarga or creation is dealt with, for instance, in ch. 1-6, as well as in many other passages; *pratisarga*, or, as Dr. Bhandarkar interprets it, destruction, in ch. 195; *vaiśa* or genealogies in ch. 9-15, 20, 25-38, and 222; and the *manvantaras* in ch. 7-8 and 194. Cosmology is the only element of the typical Purāṇa that is wanting.

In the earliest enumerations of Sanskrit literary works we find the *itihāsa-purāṇam* mentioned in such a way as to imply that there was but one Purāṇa, and that it was regarded as a supplement to the Itihāsa. As the latter name belongs *par excellence* to the Mahābhārata, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Purāṇa in question was what has now become the Harivaṁśa. It must, however, have originally had all the five characteristics of a Purāṇa, including a cosmological section, which was omitted most probably when the legends relating to Kṛishṇa and the other incarnations of Viṣṇu were amplified at the expense of the other constituents of the original work. The latter still survives in parts of the modern Purāṇas, all of which are derived from one common original, but now subsist as independent works, no longer connected with the Mahābhārata.

It is possible to gather from the geography of the Kṛishṇa legends in the Harivaṁśa some hints as to when

or Chedi era, but that application, suggested at one time, is not really admissible. That, however, does not affect Mr. Jackson's general argument. The words in the record are :— Uktam cha Mahābhāratē śatasāhস্যarāṇa saṁhitāyam.—J. F. F.]

and where the transformation of the original Purāṇa into the modern Harivaṃśa took place. Besides Mathurā and Dvāravati (Dwārkā), which are the main scenes of Kṛishṇa's exploits, we find mention of various other places, all or nearly all in the West of India. When Kṛishṇa and Baladeva retire before the army of Jarāsandha, they go by way of Karavīrapura and Krauñcapura to Mount Gomanta, and near the last-named place meet the Brahman hero Paraśurāma. Now Karavira is still the name of the territories of the Mahārāja of Kolhāpūr, while Krauñcapura is identified by the Harivaṃśa itself (ch. 84) with Banavāsi. Mount Gomanta, therefore, must be some peak of the Western Ghats near Barkalūr. Paraśurāma is addressed by Kṛishṇa as the conqueror of Aparānta (the west coast) from the ocean and the founder of the city of Śūrpāraka (Supārā, north of Bombay). We are brought to the west coast also by the legend of Mucukunda's sleep in a cave in "the king of mountains" (*adri-rāja*, H.V., ch. 113), an expression which is explained by the parallel name Śailendra given in ch. 220 to the Sahyādri range. Mucukunda's cave is still shown in a hill near Chiplūn in the Ratnāgiri district. Now, the legend of Paraśurāma in its earliest form was localised on the east coast of India, where his traditional retreat was Mount Mahendra in Gaṇjām (see Mbh., iii, 114, 117, vii, 70, and Rām., i, 76), and where, as on the west coast, he was fabled to have driven back the ocean. The transference of the legend from the eastern to the western coast was certainly complete by 100 A.D., for in the inscription of Ushavadāta at Nāsik mention is made of the Rāmakunḍa or Rāma's pool at Supārā. This transplantation must have been the work of conquerors coming from the eastern coast, who can hardly have been other than the Śātakarṇis or Andhrabhṛityas, who came from Teliṅgāna to Paithān on the Godāvari. That the Harivaṃśa assumed its present form under the rule of this dynasty is not, however, very

likely. The Kṛishṇa legend centres round Mathurā and Dwārkā, and was elaborated by a northern race of cowherds. The Sātakarṇis are known from their inscriptions to have been familiar with the Vedic ritual and with the names at least of some of the leading Epic and Puranic heroes, but there is no evidence that they were acquainted with the legends of Kṛishṇa's childhood. The only literary works that we know to have been produced under their patronage were written in Prākṛit,—the Bṛihat-kathā and Saptaśataka.

On the other hand, the geographical horizon of the Harivaṃśa includes Rājputānā and Kāthiāwār as well as the coast tract, and it is in this region and under the Kshatrapa rule that we first find Sanskrit used for public and official purposes (inscription of Rudradāman at Gīrnār) and mention made of the study of rhetoric and poetries, whence we may infer that the Kshatrapas encouraged the composition of Sanskrit poetry.

The Kshatrapas of Gujārāt held sway over the west coast of India at two different periods. During the first, from about 100 to 125 A.D. (Nahapāna), they were still known as foreigners and used Prākṛit in their inscriptions. In the second, which is only known from the occurrence of Kshatrapa coins of the period 218–300 A.D. in the Deccan, after the final fall of the Sātakarṇis, they were, as their names show, completely Hinduised, and they may well have followed the example of their great ancestor Rudradāman in encouraging Sanskrit literature. It is to this later period and to the Western Deccan or Koṅkaṇ that the final redaction of the Harivaṃśa may in all likelihood be assigned.

Rājāṇa, Rājanya, Rājānaka; see *ibid.*, p. 409.

The last of these three forms is, if I mistake not, the regular Sanskritised form of the title Rājā which is borne by various Rājput chiefs. Similarly, the title Rāwal is

Sanskritised as Rājakula; as in some of the Bhinmāl inscriptions.

Sok, Śaka; see *ibid.*, p. 675.

Are the Sok-pa of Tibet connected with the Śakas?

Vedic Religion; see *ibid.*, pp. 929 ff.

There is ample evidence of totemism and sacramental meals in modern India, but of course this proves nothing for the Veda. The so-called sacrifices that we have to do with there are performances of the nature of those which formed part of the Greek mysteries, or of the dances which are performed in secret by many savage races. The sacrifice of an ass to Nirṛiti is to be interpreted as a case of substitution of the victim for the sinner. This animal is in India regarded as the embodiment of incontinence, and as a beast of very low caste. The wearing of the skin is doubtless a penance. No connection with the Aśvins is necessary. Nowadays the ass is the vehicle of Śītalādevī, the smallpox goddess, who may stand in the place of the vaguer Nirṛiti.

The sacrifice of a human victim at the Agnicayana is merely a special case of the human sacrifice by which the stability of a building or embankment is assured. Authentic instances of such sacrifices in the case of forts and tanks are innumerable, and the people still believe that Government make such offerings in the case of large public buildings.

The Child Kṛishṇa; see *ibid.*, pp. 951 ff.

New light is thrown on the history of Kṛishṇa by the discovery at Mander in Mārwar of sculptures of certain of his exploits which cannot be dated later than the Christian era (see Arch. Survey Report, Western India, 1906-7, p. 33, para. 24). These show that the child Kṛishṇa is

much older than the Gujars. The argument in part ii of Mr. Kennedy's paper depends upon the identification of Dionysos with Krishna and Herakles with Śiva, but there is much to be said in favour of the opposite view. The date I have assigned above to the Harivamśa also is against any special connection of Krishna with the Gujars, who seem rather to have been worshippers of the sun. It is likely enough that the Krishna legend was developed among northern pastoral tribes, but they must have belonged to an earlier swarm than the Gujars, perhaps to the Ahirs of the Yue-chi period.

A. M. T. JACKSON.

KASŪR.

In a note published in this Journal for 1906, p. 1000, it was suggested by Dr. Hoey that the town of Kasūr in the Lahore district of the Panjāb (lat. $31^{\circ} 9'$, long. $74^{\circ} 30'$) possibly marks the spot at which Alexander erected his twelve altars. Recently I have had an opportunity of visiting Kasūr, but found little to support the proposed identification. The site of the old city, situated immediately to the east of the modern town, is plainly marked by an elevation of the soil extending over some 400 acres. Most conspicuous is a small mud fort about 50 feet high; on its top is the tomb of Kam Chishti.

According to local tradition, the old town was founded by a body of Pathāns belonging to an invading Mughal army on their return from Dehli—some say in the time of Timūr, others in that of Bābar or Akbar. But the existence of Kasūr before Mughal times is evidenced by a copper coin found on the spot, which Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., has identified as belonging to Muḥammad Tughlaq. The date appears to be A.H. 751. The occurrence of large-

sized bricks also points to the fact that there was a town here at an early period. It is a common belief among Hindūs that Kasūr and Lāhor were founded by Rāma's sons Kuśa and Lava, and named after them Kuśapura and Lavapura, from which the modern names are supposed to be derived.

The new town of Kasūr, in any case, dates only back to the eighteenth century, when in Muḥammad Shāh's reign the old city had been plundered by the Sikhs and deserted by its inhabitants. The twelve fortified divisions, indicated by the name of *kōṭ*, of which the present town consists, are therefore of quite recent origin, and cannot be adduced in favour of Dr. Hoey's identification. Nine of them are named after their founders, such as Kōṭ Uthmān Khān, Kōṭ Khwāja Husain Khān, Kōṭ Badru-d-dīn Khān, etc., names which do not betray an Alexandrine origin.

It is true that Kasūr was once situated on the west bank of the Biās, apparently up to about 400 years ago, when the river is said to have changed its course. But the capriciousness of the Panjāb rivers is such that there is little reason to assume that the course of the Biās was the same in 325 B.C. as in the fifteenth century A.D. It is also to be noted that Alexander's altars were built of stone, and that Kasūr is situated at a considerable distance from the hills. The nearest place where stone can be had is some seventy miles away. The houses and fortifications of Kasūr are all built of brick. The only inscription which the place possesses—a Persian inscription dated A.H. 1074 and originating from old Kasūr—is incised not on stone but on a tablet of wood.

It is difficult to imagine how Alexander could have built his stone altars, which are said to have been "equal in height to the loftiest military towers, while exceeding them in breadth," at a place where stone is so extremely difficult to obtain. It seems, indeed, much more probable

that the altars—if they ever existed at all—stood somewhere near the Hills, as supposed by Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 66, in one or other of the three districts Gurdāspur, Hoshyārpur, or Kāngrā. The same view was held by Sir E. H. Bunbury, who thought it probable that they were situated at some distance above the confluence of the Biās and the Satluj, and not very far from the point where the Biās emerges from the mountain ranges. He points out that throughout his advance Alexander kept as near as he could to the mountains; partly from the idea that he would thus find the great rivers more easily passable, as being nearer their sources; partly from an exaggerated impression of the sterile and desert character of the plains farther south (cf. M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 349).

J. PH. VOGEL

THE RĀNĀS OF THE PANJĀB HILLS.

Dr. Grierson has suggested in this Journal for 1907, p. 409, a connection between the word *rājaña* (i.e. *rājanā* = Skt. *rājanya*) occurring on coins, and the title *rājānaka* found both in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and in Śāradā inscriptions from Kāngrā and Chambā. So much is certain that the latter term, as first pointed out by Dr. Stein, corresponds with the modern *rāṇā*, used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste-name. In the present note I wish to summarise the information derived from epigraphical and literary sources and from tradition regarding the history of this word and of the class to whom it is applied.

The title *rājānaka*, as used in the inscriptions, denotes a feudatory chief, and is synonymous with the *sāmanta* of classical Sanskrit, and with the modern *thākur*. In the

Baijuath *Prasasti* we meet with a race of *rājānakas* who were settled at Kīragrāma (Baijuāth), and owed allegiance to the Rājās of Trigarta. Inscriptions discovered in Chambā State in the course of the last three years have thrown additional light on the position held by those "barons of the Hills." They show that in the Highlands of the Panjāb *rājānakas* once existed in considerable number. The ruins of their strongholds are pointed out up to the present day, and still clearer evidence of their former importance is afforded by huge carved slabs, frequently inscribed, which they erected over cisterns constructed for the heavenly bliss of deceased relatives. Such inscriptions contain the name and sometimes the pedigree of the local *rājā* to whose piety they are due.

There is a widespread tradition in the Alpine Panjāb that at a remote time the *rājās* were independent and held sovereign sway over their baronies, although these, in most cases, do not seem to have extended beyond a few villages. This tradition is supported by the negative evidence of an epigraph recently discovered near the village of Svāmī in the Hingiri parganā of Chambā State. It is incised on the base of a stone Devī image, and records that this object was made by order of Rājānaka Bhogaṭa, son of Somata, born in the district of Kiṣkindha. The inscription is not dated, but, judging from the characters, must belong to the eighth century. It is the earliest known document in which the word *rājānaka* occurs.

It is of interest that in this inscription no mention is made of a liege lord, whereas the *rājānakas* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries date their inscriptions usually both in the Śāstra era (Lokakāla) and in the regnal year of the *rājā* to whom they owed allegiance. In the fragmentary fountain inscription of Dēvī-ri-kōthī, dated in the seventeenth year of Rājā Lalita-varman of Campā (Chambā)—the Śāstra date is unfortunately lost—it is mentioned that the local Rājā Nāgapāla received

from that prince the title of *rājānaka*.¹ The author of the *Prasasti* was the *rājaguru* Kamala-lāñchana.

A carved slab of considerable size (6' 6" by 7') is found near Sālhi in the Sēchu Nālā (Pāngi). The inscription is dated in the Śāstra year 46, and in the twenty-seventh year of the same Rājā Lalita-varman. The date must be A.D. 1170, and consequently that of the Dēvi-rī-kōthī inscription about A.D. 1160. The Sālhi stone was set up by a Rājānaka Ludrapāla. Up to the present day his descendants live on the spot. They no longer hold the position of feudatory chiefs, but still retain the title of *rāṇā*, which practically has become a caste-name.

It is obvious that in the passage quoted from the Dēvi-rī-kōthī inscription there is question of the investiture of a vassal by his overlord. But it appears from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī that frequently the title *rājānaka* came to be given to high officials as an honorary distinction. Thus we read (Rājat. vi, 261) that Queen Diddā called her favourite Haravāhana into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of *rājānaka*. This practice apparently had become so common that in Kalhana's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with 'minister.' This is clear from the following passage, in which the chronicler says of king Parvagupta (Rājat. vi, 117): "Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of king (*rājan*) and Rājānaka."

In this connection it is interesting to note that in a copper-plate issued by Soma-varman of Chambā about the middle of the eleventh century two Rājānakas, Rihila and Kāhila by name, figure as Prime Minister (*mahāmātya*)

¹ *Tam Nāgapālam Lalita-kpitiśakrakāra rājānaka-sabda-viśayan* (10th verse). I must note that the reading *rājānaka* is due to a restoration, which fits with the metre, and is confirmed by another inscription in which Nāgapāla is called *rājānaka*.

and as Great Chancellor (*mahākṣapatalika*). Presumably these two dignitaries were ruling *rāṇās*, but their position at Soma-varman's court explains the peculiar meaning of the term *rājānaka* as a mere title which the word assumed in Kashmir. The old feudatory *rāṇās* of the Panjāb Highlands belonged naturally to the warrior caste. On the Chambā fountain slabs we see them rudely pictured as knights on horseback, armed with sword and shield. But the high officials on which the honorary title of *rājānaka* was conferred were very often Brāhmans, and thus the word has survived in Kashmir in the form Rāzdān as a Brahmanical family name. "It was borne," Dr. Stein writes, "by Rājānaka Ratnākara, the author of the Harivijaya (ninth century) and by many Kashmirian authors of note enumerated in the *Varṇāprasasti* which Ānanda Rājānaka (seventeenth century) has appended to his commentary on the *Naiṣadhacarita*." It may, however, be questioned whether Ratnākara bore the title *rājānaka* in his own time, and whether, at so early a date, the use of the term was extended to Brahmanical officials.

It is curious that, as Dr. Stein remarks, in the later Kashmir chronicles the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word Rān¹ in Kashmir as a Muhammadan *krām* name, which, as Dr. Stein observes, corresponds exactly to Rāzdān (Rājānaka) as a family name of Brāhmans.

I noted above the frequent occurrence of *rājānakas* in the Chambā inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is remarkable that in the numerous later inscriptions found in that State they are never mentioned. There is no record to show in what manner the Rāṇās lost their position and power. We can only surmise that those numerous and warlike vassals—not less turbulent probably than the *Ḍāmaras* of Kashmir—constituted a constant danger to the supreme position of the Rājā. It must have been his policy to curtail their power.

This end he may have attained partly by main force. But what has been remarked above indicates that, on the whole, the policy of the Rājās was the same as that followed by the kings of France in reducing their big barons: the vassals were converted into courtiers. It is indeed curious how the history of the word *rāṇā* is analogous with that of titles of nobility in Europe.

The word *rāṇā* has finally become a caste-name, and is now used as such in the Kāngrā valley and Chambā State. I quote the following passage from the Kangra Gazetteer, vol. i, 1883-4, p. 88, borrowed almost verbatim from Mr. Barnes' Settlement Report for that district (pp. 63 f.): "Another class of Rājputs who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or Rānas, whose title and tenure is said to have preceded that of the Rājās themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities. Still the name of *Rāna* is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the Miāns.¹ The principal families are those of Chari, Giro, Kanhiari, Pathiār, Habrol, Sūmbar, Dadwāl, and other localities. Besides these, the following races occupy a high rank: the Indauria, Malhotar, Salāria, Harchandar, Ludhiārach, Patial, Chib, Jarāl, Bhugālia, and others which it would be tedious to record. All these tribes affect most of the customs of Rājputs. They select secluded spots for their dwellings, immure their women, are very particular with whom they marry or betroth in marriage, but have generally taken to agriculture. In this particular consists their chief distinction from the Miāns."

¹ Miān, i.e. Miyān, is the title given to the Rājputs of the Panjāb Hills. It dates apparently back to the time when the sons of hill chiefs used to stay at the Mughal court, and was, so it seems, originally applied to them exclusively. It has gradually become a caste-name for Hill Rājputs in general.

In Chambā State the position of the Rāṇās is not different from that of the agricultural castes with which they intermarry. There exist, however, in Chambā a few Rāṇās in the original sense of the word, who still hold the position of their ancestors, the Rājānakas of the inscriptions. Chief among them is the Rāṇā of Trilōknāth, the famous place of pilgrimage on the Upper Chandra-bhāgā, whose barony extends over a large portion of Chambā Lahul.

Regarding the position of the Rāṇās in Chambā, I am indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison, of the Presbyterian Mission, for the following information: "The common (i.e. agricultural) Rāṇās," he writes, "are all free from *begār* (forced labour) or any kind of State service except personal attendance on the Rājā if he is in their neighbourhood and on special occasion in Chambā. When any of the principal (i.e. ruling) Rāṇās dies, his heir has to come to Chambā to obtain a *pattā* (charter) from the Rājā, and in the case of the Trilōknāth Rāṇā a small *khilat* (robe of honour) is given. The son of the Trilōknāth Rāṇā is addressed as *Tika*."

J. PH. VOGEL

Zaidân's Umayyads and 'Abbasids.

Apart from all personal considerations, I regret the appearance of Mr. Brooks's review of this book in the J.R.A.S., because it reflects on the whole body of modern Eastern writers, who must not all stand or fall by Zaidân, and dictates a course of conduct to the Gibb Trustees, who are recognized authorities on Moslem history. His review is open to objection alike whether he can or cannot read Arabic. If he can, how comes it that he has not consulted the original, and is unaware that many of the authorities quoted exist only in Oriental editions? If he cannot,

whence does he know that Ṭabarī should have been used, and how can he venture to correct the translation? His correction 'exclusiveness' for 'chauvinism' as the rendering of '*aṣabiyyah*' suggests that he does not know the language; for the Arabic word certainly means 'exaggerated patriotism,' which is the definition of 'chauvinism' given in the Encyclopædic Dictionary. It is worth while observing that the reviewer of the book in the *Revue du Monde Musulman* says: "parmi les pages intéressantes de ce livre, celles consacrées au chauvinisme arabe méritent, tout particulièrement, d'être signalées." This reviewer differs from Mr. Brooks entirely as to the merits of both author and translator.

Another puzzle is the statement that there are few signs of acquaintance with European works in Zaidan's book. I fear that anyone who does not find the signs of von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte* and *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge* everywhere in the book can have little acquaintance with European works on Islamic civilization himself.

With regard to the detailed criticisms, they are not all intelligible. Why must the statement that the first Turkish leader suckled a wolf be a slip or misprint? The dictionary referred to says 'suckle' means (1) to nurse at the breast, (2) to suck. The latter sense, which the context determines, is not wholly unknown, though it may be rare, as my authority implies. The story of one mother having forty-one children would not, I fancy, be set down by medical authorities as a sheer impossibility. The sentence at page 222, 7—"It is not surprising that the Caliphs became a mere instrument in the hands of the Turks, the Caliph being on the winning side whenever there was a struggle between them for power"—ought not to puzzle a writer in this Journal. I feel almost ashamed to explain that 'being' is equivalent to 'being found.' And indeed, in the other cases of faults for

which I am responsible, a considerable effort is required to misunderstand most of the passages, which I feel sure few readers will make.

The right to issue a translation without comment has not, I think, been questioned hitherto. How much will be intelligible will depend on the amount of knowledge with which the reader starts. Thus we might expect the *reviewer* of a book on Islam to know that the name Jurji indicated that its bearer was a Christian, but we see from Mr. Brooks's case that a reviewer may lack this information. A translator who undertook to provide for every possible form of ignorance in his readers would find his life draw to a close before his translation was ended.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BHAMAHA AND DANDIN.

Mr. Narasimhiengar contributed in this Journal, 1905, p. 535 ff., an interesting article on Bhāmaha, the Rhetorician. Through the kindness of Professor Rangacharyar, of Madras, I secured a transcript of the manuscript of Bhāmaha's work. In this communication I propose to discuss some of the points raised by Mr. Narasimhiengar, and to make a few observations on other points connected with the subject.

I demur to the conclusion arrived at on p. 535 that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist. My transcript reads the introductory verse differently from the manuscript used by Mr. Narasimhiengar, and presents the name Śarva instead of Śarva.¹ This shakes the foundations of his theory. Śarva is a well-known name of Śiva.² As to the word

¹ प्रणम्य शर्वं सर्वज्ञं मनोवाङ्मायकर्मभिः ।

² ईश्वरः शर्वं ईशानः शंकरश्चन्द्रशेखरः । (Amara, I, i, 30). Compare also Bhāmaha's own words: सरूपशेषं तु पुमांस्त्रिया यच्च च शिष्यते । यथाह वरुणाविन्द्रौ भवौ शर्वौ मृडाविति ॥ (Bhāmaha, vi, 32).

Sarvajña, it cannot be argued that it is applied exclusively to Buddha. Mr. Narasimhiengar has cited the Amarakośa, I, i, 13, as giving Sarvajña as a name of Buddha, but has overlooked what occurs a few lines farther on. Amara himself says that Sarvajña is also a name of Śiva.¹ This fact, together with the reading Śarva in Bhāmaha's introductory verse, takes away almost all the ground from under the feet of Mr. Narasimhiengar. The transcript in my possession reads, in the other verse quoted from Bhāmaha, *sārvas sarvīya ityapī*, and not *sārvas sārviya*, as that of Mr. Narasimhiengar does. As the introductory verse contains a salutation to Śarva, i.e. to Śiva, the derivation of the words *sārva* and *sarvīya* does not prove anything either one way or the other. The two words simply mean 'well disposed to all.' It is doubtful whether Pāṇini (v, 1. 10) regards *sārva* as a name of Buddha. On the contrary, it seems very probable that he applied the word to anything that was well disposed or beneficial to all. The name Rakrilagomin cannot prove much. When the Buddhists had lived for centuries on good terms with their rivals in religion, it is quite possible that some of the names peculiar to the Buddhists might have been adopted by the followers of Brahmanism. A remarkable point militating against the view that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist is that there is not, in the whole of the work, a single quotation or verse bearing a distinctive mark of Buddhism, while all the verses refer to the Brahmanic gods and to Brahmanic ideas. Compare in this respect the commentary of Namisādhū, which bristles with quotations from Jaina writers. For all these reasons, I think that it has not been proved that Bhāmaha was a Buddhist. On the contrary, I have shown good grounds for saying that he was a Hindu and a worshipper of Śiva.

¹ कृशानुरेताः सर्वज्ञो धर्मटिनीललोहितः। हरः etc. (Amara, I, i, 35).

As to the age of Bhāmaha, I am glad to see that Mr. Narasimhiengar arrives at the same conclusion as that which I independently reached in my essay on the history of Alampkāra literature (not yet published).¹ He incontestably proves that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍin. He omits, however, one point bearing on the relation of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. There is one verse common to both.² The verse is given by both as an example of the figure *Preyas*. Daṇḍin, it is generally supposed, does not borrow any verse, except the much-discussed one, *limpatīva tamo*, from any writer. If this be correct, then we must regard the verse in question as composed by Daṇḍin. In that case it would furnish another argument for saying that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍin.

On p. 542 Mr. Narasimhiengar discusses a passage from Namisādhū and comes to the conclusion that there were two rhetoricians, Medhāvinanda and Rudra, and finds fault with those who regard Medhāvīrudra as the name of one author. The evidence, in his opinion irrefutable, that he produces, will not hold water, if properly examined. Because Bhāmaha and Namisādhū give quotations under the name Medhāvin, Mr. Narasimhiengar supposes that Medhāvin is quite distinct from Rudra in the passage quoted by him from Namisādhū.³ Mr. Narasimhiengar overlooks the fact that, when a person's name is compounded of two separable elements, he is often referred

¹ The Bombay University awarded to me a gold medal for this essay in 1906.

² Compare, however, the following verse from the Mahābhārata :
 या मे प्रीतिः पुष्कराच त्वद्दर्शनसमुद्भवा । सा किमाख्यायते तुभ्य-
 मन्तरात्मासि देहिनाम् । (Udyogaparvan, lxxxix, 24). The verse
 common to both is : अथ या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहायते ।
 कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात्पुनः ॥ (Kāvyaśāstra, ii, 276, and
 Bhāmaha, iii, 5).

³ ननु दण्डिमेधाविरुद्रभामहादिकृतानि सन्धेवालंकारशास्त्राणि
 (Namisādhū on Rudra, i, 2).

to by the first component only or sometimes by the second, e.g., Dharmakīrti is quoted as Kīrti, Bhartṛihari as Hari, and Bhīmasena as Bhīma. In the same way, Medhāvin may be a shorter form of Medhāvīrudra. This would not be an unusual name, for a Mālavarudra is mentioned by Kshemendra in his *Auchityavichāra-charchā*.¹ The strongest argument, however, against the theory that Medhāvin and Rudra are two distinct rhetoricians is that, while Namisādhū often quotes Daṇḍin, Medhāvin, and Bhāmaha by name, there is not a single quotation expressly taken from Rudra. If Rudra were an eminent and ancient rhetorician as Mr. Narasimhiengar supposes, we naturally expect that Namisādhū, in his voluminous commentary, should have at least once quoted him, especially as he quotes many times from the three others who have been joined with the supposed Rudra. I am, therefore, led to the conclusion that the rhetorician Rudra, the predecessor of Bhāmaha, is an imaginary person.

On p. 543 Mr. Narasimhiengar accepts the end of the sixth century as the date of Daṇḍin. There is a line of evidence which has apparently not been investigated by anyone up to the present, and which might go far to settle the question of Daṇḍin's age. Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvya-darśa*, refers to a king Rājavarman.² The date of Rājavarman would help us in determining the date of Daṇḍin. I hope that antiquarians will take up my humble suggestion. Pandit, in his masterly introduction

¹ Under verse 15 : यथा वा मालवश्चन्द्रस्य

अभिनवधूरोपखादः करोषतनूनपादसरलजनाशेषकूरस्तुषारसमी-
रणः । गलितविभवस्याज्ञेवाद्य द्युतिर्मृगणा रवेर्विरहिवनितावक्रीपस्य
विभर्ति निशाकरः ।

² सोमः सूर्यो मरुद्भूमिर्बोम होताऽनलो जलम् । इति रूपास्तिक्रम्य
त्वा द्रष्टुं देव के वयम् ॥ इति साक्षात्कृते देवे राज्ञो यद्राजवर्मणः ।
प्रीतिप्रकाशनं तच्च प्रेय इत्यवगम्यताम् ॥ (*Kāvya-darśa*, ii, 278-279).

to the Gauḍavaho, has pointed out that Śaṅkarācārya mentions a king Rājavarman in his Bhāṣhya on the Chāndogya-Upanishad.¹

There is a commentary ascribed to a Bhāmaha on the Prākṛitaprakāśa of Vararuchi. It is noteworthy that the introductory verse contains a salutation to Gaṇeśa.² If some scholar proves the identity of the two Bhāmahas, he would render a great service to the cause of Sanskrit studies.

P. V. KANE.

INSCRIPTION AT KAL'AH-I-SANG.

In 1902 I had the honour of reading a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society entitled "Historical Notes on South-East Persia" (*vide* J.R.A.S. for October, 1902). In it I described my discovery of Kal'ah-i-Sang, an ancient capital of the Kirmān province, and gave the purport of an inscription which was chiselled in honour of Sulṭān Aḥmad, 'Imād-ud-Dīn of the Muzaffar dynasty of Kirmān in A.H. 789 (1387). My first visit to these ruins, the importance of which has since been fully demonstrated in Mr. Guy Le Strange's "The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate" (*vide* pp. 300 et seqq.), was in 1900. Four years later I was fortunate enough to be able to make a second inspection of this interesting site, and this time I was accompanied by a competent Persian scholar, who carefully copied the pulpit inscription. Moreover, thanks to my cousin, Mr. H. R. Sykes, I am able to illustrate

¹ यथा पूर्ववर्मणः सेवा भक्तपरिधानमावफला । राजवर्मणस्तु सेवा राज्यतुल्यफलेति तद्वत् । (Chāndogyopanishadbhāṣhya, ii, 23, p. 104, Poona ed.).

² जयति मदमुदितमधुकरमधुररुताकलनकूणितापांगः । करविहितगण्डकण्डुविनोदमुखितो गणाधिपतिः ॥

these historical ruins by two remarkably good photographs, which add considerably to the value of my description. The inscription, as copied by the learned Afzal-ul-Mulk of Kirmān, and the translation run as follows:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| في زمان السلطان
العابد العادل المعترف من السماء بالنصر
والعز والفتح والسمو عماد الحق والدين الوثائق
بالملك الصمد ابا الخيرات السلطان احمد خلد
الله سلطانه اقل معا في البلاد قطب سلطان | ١ . . .
٢
٣
٤
٥ |
|---|-----------------------------|

“In the time of the Sultān, the Pious, the Just, the Victorious from Heaven, with Victory and Honour and Conquest and Greatness, the Pillar of Justice and Religion (‘Imād-ul-Hakḳ wa’d-Dīn), the believer in the Eternal King, the Father of Good Deeds (Abu-l-Khairāt), the Sovereign Ahmad. May God make his rule everlasting. The Smallest of the Inhabitants of the Provinces, Kutb Sultān . . . in the year 789.”

P. M. SYKES.

*British Consulate General, Meshed.
January 18th, 1908.*

THE HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM BOGHAZ KEUL.

Since my publication of the Hittite Cuneiform tablets in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for last October, I have received another fragment of the larger tablet (No. I) from Dr. McKenzie Newton, of Smyrna. This shows that the word which I have transliterated KUR Kūb-is-ma ought to be transcribed *arki su-ma*, ‘after this,’ the group of wedges at the beginning of it forming



ENGRAVED ROCK AT KAL'AH-I-SANG, FROM THE NORTH.



STONE PULPIT AT KAL'AH-I-SANG, FROM THE SOUTH.

a single character (*arki* or EGIR) and not two (KUR *kib*), while the character which follows, though written like *is*, turns out to be intended for *su*. Hence on the Reverse we have a list of mountains, of which the words which follow the ideograph of 'mountain' may be the names.

A. H. SAYCE.

*Dahabiā Isur, Luxor, Egypt.
December 31st, 1907.*

P. C. RAY'S ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

P. C. Ray's English translation of the Mahābhārata is a convenient and useful work, and does credit to the translator, whose native language was Bengali and not English. It is, however, well known that in places it is not accurate, and sometimes partakes rather of the nature of a commentary than of a true rendering of the Sanskrit original.

In several passages the translator animadverts with considerable emphasis upon the defects of the older Bengali translation, made under the auspices of Raja Mahtab Chand of Burdwan. I have lately had occasion somewhat minutely to compare the long Śānti Parvan of the epic in its original form with the English translation, and I find that where the latter varies from the Sanskrit it agrees with the Bengali version. In fact, the English rendering seems to have been made from the Bengali and not from the Sanskrit. As an example take MBh. xii, 13144. The Sanskrit text runs—

Aniruddha itī prōktō lōkānām prabhavāryayah.

The Bengali translation is—

*Aniruddha-rūpē ukta han ; tāhā hartē-i lōk sakalēr
utpatti o lay hay.*

The English rendering is, "He is otherwise called Aniruddha, and is the source of the Creation and Destruction of the universe."

Both versions are no doubt based on the commentary, but the English is a literal translation of the Bengali.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley,

January 30th, 1908.

THE NĀSIK HOARD OF NAHAPĀNA'S COINS.

The last number (lxii, p. 221) of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains an account by the Rev. H. R. Scott of the Nāsik Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins, discovered in the early part of last year, over 9,000 of the coins being counter-stamped by Gotamiputra Śātakarni I, the conqueror of Nahapāna.

For a full account of this interesting and important find, numbering about 15,000 coins, readers must be referred to the *Bombay Journal*, but there are one or two points that might be noted and a conjecture hazarded.

The coins, Mr. Scott points out, represent the king as of various ages, "some of the faces being young enough to be twenty years of age and others old enough looking to be that of a man of seventy."

It will be remembered that this was the case with the four specimens, hitherto the only ones known of Nahapāna's coins, described by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, the inference he drew being that the coins represented Nahapāna at different periods of his life.

Mr. Scott, with thousands to work upon, instead of four, sees strong evidence against this theory in the fact that not only do the faces vary in age but in every feature,

and he comes to the conclusion "that not one face is represented, but many." Examination of the coins has shown also the fact that the purer and more perfect form of the Greek lettering is frequently found on coins with the older heads, while those with the younger heads have the Greek lettering in a more or less corrupt form.

Mr. Scott's solution of this difficulty (which he himself admits to be somewhat far-fetched) is that the heads represented are those of members of Nahapāna's family, who "caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged, as he was the founder of the family." This does not seem to meet the case, and here it might be suggested that these faces are not likenesses at all, but merely *copies* of Roman coins with Greek inscriptions. If this is correct it would account for the fact that the correctness or corruptness of the letters does not correspond with the apparent age of the king.

This surmise is strengthened by the figures on plates ii-iii, where the headdress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and, above all, the shape of the head and features are very similar to the heads on coins of the Roman emperors of from 30 B.C. to 150 A.D., and the figures on these plates, if examined with no previous knowledge of where they came from, might easily be mistaken for Roman coins, especially those of Alexandria bearing the Greek legends.

One other fact in support of this theory is that, none of these salient features appears on the coins of Nahapāna's successors, which show a different style of headdress, long curling hair, moustaches, and quite a different type of features.

THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON.

In the *Manṭiq-ut-tair*, edition De Tassy, line 2271, occurs this passage:—

“Everyone who constantly shares bed and board
With the seven-headed dragon in Tamūz (July),
In this pastime incurs many ills,
Death on the gibbet is to him a very slight thing.”

This dragon is compared to the lover who thirsts for his own blood, and must therefore expect to be beheaded like a dragon (line 2258). Again, in the life of the Sufi martyr Husain bin Maṣṣūr Hallāj in the *Taḥkirat-ul Auliya* some Arabic verses are ascribed to him wherein he declares that his beloved has allotted to him the gibbet and the headsman's mat “like one who drinks wine with the dragon (*at-Tinnīn*) in summer.” The Persian rendering is *Dar shay Āb*, ‘in the hot mouth of Ab.’

Who is the dragon here referred to? The constellation *Draco* (*at-Tinnīn*), which is said to spread over seven signs of the zodiac, does not seem to satisfy the problem. Neither do the ascending and descending nodes of the moon, which are called the head and tail of the dragon, and figure in horoscopes. Is the dragon the Persian *Azhidahāk*, whose story as told in the *Bundehesh* and other Pahlavi texts bears a strong family likeness to that of the seven-headed dragon of Revelations xii? The mention of the Syrian months Tamūz and Āb perhaps indicates a Syrian origin for the myth, or it may be a variant of the Babylonian Tiamat myth?

Can anyone explain who or what is meant by this seven-headed dragon?

E. H. WHINFIELD.

THE NAVASAHASANKACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA.

With reference to some remarks in this Journal for 1907, page 1672, Dr. Zachariae wishes it to be made known that the translation, given in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pages 149-72, of the article by him and Professor Buhler, published in 1888, on the Navasāhasāṅkacharita of Padmagupta, was made and published without his knowledge and co-operation, and that he is consequently not responsible for any details in it being not quite up to date. For the information of readers who are interested in the subject of the poem, it may be added that the text, edited by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, was published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series in 1895.

HISTORICAL CONGRESS.

An Historical Congress will be held at Berlin from the 6th to 12th of August, 1908. It is divided into eight Sections; the first is the History of the East, of which Professor Sachau is the President.

The Organization Committee consists of Dr. Reinhold Koser, Carmenstrasse 9; Dr. Eduard Meyer, Gross-Lichterfelde (West) Mommsenstrasse 7/8; and Dr. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Westend, Ahornallee 12.

The subscription to the Congress is £1.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

LIFE AND LABOUR OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By
ABDULLAH YUSUF-ALI.

Mr. Yusuf-Ali not only possesses the pen of a ready writer, but he uses it with the skill and feeling of an artist. At the same time he is both an official in the highest grade of Government service in India and a native knowing the wants and aspirations of the subject population, and can therefore speak with an inside knowledge of affairs. He exposes the failure of administrative effort, and with tact lays bare the weaknesses of his fellow-countrymen, suggesting both the line of amelioration from above and the direction of self-help from below. Nothing could be more accurate than the description of town life, as picturesque as it is accurate, and the experienced resident will recognize the justice of the strictures passed on the lack of an earnest faith in a common good, the absence of social aims, and the hollowness of professed ideals. Similarly, the sketch of village life, full in details, correct in proportion, is as vivid as though painted in colours on the canvas of the artist. It shows the administration, the economy, the structure of the village as a unified, cohesive community, having self-contained, mutually-supplied wants, and free social intercourse within well-adjusted restrictions: at the same time, the defect of insanitation is not passed over, and the author traces the gradual adaptation of the old order to new conditions, a transition fortunately so far accomplished without a rupture of that frank understanding which has always existed between the people in villages and their exotic governors.

We are furnished in the chapter on the leisured classes with a sharp analysis of the causes which have brought about a marked change in the general social fabric, illustrated, among other instances, by the pitiable condition of the followers of the old or traditional learning, to which some still cling in the face of modern thought. For these men, who are gradually sinking into poverty and neglect, Mr. Yusuf-Ali pleads in a vein of by no means barren sympathy, for he suggests a means of assistance which cannot hurt their pride, while it meets an administrative need.

The much debated topic of education in India is handled with honest fearlessness; and there is much reason in the condemnation of the perfunctory, lifeless work of our schools, elementary and higher, to which is largely attributable the failure of our Indian University system to turn out young men of ordered intellect and well-proportioned mind. The chapters on industrial and economic problems, and that on civic life, bristle with criticisms and suggestions conceived in fair spirit and expressed in free and thoughtful language, which should stimulate to action the author's fellow-citizens, without whom advance on a sound basis is not possible. The State cannot do everything for all men even in India. Social tendencies are discussed with breadth of view, and the chapter devoted to this subject illustrates most fully the clear perception and power of close observation which Mr. Yusuf-Ali possesses.

It is on the subject of woman in the East that an Oriental writer finds it as difficult as does the European to speak, but for Mr. Yusuf-Ali there is no mystery attaching to the *pardah*, and his tact is great, as is his experience. He has given us glimpses of the brightest and best pictures of Indian home life, not always open to the European, and has shown by examples from both the past and present the possibilities of a future expansion

of the field open to Indian women in literature, public life, and private spheres of duty. The honest optimism, and the strong faith in the people themselves and in the good intention of the British system of government in India, which characterize this book throughout, mark it out as one to be recommended to all who have an interest in our Indian Empire.

W. HOEY.

HOW TO LEARN HINDŪSTĀNĪ. By Major F. R. H. CHAPMAN.
HINDŪSTĀNĪ GRAMMAR SELF-TAUGHT. By Capt. C. A.
THIMM.

Major Chapman must have observed, as many others who teach Hindūstānī have done, that the mere reading of a grammar or the learning of rules by rote, will not enable any person to speak Hindūstānī correctly, and that the application of the rules must from the earliest stages be illustrated by sentences rendered into that language by the learner. He has also realized that the reading of native literature and correspondence requires familiarity with the written character rather than with the type-printed (*loḥā-khattī*) books issued by European presses. The result is a useful book, giving in Part I the alphabet and rules of orthography and accidence, in concise and clear form, and in Part II the essential rules of syntax with exercises illustrating the rules. The author has wisely refrained from etymological speculation and discussion of the views of others, which disfigure and uselessly pad out some grammars. He has merely stated grammatical facts, leaving them to be accepted by his pupils, and has carefully illustrated the rules laid down.

In Part III of the work, exercises, consisting chiefly of connected passages which have already been set in examination papers at Calcutta or Madras, have been collected for translation into Hindūstānī. A good vocabulary

has been provided. With Major Chapman no fault can be found for including the passages such as they are, but it is fair to remark that some passages which have been set in the examinations for military officers seem to demand too close a knowledge of the idiom of native historical writings on the one hand or of military terminology on the other. This induces the 'cram' of set phrases. In both teaching and examining the aim should be to stimulate the acquisition of a free and ready knowledge of the language of every-day life. Major Chapman has out of the thousand and one passages set from time to time selected but few presenting these objectionable features.

In Part IV we have a new departure in the inclusion of letters, samples of familiar correspondence, among the documents given for manuscript reading. Few Englishmen can write a friendly (non-official or private) letter to a native gentleman, and yet occasions requiring such communications do arise. Anything which would help an English officer to be independent of the *munsifi* is welcome. To know the style and methods of the people themselves is a primary help.

Capt. Thimm's Grammar is throughout based on the romanized alphabet. It is compressed into a small compass, and is intended to enable a learner to teach himself the Hindūstāni language. This is the second edition of the work, and is in respect of arrangement a great improvement on the first. It is to be regretted that Mr. Bilgrāmi's illness prevented him from revising the original work, but fortunately Mr. Blumhardt undertook the task, and his painstaking care is everywhere apparent, more especially in changes in the presentation of grammatical points and in the addition of matter noticed in the Preface. The potential usefulness of the book has been increased, but it is open to doubt if the romanized character answers the purpose of a teaching instrument in the case of

Oriental languages. It certainly is not in that way equal to the native character itself, for it loses the aid of the eye, which would convey the image of the sound, so to speak, of the strange letter and of the new words, and thus help the student's memory. Perhaps some people think that the path of the learner is rendered easier by the use of familiar letters, even though extraneous dots and dashes be added, but despite this impression and the adoption of this conventional mode of writing, it is certain that for one who aims at real knowledge, not to say scholarship, "the longer way round" by the native alphabet is "the shorter way home." There is no royal road to learning.

W. HOEY.

REPORTS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO TORRES STRAITS. Vol. III: Linguistics. By SIDNEY H. RAY. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1907.)

At first sight the subject of this great work would appear to lie entirely outside the sphere of interest of the Royal Asiatic Society and its *Journal*: whatever extension one may be disposed to give to the term 'Asiatic,' it cannot in any sense, ethnological, linguistic, or other, be made to take in the little group of islands that dot the straits lying between Australia and New Guinea. Nevertheless, apart from the acknowledgment which is due to the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press in presenting this work to the Society's library, there is a certain amount of justification for noticing it in a periodical devoted to Asiatic research. From the point of view of linguistics, the greater part of the islands of the South Seas (excluding the island-continent of Australia) are virtually fragments of Asia; the languages which are spoken throughout almost the whole of this vast and

scattered insular region belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family, which is undoubtedly of Asiatic origin and affinity. It is true that the languages of the Torres Straits islands do not fall within this category. But in geographical position they lie very close to the borders of the Melanesian languages, a branch of the great Malayo-Polynesian family, and an investigation of their characteristics is not altogether without bearing on the problems connected with their Melanesian neighbours.

Mr. Ray's book is a large one, exceeding 525 pages quarto. The first half of it is taken up with grammars, vocabularies, and texts of the two languages of Torres Straits. These are all very full of detail, very interesting, and in every way models of their kind. The second half of the work deals, of course more briefly, with the languages of Cape York Peninsula (North Queensland) and British New Guinea. The reason for including these in the survey lies in the fact that the Torres Straits languages are not homogeneous; there is a Western language which is Australian in origin and affinity, and an Eastern one which is related to the Papuan languages of the neighbouring coast of New Guinea. The circumstance is rather curious, because it appears that the Torres Straits islanders are quite Papuan in physical characteristics and not Australian at all. But such seeming discrepancies between the evidence of anthropology and linguistics are after all common enough in various parts of the world.

The two languages of Torres Straits, belonging as they do to two quite distinct families of speech, are treated separately in this book. From the point of view of grammar, though both are sufficiently complicated, the Western would appear to be somewhat the simpler of the two. It uses suffixes only, whereas the Eastern one uses prefixes as well. Both, like the Australian and Papuan languages with which they must respectively be classed,

are in the agglutinative stage of development. In the Western tongue there appears to be a remarkable identity of verbal and nominal suffixes: it would seem that the same machinery is made to express relations both of time and space, if (as I imagine) the case-suffixes are, in the main or altogether, originally of locative import. The Western language possesses numerous ways of forming the plural of substantives; the Eastern one has no such formation at all. The Western language uses particles to indicate gender and, strange as it may seem, includes large things with females, small ones with males. The Eastern language has nothing of the kind: even in the third person of the pronoun it makes no difference of gender.

In both tongues the verb is exceedingly complex. The Western language does not modify its form to indicate person, but on the other hand the Eastern one indicates person with reference to the relation existing between the agent *and object* and the speaker. The number of objects also, in both languages, affects the form of the verb. In both languages the verb has many different moods, and in the Western one numerous tenses. Altogether the description of the verb is most interesting, but must have been an uncommonly difficult piece of work to do. In both languages postpositions do the work of our prepositions, but numerals properly so called extend only to 'two,' though by means of composition they can be made to go as far as 'six.' In modern times English numerals have been introduced wholesale, affording an excellent illustration of the facility with which such loan words can be adopted by primitive forms of speech. Although these languages had no true numerals (beyond 'one' and 'two'), there was originally a very curious system of counting by reference to parts of the body, beginning with the little finger of the left hand and going up the arm to the shoulder, across the body, and down the other arm and

hand. Out of this prolix and rather variable method a definite numeral system might ultimately have been evolved, if the need for one had been felt before these races fell under the spell of European influence. But it is now obsolete, the English numerals being no doubt found much simpler and more convenient. The syntax of the two languages, Western and Eastern, is much the same: the subject and the direct object (and also usually the indirect object) precede the verb, as likewise does the adverb. Attributive adjectives, nouns, and possessives (pronouns) precede the word they qualify. The syntax is thus quite the opposite of the Malayo-Polynesian system, in which qualifying words follow those that they qualify.

The vocabularies of the two languages given in this book are copious. There is an index of the English equivalents which adds immensely to their utility for comparative purposes. The texts are numerous and lengthy enough to illustrate the peculiarities of these languages, and they are especially valuable as being the genuine work of natives, in fact the first attempt, among these races, at anything approaching literary composition. They are also of intrinsic interest as being mostly concerned with native legends which have hitherto been handed down by oral tradition only. Many of these stories are of a childlike and somewhat incoherent character, which no doubt reflects faithfully enough the mental attitude of the race and makes them on that account the more valuable.

The second half of the book has a wider scope, including as it does a number of grammars and comparative vocabularies of Australian, Papuan, and Melanesian languages. More than a hundred different languages are enumerated and, as far as the circumstances permitted, described in this part of the work. Here Mr. Ray has had to draw largely on materials collected by others, such materials

being often much less representative and complete than those that he has collected himself. Thus the data available for the study of the Australian languages of Cape York Peninsula (North Queensland) are scanty, and do not appear to throw very much light on the subject of the Torres Straits languages, though the affinity between the Western language of Torres Straits and some of the North Queensland ones seems to be established beyond a doubt.

For British New Guinea the materials are somewhat more copious. It was Mr. Ray, it will be remembered, who first pointed out the existence in this region of the class of languages which he denominated 'Papuan' as something quite distinct from the Melanesian languages, and this discovery, with which his name will always remain associated, was of vital importance in connection with Oceanic ethnology. It afforded a clue to what had till then been a very puzzling problem, namely, the circumstance that languages of Malayo-Polynesian affinity were spoken in the islands known as Melanesia by more or less Negroid tribes that could not possibly be correlated anthropologically either with Indonesians or Polynesians. Yet it was plain that the Melanesian tongues were ultimately of Indonesian descent, and thus here again the linguistic and the anthropological evidence appeared to contradict each other. Mr. Ray's discovery that among some of the tribes of New Guinea the entirely alien languages, now termed 'Papuan,' had survived, helps one to get over the difficulty: it raises a strong presumption, amounting to practical certainty, that in former times these Papuan languages were spoken throughout the whole of the region where Negroid blood prevails, but have been in part superseded by the invading Melanesian tongues, which are simpler in structure and (for that reason as well as their association with a somewhat higher standard of culture) tend to replace the more

complex Papuan ones wherever the two come into direct contact with one another.

Much, it must be confessed, remains still to be worked out. The whole conception of 'Papuan' languages is at present hardly more than a negative one: it denotes something that is neither Melanesian nor Australian, nor anything else that can, as yet, be classified in any of the other known families of language. It would seem that the Papuan tongues differ so much amongst themselves that it must for the present, at least, be considered doubtful whether they can be classed together as one family, though they do apparently fall into a number of groups, within each of which there is undoubted affinity. Nothing could emphasize more strongly the state of primitive isolation in which the different Papuan tribes must have lived hitherto, than this extraordinary divergence in language. And, of course, though it does not necessarily imply original diversity of speech, such a condition of things makes the assumption of the existence of a Papuan family of languages a very hypothetical matter. It must be said that Mr. Ray has in no way prejudged this question: he does not postulate the existence of such a family of speech, but, on the contrary, expressly asserts that the languages he terms 'Papuan' fall into several very distinct groups which have no common grammar or vocabulary.

Nevertheless, there is sufficient *prima facie* reason for the hypothesis that these distinct Papuan groups may be ultimately connected; at any rate, enough reason to justify further investigation into the question from that point of view. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this line of research will be pursued till the problem of the relation of the different groups of Papuan languages with one another is finally cleared up; assuming that the thing is possible with the aid of the data that are at present or may in the near future be available, there is no

doubt that Mr. Ray would be the man best qualified to undertake the task, and one may reasonably hope that he will find time to do so.

The Melanesian languages spoken in some regions of British New Guinea are somewhat more remotely connected with the main subject of the book; but in approaching them one feels that one is, as it were, a step nearer to *terra firma*. These languages have been known for a longer period than the others, and they are all related together and connected with a family of speech that has been carefully investigated by eminent scholars for many years past. Also, being really of Asiatic origin, they are less unfamiliar in type than the Australian and Papuan tongues. To what extent the Melanesian languages owe such divergence as they exhibit from their ancestral Indonesian type to the influence of the racial peculiarities of the Negroid races on whom they have been imposed, and the characteristics of the Papuan languages that they have supplanted, is a question which does not fall within the scope of the present work, but which I trust that Mr. Ray will some day deal with. It is evident that in syntax the Melanesian sometimes represents a compromise between the Indonesian and the Papuan. Thus, whereas adjectives used attributively follow the substantive they qualify, which is also the typical Malayo-Polynesian order, it appears that if the qualifying word is itself a noun, there are differences in the Melanesian usage, which are difficult to explain. The typical Indonesian order, wherein the qualifying noun follows the qualified one, is the exception in the Melanesian of New Guinea and the usual order is the reverse of the Indonesian type. Again, in the use of the pronouns as possessives Melanesian draws a distinction between cases when they can be suffixed and others in which they are prefixed to the qualified noun: the suffixing is admitted only in a limited class of nouns,

and appears to imply a peculiarly close relation. Likewise postpositions appear to be more usual than prepositions. Evidently the syntax of Melanesia is a hybrid product.

In the various sections of the work, as I have briefly enumerated them, there are many other matters of great interest, to dilate on which would take up more space than can be spared here. In the Melanesian section I would especially draw attention to a very valuable chapter on the numeral systems of the Melanesian languages (which in this department represent a marked advance on the Papuan stage of development). Even here there appear to be a few traceable instances of Papuan influence, in the shape of languages which possess no proper word for 'four,' and have to use either 'two and two' or 'many'; showing that their numeral system formerly stopped at 'three,' at furthest. In the first section of the book I should have mentioned also the chapters on the Jargon English, Gesture Language, and Fire Signals of the Torres Straits islanders; with the exception of the first-named these are the work of some of Mr. Ray's colleagues. The Jargon English is also based mainly on materials collected by Dr. Haddon, the leader of the expedition. It is a curious hybrid, throwing a somewhat peculiar light upon the language used by the European sailors and settlers from whom it was acquired, as well as on the mentality of the natives who have fashioned it into its present form. It is apparently obsolescent now.

At the end of the work Mr. Ray briefly discusses and sums up the linguistic position of the different groups of languages that he has described. He rightly takes a firm stand against the rubbish that has hitherto been written as to the possible origin and affinities of the Australian languages. There would appear to be a sort of fatality dogging the efforts of linguistic scholars in the southern hemisphere when they try to transcend

the mere collection and arrangement of actual concrete materials, and attempt to draw inferences from the facts they have got together. Their want of any true scientific method leads them infallibly to the most impossible conclusions. The results which they have arrived at, so far as the Australian languages are concerned, are, *inter alia*, (1) that they are related to the 'African' (though which of the several distinct African families of speech, is not quite clear); (2) that they are related to Polynesian, Melanesian, Dravidian, and Aryan; (3) that they are related to Malay, with resemblances in Semitic. Mr. Ray also mentions a fourth theory, put forward by a German scholar, which would connect them with Andamanese. A method which leads to these various and mutually inconsistent conclusions stands self-condemned.

On the other hand, it may be questioned whether Mr. Ray does not insist a little too strictly on the necessity for an absolute identity in syntax as the only safe guide and *sine quâ non* in establishing the connection of languages. Syntax is not an unchangeable constant in any family of languages, more especially when the influence of an alien tongue or a foreign race is brought into play: the differences between Indonesian and Melanesian syntax already referred to are a case in point. On Mr. Ray's hard and fast principle, it is difficult to see how any relationship could be admitted between these two allied sub-families, or indeed, for the matter of that, between Hindustani and English: for in the test sentence selected by Mr. Ray himself, viz. "What is your name?" the Hindu says, "Yours what name is?" Here Mr. Ray's principle would seem to be in need of some degree of qualification. Still, it is far better to have a principle that is somewhat too rigid in its application to some particular cases, than to be at the mercy of any chance resemblance of words, as the Australian and Polynesian etymologists commonly are. Mr. Ray's brief summary of the position of these different

groups of languages is, at any rate, a series of definite statements on the soundness of which one can depend, not a string of unproved and unprovable nebulous hypotheses, such as make up the bulk of what has been written on Australasian philological matters by many others.

In conclusion, one may confidently affirm that the work now under review is one on which everyone concerned with it is to be congratulated; and not least, the students of language as a science, for not only does it enlarge very considerably the material of their studies, but it is in itself a model of the way in which such material should be arranged and handled. There are four useful maps. The one thing wanting is an index.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.

The second volume of this important contribution to history deals with a comparatively short period; but it is a period in which stirring events were happening. We have several accounts of the capture of Fort St. George in 1746. But one and all are usefully supplemented by the daily jottings of the diarist at Pondicherry.

The expected arrival of a French fleet on the coast in 1746, more powerful than the British squadron already there, seems to have been the means of calling into existence the ambitious scheme of conquest which Duplex partly carried out. In March the outline of it was generally known to the natives along the whole coast; and there was some consternation in consequence among the native merchants at Fort St. George. Ranga Pillai records the bazaar opinion at Pondicherry that fortune would change from the English to the French cause. He attributes the reason for this opinion to the knowledge that *three* misfortunes to the English had happened

together—(i) the death of the gallant Commodore Barnet, (ii) the wreck of an English ship, (iii) the imprisonment at Devikottai of an English commander and twelve sailors. By the simultaneous occurrence of these events they were persuaded that the goddess of Fortune had left Madras for Pondicherry. Dupleix took advantage of these rumours and pushed on his preparations for war, heartily assisted by Ranga Pillai and the native community, who had no doubt about the meaning of the omens.

Dupleix was well supplied with information by his own spies and correspondents here and there; and he was greatly helped in this matter by Ranga Pillai, who had his business agents at every important centre. By these means he was kept informed of the feelings and opinions of all the more important persons and communities round about.

De la Bourdonnais with his fleet of eight ships of war arrived at Pondicherry on the 8th July after an indecisive engagement with the English fleet of six ships under Commodore Peyton. Both fleets required a good deal of repair after the engagement. The failure to destroy the English fleet was only a small part of the trouble which waited on the French admiral. He was the Commander-in-Chief of a gallant fighting force. At Pondicherry he was treated as to honours and salutes on a par with a Deputy Governor. He had the orders of his King to destroy the English fleet; and he brought orders to Dupleix to assist him in whatever manner he required to accomplish this object. Dupleix, on the other hand, took upon himself to mark out for the admiral another course of action, and instructed him to carry it out. The word jealousy has hitherto sufficed to explain the cause of disagreement of the two men. It was not entirely jealousy. The Admiral refused to recognize the assumed authority of the Governor and to go beyond his own instructions. There were strained relations; and

the Governor confided to Ranga Pillai his intemperate opinion of the Admiral. Ranga Pillai fed the flame of ill-will by repeating to the Governor all the bazaar gossip he heard about the Admiral. He tickled his vanity by the most audacious flattery; and impressed upon him that public opinion on the coast was in favour of his project of capturing Fort St. George.

De la Bourdonnais decided at first to carry out the King's instructions, and he embarked on the 3rd August with this intention. But it is certain that he had not made up his mind entirely. He suffered Dupleix to load up store ships with military stores for land service, including every kind of siege requisite; and he took these ships with him. Twenty days later he returned to Pondicherry, and permitted the embarkation of horses, soldiers, and more stores. During his absence Dupleix had loaded up a ship with ladders, spades, pickaxes, tents, and live stock. But the Admiral still hesitated. Dupleix ordered him to sail for Madras on the 24th August; he refused. He had been long enough in the settlement to see that Dupleix was dominating his Council, and was in political matters acting without it. Dupleix sought an interview with the Admiral. The latter repeated what his orders were, and added, "If you order me to attack Madras, I will do so, but I must have the written orders of your Council." The Council was accordingly summoned; but the members declined all responsibility, as they had had no orders from their Company. For the time being the expedition was given up.

The object of the visit of the French fleet to Madras on the last day of August has some light thrown upon it by Ranga Pillai's record. Without the consent of the Council De la Bourdonnais could not carry out Dupleix's scheme of unprovoked attack. But it was possible to provoke an attack by sending his ships to be fired upon. And if this result luckily happened, he could attack the town on his

own account without any orders from Dupleix, and reap the benefit for himself and those under his command. It did happen. The fleet arrived at Fort St. George, and fired a broadside at the "Princess Mary" lying at anchor. The fire was returned by the ship and also by the Fort. That was all De la Bourdonnais wanted. After a little more firing, in which little or no harm was done on either side, the French fleet retired and returned to Pondicherry.

Ranga Pillai records that Dupleix paid a visit to De la Bourdonnais, and returned out of temper and angry. No wonder; the settlement of the matter was taken out of his hands and assumed by his rival. Three days later, on the 4th September, a remarkable conversation took place between Dupleix and the diarist, in which Dupleix denounced the Admiral without any official reserve as a petty-minded pauper, a tyrant, a dog, and so on. The Admiral's opinion of Dupleix is not recorded. He simply ordered all the various stores and provisions to be embarked, and he sailed with the fleet on the 12th September to accomplish Dupleix's purpose in his own way and for his own advantage. The Fort was taken. There was joy at Pondicherry. But De la Bourdonnais made his own terms with the English merchants, and would not allow the civilian nominees of Dupleix to have any share in the administration of affairs until he had secured the treasure and looted the warehouses for the benefit of himself and his sailors.

It is plain that the officers of his fleet did not understand which of the rivals was really acting in the name of the King whose commission they bore. When Dupleix's nominees attempted on the 2nd October to assert themselves by calling upon De la Bourdonnais to take the oath of allegiance, the naval officers remained silent; and the civilians enjoyed a short triumph. But as soon as it was made clear to them that the King had given the Admiral discretionary power in the conduct of the war, and had

directed Dupleix to keep him supplied with everything he required, they understood that the cause of the Admiral was the cause of the King; and they sided with him in destroying the brief authority of the Pondicherry civilians, and in assisting De la Bourdonnais to do as he pleased. His pleasure was to get as much as he could out of the venture, and to exclude Dupleix from a share in it. He left the administrative power in the hands of Governor Morse. He embarked the Pondicherry soldiers and sepoys, and garrisoned Fort St. George with his own men. Messengers from Dupleix were told to mind their own business, and his letters were left unanswered.

All this time, however, the Admiral was not without misgivings as to his attitude towards Dupleix. He was uncertain as to the extent and nature of his political authority. In this state of vacillation an incident of not much importance caused him to reverse his policy on the 12th October. It came to his knowledge that one or more of the English merchants had buried a portion of their treasure. He summoned Governor Morse and the other Englishmen to his presence; reproached them for deceiving him; tore up the agreement he had made with them; placed them in confinement; landed the Pondicherry troops to garrison the Fort, and embarked his own men. He then wrote to Dupleix, "Please send officials to take charge." On the 13th he wrote, "I have restored Madras to the English." On the 14th he wrote, "I have neither placed it in charge of the Pondicherry officials nor restored it; I am undecided what to do." Ranga Pillai commented in his diary upon his indecision: "His ways are like those of natives and Mahomedans . . . it seems probable that he will get into difficulties."

On the 13th and 14th October a violent cyclone destroyed a portion of the French squadron, and severely damaged the remainder. A great deal of the treasure was lost. The ships that were not wrecked put

to sea for safety, leaving the Pondicherry troops and the Admiral in possession of the Fort and the town. Ranga Pillai recorded in his diary his satisfaction at the Admiral's discomfiture; he looked upon the storm as the vengeance of the gods upon an opponent of his master.

The portrait of Dupleix in this diary is microscopic. Ranga Pillai was sufficiently shrewd to recognize his good and bad qualities, and he records them in the most simple way. He shows us Dupleix in his various moods and in the midst of his various intrigues as that distinguished Governor never intended himself to be known.

As for Ranga Pillai himself, he preferred his independence to being the Governor's dubash; but he served his master as if he were dubash, prime minister, private secretary, and intelligence officer all in one. On the other hand, without the Governor's knowledge, he had the confidence of his writers and interpreters; whether they were in his pay or not does not appear; but he certainly knew the contents of all letters and documents which passed through their hands before the close of the day of their arrival or dispatch. Although he was such a devoted admirer of his chief, the French Governor did not trust him entirely; sometimes his plain speaking amounted to rudeness; but when Fort St. George was taken he showed his appreciation by promising to give him anything he liked to ask. The disinterested character of Ranga Pillai is seen in the requests he made. He asked for nothing for himself, but (1) for the release of all prisoners and debtors, (2) for a reduction in the fixed price of tobacco and betel leaf, and (3) that some dismissed subordinates should be reinstated in the Government service.

The diary makes it quite clear that there were traitors to the English cause both at Mylapore and Fort St. George. The story of the French sergeant at the Fort, of the

catechist and priest at Mylapore, and of the letters which Madame Frances Barneval wrote to her stepfather, the French Governor, make it plain that the English suspicions, from which the Roman Catholics suffered subsequently so much, were justified, though they could not at the time be fully proved.

Sir Frederick Price and the Superintendent of the Records at Fort St. George are to be congratulated on the completion of the volume. There are a few printer's errors, but these are so obvious that they will cause no difficulty. One would be glad to know exactly what terms Ranga Pillai used when referring to the different settlements on the coast. He is made in the translation to use the term Madras, for instance. What word did he actually use? 'Priest' is not an accurate translation of the word 'guru.' The unidentified place Sirppai (p. 308) is probably Tirupatti.

FRANK PENNY.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE. By
E. HORRWITZ. London: Fisher Unwin, 1907.

It is a little difficult to see exactly for what class of readers is intended Mr. Horrwitz's *Short History of Indian Literature*. It can hardly be said that popular expositions of that literature are wanting when there are available Mr. R. W. Frazer's *Literary History of India* and Professor Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature*, and, although there may be room in England for a less scientific work on the lines of Professor Oldenberg's *Litteratur des alten Indien*, the author hardly brings to his work that commanding grasp of principle which renders Professor Oldenberg's popular sketch of value even to scholars. It is, too, unfortunate, in view of the brief compass of the work, that so much space should be assigned to comparative etymologies, some of which (e.g. that of *avatār*, p. 101) are not even accurate.

We doubt also whether it is really wise to exaggerate the absolute value of Indian literature. In doing so Mr. Horowitz has indeed the example of Professor Rhys Davids, who, in his preface (p. xvii), tells us that the first attempts of the Indian intellect at the investigation of medicine, astronomy, philology, geometry, and law, were "all of a high degree of excellence," but he goes beyond what Professor Rhys Davids would probably accept when he says (p. 52) that "in depth of thought and soundness of argument" Śāṅkara's Bhāṣya "ranks by the side of Kant's famous critiques." We need not be Kantians, nor need we underestimate the value of the Vedānta—which we are glad to see Mr. Horowitz prefer to Buddhism (p. 92)—to say that such a comparison is quite misleading. Nor is a History of Literature quite the place for an expression of opinion (p. 58) from which it would seem that the author really believes that political disaffection in India is due to missionary teaching, and that technical education *and* Vedāntism are the best hopes for Indian progress. We fear that a true Vedāntin would hardly disturb himself much for the furtherance of such education.

The author of a Short History must, of course, be allowed to select the views he regards as most probable, but Mr. Horowitz hardly seems to us always happy in his choice. We are by no means as sure as he is that "none of the epical or legal literature of the Hindus was composed before Buddha" (p. 11), and we do feel pretty confident that Kālidāsa¹ was *not* the friend of Vikrama, a Vallabhi, in the first half of the sixth century (p. 98),

¹ See *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 579. The results of the researches of Professor Bühler and of Professor Kielhorn (whose death deprives us of one of the greatest of Sanskrit scholars) are not affected by later work (e.g., *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 186; 1904, p. 166). It is impossible to doubt that Vatsabhaṭṭi (A.D. 472) knew the Meghadūta and Ritusaphara, and for reasons given by Bühler that Kālidāsa was not a contemporary of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

and that, whatever Harṣa was, he was *not* a successor of Vikrama and a "devout Buddhist." Nor would we regard the Raghuvamśa as a happy mingling of philosophic reflection with descriptive verse in the manner of Wordsworth (p. 129). We would hesitate to ascribe much literary merit to Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, and it is as certain as anything of the sort can be that he did not write the Ratnāvali (p. 137), though no doubt in this, as in his view that Laṅkā in the Rāmāyaṇa is Ceylon (p. 31), Mr. Horowitz can cite authority in support of his opinion.

We have offered these criticisms because we gather that Mr. Horowitz proposes to make further attempts to present Indian literature in popular guise, and we consider that such attempts are of value so long as a high standard of accuracy is maintained, and some due proportion observed in the evaluation of the works treated of.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY BABYLONIAN KINGS.

Edited by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., etc. Two vols., small 8vo. London: Luzac & Co., 1907.

Though not one of the surprises of Assyriology (for the discovery of such documents as form the subject of this work is always to be expected), the inscriptions presented to the world therein are sufficiently noteworthy. They go back as far as the time of Sargon of Agadé, and treat of events as late as the seventh century B.C. Several of the documents—the Omen of the time of Sargon of Agadé and Naram-Sin, the Dynastic Chronicle, and the Legend of Sargon—were known before, but have been repeated here apparently for the sake of completeness, and because of the bearing which they have on the new texts published.

From the Chronicle referring to Sargon of Agadé we now know that those Assyriologists were right who denied that there was any statement that he had crossed the Mediterranean to Cyprus—there is a mistake in the tablet of omens based on the history of his reign—it was the Eastern Sea (the Persian Gulf), not the Western Sea, which he crossed. Nevertheless, Sargon's authority on the Mediterranean coasts seems to have been very real, and he set up images of himself there. After treating of the reign of Sargon, the text speaks of Dungi, son of Sur-Engur, who seems to have spoiled Babylon and its great temple, Ê-sagila, thus bringing upon himself the displeasure of Bel (Merodach). The next paragraph relates that king Ura-imitti set Bêl-ibni (Professor Clay would naturally read Ellila-ibni) on the throne, "that (the dynasty) might not come to an end," giving rise, as the author points out, to the story in Agathias concerning Beleous and Beletaras. This tradition is well discussed in the first volume of the work now under review.

The second chronicle, which is a continuation of the first, overlaps it somewhat, and after repeating the history of Ura-imitti and Bêl-ibni, speaks of the reign of Hammurabi, and his struggle with Rim-Sîn, king of Larsa, and also of Ur, whose cities he captured. This probably refers to what took place either in the 8th or the 31st year of Hammurabi's reign, when attacks, apparently on Emutbâlu, Rim-Sîn's domain, were made. On the first occasion the king of Larsa would seem to have escaped, to be captured later by Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son. From the way in which Rim-Sîn is written, it is clear that he is not identical with Arioch, as this name probably means 'Servant of the Moon-god,' whilst the former signifies 'Sin's wild bull.' This being the case, the probability is that Rim-Sîn, as Thureau-Dangin suggests, was Arioch's (Eri-Aku's) brother.

Another important point revealed by these tablets is that

the 'Dynasty of Uru-azaga,'¹ which in the chronological list of Babylonian kings immediately follows the Dynasty of Babylon, that to which Hammurabi belonged, is in part contemporary with it. This naturally brings down the period of Hammurabi's dynasty by about 118 years, and makes the high date attributed by Nabonidus to Sargon of Agadé still more improbable than it has been held to be. Whether the position of the paragraph referring to Dungi, which is immediately after those referring to Sargon, shows that Dungi was one of Sargon's immediate successors, is uncertain, notwithstanding that it accords with the indications of the city-deposits at Niffer. Further light is needed on this question, and will doubtless be forthcoming sooner or later. The volumes are a most valuable contribution to the history and chronology of Babylonia and Assyria.

T. G. PINCHES.

MITTHEILUNGEN DER DEUTSCHEN ORIENT-GESELLSCHAFT
ZU BERLIN. Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Aus-
grabungen in Boghaz-köi im Sommer 1907. 1. Die
Tontafelfunde. Von HUGO WINCKLER. No. 35,
December, 1907.

The activity of Germany in the matter of Oriental excavation is beyond all praise, and will bring to her lasting honour, not only on account of the results, but also for the thorough and scientific way in which the work is carried on. The excavations at Boghaz-köi began where fragments of tablets had already been found, namely, on the declivity of the hill at Böyük-kale, and the fragments increased in size as the explorers went higher, until the large tablets were in places complete. They are evidently

¹ Otherwise 'the dynasty of the land of the sea.'

a portion of the royal archives. Another mass of records was found at the foot of the hill, by the ruins of the temple. It was in the upper find that the Babylonian version of the treaty between Rameses II and the Hittite king *Hattusil*, in Babylonian script and language, was found, and from the records discovered it is now clear that, as in the case of Assyria, city and country bore the same name—it was the city *Hattu* in the land *Hattu*. The founder of the dynasty was *Šubbiluliuma* (the name read *Sapalulu* in the Egyptian contract of Rameses). He was apparently a conqueror, whose overlordship the state of Mitanni acknowledged. After an interval, during which his son *Aranda* reigned, another son, *Mursil*, the *Maurasar* of Egyptologists, came to the throne. There seems to be among the records a kind of chronicle of his reign, and a whole row of unknown regions are mentioned. After this ruler came *Mutallu*, who was succeeded by *Hattusil*, the well-known *Chetasar* of Egyptology. His queen was *Pudukipa*, and their son *Dudhalia* (a name which recalls the *Tidal* of the 14th chapter of Genesis, and the *Tudhula* of the tablets which apparently refer to Chedorlaomer and his allies). Many historical details are outlined in the numerous tablets belonging to his reign, and one fragment is part of a letter from *Katukman-Turju*, his Babylonian contemporary, or, as he calls him, his 'brother.' Professor Winckler quotes a considerable portion of a long letter concerning the relations between *Hattu* and Babylonia, complaining of the misrepresentations of *Itti-Marduk-balutu*, the Babylonian representative. One of the letters refers to the alliance between the Hittites and Egypt, and has a paragraph concerning the mischief caused by a certain *Banti-Šinni*, against whom the Babylonian king is invited to come and take legal action.

It would take up too much space, however, to go over all the points of this interesting communication, which is the forerunner of others still more important

to come. Other texts enable us to understand many things which before were either doubtful or incomprehensible. The *Sa-gas*-people of the Tell-el-Amarna letters are now shown to be the same as the *Habiri*, and their comparison with the Hebrews is thereby strengthened, though in that case it is probable that they were not the Hebrews who came out of Egypt, but kindred tribes who remained in the country. References to a physician and an incantation-maker show that these officials were sometimes exchanged. Impressions of a royal seal, with a Hittite and a cuneiform inscription, will probably prove to be of importance for the interpretation of the Hittite hieroglyphic characters. Unfortunately, the Hittite text is mutilated, but the latter reads as follows:—

"[Se]al of the edict of *Arnuanta*, the great king, son of *Du[dh]alia*,

[S]eal of the lady *Tawašši-??*, the lady *Mu-ni-Dan*, the great queen,

. . .?, daughter of *Dudhali[a]*."

Professor Winckler states that 'Dudhalia's wife was also his sister, giving a further example of sister-marriage in the royal house, which, as with the Pharaohs, had probably a mythological and religious origin. Like the Pharaoh and the Inca, the king of Hatti was also 'the Sun,' showing in what lines the thoughts—and the conceit—of kings ran in those distant lands in ancient times. This is reflected in the very interesting translation of the treaty between *Šubbiluliuma* and *Artatama*, king of *Harri*, in which the former is designated 'the Sun.'

Numerous, too, are the references bearing upon the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, throwing much light upon the time to which they belong, and showing that (at least in a few cases) what was thought to be due to Egyptian influence is in reality due to the influence of the Hittites. Important information concerning the

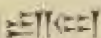
mythology may also be expected, as is shown by the occurrence of the names of Mithras and Varuna. Twelve process-blocks reproduce pictures of antiquities and remains of buildings, all likewise of considerable interest.

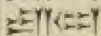
Professor Hugo Winckler and the Deutsch Orient-Gesellschaft are greatly to be congratulated on the success of their work at Boghaz-köi.








T. G. PINCHES.

SELTENE ASSYRISCHE IDEOGRAMME, gesammelt von BRUNO MEISSNER. Lieferungen I-IV. pp. 320 4to. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-7.

This is a very useful continuation of Professor R. E. Brünnow's *Classified List of simple and compound Cuneiform Ideographs*, and contains, as far as published, 5,543 entries, dealing with 370 characters, some of which appear in a classified list for the first time. Though less elaborate in its system than the pioneer work of Brünnow, it is nevertheless exceedingly important, as it brings together groups from very varied publications, in which they were practically buried. Among Dr. Meissner's successful restorations may be mentioned *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, pt. xi, pl. 15, lines 37, 38:

ganšiš |  | êputu^m, gloom.

ganšiš |  | iklitu^m, darkness.

Also there is no doubt that he is right in restoring  in part xii, pl. 18, of the same publication, col. 1, where he correctly reads *birku* instead of *biršu* and restores *rênu*. Interesting is his suggestion that the Semitic reading of     is *Malkatu*, probably the name of the queen of heaven.  , *megidda*, Sem. *šahitum*, 'wild sow,' appears for the first time in a classified list,

and he has very acutely suggested that the mutilated non-Semitic value of 𒀭 𒀭 in *Cuneiform Texts*, pt. xii, pl. 18, may be *de-el-lu*. All these I had independently noted as possible from the traces. Full use has been made of the lists published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, which are thus made more accessible to students.

To find fault with such a useful book would be an ungrateful task, and I confine myself therefore to indicating one or two additions from my notes. For 𒀭 𒀭 I have also the Sumerian value of *giš-nu* as a synonym (in all probability) of 𒀭 𒀭 , *nāru*, 'light'; and the same for the first character written vertically, with the addition of a sign like *ga*, making the group 𒀭 𒀭 . In *Cuneiform Texts*, pt. xii, pl. 31, fragment 38885, rev., the character explained in lines 7 and 8 seems to be 𒀭 , and in that case the Sumerian values given are probably 𒀭 𒀭 , *lu-u*, and 𒀭 𒀭 , *lu-ul*, with the first character in each case written as 𒀭 . In the case of 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 I copied, as the Sumerian value, 𒀭 𒀭 , *bi-ib*, instead of 𒀭 𒀭 , *du-ur*, and revision rather confirmed this reading, but it must be admitted that I do not feel any confidence in it. Instead of 𒀭 𒀭 (2940-1), my copy has 𒀭 𒀭 , which is supported by the Semitic meaning *qarnū*, 'horned.' Also, I have noted that the Sumerian pronunciation of 𒀭 𒀭 is *galga*, the dialectic form being 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , *ma-al-ga*. Though the meanings of the words are not given, the work is of considerable value to the specialist, who hardly needs them. For an autographed book, it is exceedingly well written, and leaves nothing to be desired as to the method of production—typography alone could surpass it.

T. G. PINCHES.

BODHICARYĀVATĀRA. Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas; poème de Śāntideva. Traduit du Sanscrit et annoté par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Professor de Sanscrit et Grammaire comparée à l'Université de Gand. Paris Librairie Blondet C^{ie}, 1907.

While engaged in editing the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, with the commentary of *Prajñākaramati*, for the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin has found time to prepare a French translation of this justly celebrated work, which has been compared by Professor Barth to the *Imitation*. It is well known that Professor Poussin has written much on the *Mahāyāna* school of Buddhism, and he seems to take special interest in the doctrines of the *Mādhyamikas*, the followers of the *Via Media*, who are characterized by Professor Kern as "complete Nihilists," though he considers that "their system is the legitimate outcome of the principles underlying ancient Buddhism, and in so far they are entitled to the glory of being more orthodox than the orthodox." He holds that their Nihilism is an adaptation of the scholastic *Vedānta*. Indeed, the *Vedantists* have been styled by their philosophical opponents *crypto-Buddhists*, so great is the resemblance between the systems to Indian eyes. Like the *Vedantists*, the *Mādhyamikas* recognise two kinds of truth, a higher truth intended for philosophers, according to which the phenomenal world is a mere illusion, and a lower form of truth, intended, apparently, to meet the requirements of practical men of the world. In fact, as Professor Kern says, "the second kind of truth is no truth at all." One is, perhaps, inclined to expect that with philosophers holding these tenets, the moral virtues will assume the position of 'sky-flowers.' But this is by no means the case.

Professor Poussin shows from his text that those who

take the vow to become Buddhas for the good of the world are bound to be compassionate saints, eager to practise charity, to acquire wisdom, and even to suffer martyrdom, in order to benefit their fellow-creatures. But they are not required to carry self-sacrifice to absurd lengths. Even with regard to the much despised body, a certain amount of common-sense seems to have characterized the ascetics of the Great Vehicle. "The body should be a ship, coming and going as its possessor wishes; take care that your body be under control, in order that you may save creatures." The body, in fact, is to be treated as a servant; it is to be paid its wages and nothing more. But it is to be cared for as a useful instrument. One must not sacrifice it for any one who is not as charitable as oneself, otherwise the acquisition of Bodhi for the good of all creatures may be impeded. It would appear that some of the fantastic instances of self-sacrifice that we read of in the Pali Jātakas would not have met with the approval of Śāntideva.

As is well known, the Bodhicaryāvatāra is divided into ten chapters. The tenth chapter has not been translated by Professor Poussin, as it has little interest from a philosophical point of view, being principally remarkable for invocations to Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuḥṣa, and Mañjuśrī.

The first chapter is entitled "The commendation of the Bodhicitta," i.e., of the determination to become a Buddha for the welfare of all creatures. The second chapter, though entitled "Confession of sins" (*pāpa-deśanā*), deals also with the ritual cult (*pūjā*) of the Buddhas, the good law, and the sons of the Buddhas, viz., Avalokita, Mañjuśrī, and all other great Bodhisattvas that form the holy community. It is noteworthy that the Buddhas are to be worshipped with flowers, garments, perfumes, incense, lamps, and umbrellas, just as if they were deities. The third chapter deals with the subject

of the assuming of the vow to become a Buddha. It contains, *inter alia*, directions for prayers to the Buddhas, in order that they may preach the law, and retard their *nirvāṇa*. The fourth chapter treats of avoidance of distraction (*apramāda*), in the vow to become a Buddha. The difficulty of obtaining birth in the human race, and the importance of making the most of it, a commonplace of Buddhist, as also of Jain philosophy, is insisted upon at considerable length. The fifth chapter is entitled "The keeping of control," and deals with morality and the observance of disciplinary rules. It is worthy of note that the Bodhisattva is directed to show the same respect for the law of the Little as of the Great Vehicle. The sixth chapter treats of the virtue of patience, and recommends the restraint of anger by arguments, which resemble very nearly those used by the Stoics, and which, no doubt, prove equally efficacious. The seventh chapter inculcates the virtue of manly force, or energy in pursuit of good, condemning the vice of 'accidie,' as well as all attachment to pleasure, and commending legitimate pride and a buoyant self-confidence as accessories of energy. The eighth chapter is devoted to the virtue of meditation (*dhyāna*). Here Śāntideva does not dwell on the ecstasies, which form a part of the ordinary Buddhist equipment, but turns his attention rather to the moral benefits of contemplation. He explains how the believer, calm and concentrated, sustained by the ideal at which he aims, and the virtuous habits already rooted in his nature, can persuade himself of the non-existence of what is called 'Self.' From that it is an easy step to making no distinction between oneself and one's neighbour (*parātmasamatā*). Then by a more noble effort one is enabled to substitute one's neighbour for oneself (*parātmaparivartana*); to treat one's neighbour as one is, unfortunately, accustomed to treat oneself, and *vice versa*. Cultivated in this spirit all the virtues, charity

and the others, will be easy; they will be pure and free from vanity, for "having adopted my neighbour as myself, how can I be proud of my charity or my patience, how can I desire or expect any personal advantage from acts which I must henceforth consider egoistical and not meritorious?" In this part of his subject Śāntideva displays a considerable amount of humour. He even attains to a high flight of poetry in passages in which he paints in vivid colours the delights of retreats in the solitudes of the forest or the mountain. His descriptions remind one of some of the most impassioned stanzas in the Vairāgya Śataka of Bhartṛhari. Of course, we do not escape the inevitable *Aśubhabhāvanā*, a line of thought which seems to have fascinated the emperor Marcus Aurelius, but is not in accordance with modern canons of taste in the West.

But, after all, the moral virtues, charity, patience, etc., are, in the system of Śāntideva, merely a preparation for science, which his, in his conception, much the same as nescience. "Real truth is the suppression of the obscurity produced by the knowable." In this part of his work Śāntideva defends the doctrine of *śūnyatā* against the Yogācāras, another sect of followers of the Great Vehicle, who affirmed the existence of thought only, and also against the adherents of the Little Vehicle, as well as against the followers of the Sāṅkhya and Naiyāyika systems.

This chapter is, undoubtedly, the most difficult in the whole book, and Professor Poussin, who has, as a rule, taken care in his translation of this poem to distinguish by brackets the text of Śāntideva from the explanations of Prajñākaramati, has found himself compelled occasionally in this chapter to fuse text and commentary together. He has certainly succeeded in rendering this darkest corner of the Mādhyamika abyss as intelligible as in the nature of things it is possible for it to be. The dialectic of the

chapter is subtle, but wearisome, and I venture to say, to a Western mind, unconvincing. We are told that meditation on the Infinite Void is the only road to true emancipation from sin and sorrow, but at the same time we are warned not to fix our minds too intently on vacuity, lest we should be led insensibly to attribute to it a kind of objective existence. No negation is possible without implying a possible affirmation, and therefore even negation is dangerous. The following extract from Professor Poussin's translation sums up the Mādhyamika confession of faith in uncompromising language: "Donc il n'y a jamais ni anéantissement, ni existence : tout cet univers est exempt de naissance comme de destruction ; les destinées successives des créatures sont [illusoires] comme des rêves, vides comme la tige du bananier. Il n'y a aucune différence réelle entre les créatures délivrées et celles qui transmigrent. Les choses sont vides : rien ne peut être acquis ou dérobé, personne ne peut être honoré ou méprisé par qui que ce soit ; plaisir, souffrance, agréable, désagréable sont de vaines fictions, et on a beau chercher la convoitise, on ne trouve nulle part la convoitise."

It is difficult to understand why, on the supposition of universal vacuity, Śāntideva should think it worth his while to frighten sinners with the messengers of Yama and the hell Avici. This contradiction seems to run through all the book, and to be intended by the author. No doubt he is at one time speaking from the point of view of *saṃvṛiti*, and at another of *paramārtha*. But whatever may be thought of the metaphysical theories of the ninth chapter, it may safely be asserted that the moral reflections of the first eight chapters, though from the point of view of the orthodox Mādhyamika they may be ancillary to the great doctrine of Prajñā, will constitute for the European reader the principal charm of the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

I see no reason why the book should not have an attraction for European readers, and find "fit audience though few." Undoubtedly it smacks of the Porch rather than of the Garden. The following passage has the true Stoic ring about it: "Où trouver assez de cuir pour recouvrir toute la terre, ses épines et ses aspérités? un simple soulier de cuir et toute la terre est couverte. [De même pour la vertu de force:] est-il en mon pouvoir de tenir en respect le monde extérieur? je retiendrai ma propre pensée, le reste importe peu." With this might be compared the following saying of Marcus Aurelius: "It is in our power to have no opinion about a thing, and not to be distracted in our soul, for things themselves have no power to form our judgements." In other words, *σώζειν τὸ καταληπτικόν*.

The enlarged spirit of philanthropy which characterized the Roman emperor finds a parallel in this reflection: "L'homme aime ses pieds et ses mains parce qu'ils sont les membres du corps: les êtres vivants ont droit à la même affection parce qu'ils sont les membres du monde des vivants." So we read in the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius: "My city and my country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world. The things which are useful to these cities are alone useful to me."

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations, especially as the resemblance which I imagine myself to have detected is more apparent in the spirit than in the letter, but I cannot help thinking that, if Matthew Arnold had known of Śāntideva, he would have found as much good to say of him as he did of his Roman counterpart. Strange to say, the Roman Stoic felt the same longing to retire into forests and mountains as Śāntideva felt, but he kept it severely under control.

Prof. Poussin's translation seems, so far as a foreigner can judge, spirited and forcible, without straying too far

from the original text. The following passage seems to be rather puzzling: "Nous sommes comme les poissons que [les Orientaux] gardent vivants [pour s'en nourrir]." The natural sense of this passage from the European point of view would, I submit, be that the Eastern nations keep fish in *vivaria* for the purposes of the table. The custom was not unknown in England in the days of Chaucer, for we read of the Franklin that—

" Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewe,
And many a brem and many a luce in stewe."

But I should rather interpret the passage in Prajñākaramati's commentary as applying to the inhabitants of the East of India. However, perhaps the French expression does not necessarily bear the meaning that I have assigned to it.

In considering Professor Poussin's translation, one must not leave out of sight the Introduction and the Preliminary Notes prefixed to all the chapters. They are calculated to put the reader in the best possible position for judging of the merits of the author. The footnotes elucidate difficult points, and those who are able to understand Tibetan will, no doubt, profit by the quotations from the Tibetan version of this philosophical poem.

Śāntideva has been fortunate in meeting with so sympathetic an interpreter, and those of us who try to penetrate into the *arcana* of Mahāyāna philosophy may esteem ourselves equally fortunate in finding a guide who is so thoroughly at home in the subject.

C. H. T.

PATISAMBHIDĀMAGGA. Vol. II. Edited by ARNOLD C. TAYLOR, M.A. Pali Text Society, 1907.

It is but two years since Mr. Arnold Taylor completed the first half of the English *editio princeps* of this work, collating the Siamese edition with Sinhalese and Mandalay

MSS. A second Sinhalese palm-leaf MS. added to his collation for this, the remaining half of the work, enhances the value of his results in view of the absence of any authorized printed edition existing in the vihāras of Ceylon. It is to be regretted that he laboured without the assistance of the fine Rangoon edition of the Tipitaka. This second volume is longer by one-fifth than the first, and contains also an index of proper names and one of gāthās. Stealing time to do this labour of love entirely from holidays and leisure moments, the editor was unable to supply an index of words and subjects; but this, there is every reason to hope, will be made good by Miss Mabel Hunt in the forthcoming P.T.S. Journal for the current year.

The Paṭisambhidāmagga, as I have already suggested in this Journal, should prove, on competent and matured investigation, of no small significance for interpreting the history of the Canon. This opinion is confirmed by even the superficial survey, which is all I have as yet been able to take of the second volume. We know that, with respect to the whole of the Khuddaka, or miscellaneous Nikāya, "Buddhists themselves, from the very earliest times, have been divided in opinion about it; some of them considering it as an appendix to the Sutta Piṭaka, some of them considering it as an appendix to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka."¹ And as one turns the pages of this volume, now the former conclusion seems the more plausible, now the latter. The following observations will illustrate this vacillating impression.

The method and scope of the work are consistently maintained throughout. We have presented a sort of anthology of homiletic analyses of ethical doctrine and of ethical consciousness. Now it is *Vimokkha* (deliverance, release) which is the theme, now it is the first term of

¹ Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 65.

the Four Sublime States or Moods (*appamaññāyo, brahma-vihārā*), now again it is some passage occurring in the Four Nikāyas, not given as a quotation like those from the Pārāyanavagga in the Saṃyutta Nikāya (e.g. ii, 47), but with all the air of an original record. Thus we find passages from Dīgha, ii, 33, 35; Saṃyutta, ii, 36; iii, 27; iv, 54; v, 46, 70-2, 246, etc., followed by brief disquisitions, analyzing, classifying, elaborating. Again, in vol. i, the subject of Ānāpāna-sati, or regulation of the flow of consciousness in connection with regulated respiration, associated more usually with Yoga than with Buddhism, is fully dealt with. In the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, where we should have expected to find such a subject, there is no mention of it. Once more, where the exegetical Commentaries, interwoven with the text both of our present work and of the Vibhanga, happen to coincide as to subject, the two Commentaries do not repeat each other. For instance, when the Four Saṭipatṭhānas are the subject, the Paṭisambhidā makes way, as it were, for the Vibhanga, commenting *only* on the word *bhāvanā*, for *bhāveti*, which is not commented on by the Vibhanga. Or it can be taken the other way: the Vibhanga supplements the more numerous omissions in the Paṭisambhidā Commentary. Yet another curious feature is that the Paṭisambhidā, in elaboration and amplification of the simple and briefer categories of the great Nikāyas, goes in places *beyond* the Abhidhamma books. Take, for instance, the ten moral *balāni* or powers, instead of the seven of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi; and the elaboration of *iddhi*, beyond the four *pādāni*, into ten modes, only met with till now in Buddhaghosa (Asl. 91). The *Brahma-vihāra* of Love or Caritas, again, is elaborated into that more general and more specialized projection of the emotion which in a Jātaka Atthakathā (ii, 61: Araka-Jātaka), and in the Nidāna-kathā (Jāt. i, 80, 81), appears as *anodissaka* and *odissaka*—the reading here being

anodhiso and *odhiso*. Again, the cultivation of an infinite catholicity of benevolent sentiment by a sort of geographical distribution prescribed in the Nikāyas—the *disā pharaṇā*, or suffusion in turn of each quarter of the horizon and beyond, with overflowing good will—is here elaborated into a tenfold orientation, such as we meet with in the Sinhalese work entitled by the editor *The Yogāvacara's Manual* (pp. 72, 76; edited by Rhys Davids, P.T.S. 1896).

Once more, there are terms in the volume which bring us alongside of the Paṭṭhāna, such as *sahajāta*-, *añña-mañña*-, *nissaya*-, *sampayutta*-, *vippayutta-paccayā*, and the term, incessant in the latter work, *paṭisandhikkhaye*. Abhi(ni)ropanā, on the other hand, as an exponent of *sammāsankappo* (140 and *passim*) is quite Dhamma-sangaṇic.

Many more points will suggest themselves no doubt to more thorough and more competent investigation. I will only add that, for the beginnings of later doctrine, the distinction drawn, in the elaboration of the bala, or powers category, between the 'powers' of an Arahāt and those peculiar to a Tathāgata (the usual *dasabalāni*) may not be without significance for the study of Buddhology.

Nimittam, once more, and *pavattam*, as contrasted and complementary terms is to me a significant innovation in terminology. The latter, rare in the Piṭakas, is a staple word in Buddhaghosa's psychology. Right insight is said to be the discernment of *nimittam* in the Impermanent, of *pavattam* in the Painful, and of both *nimittam* and *pavattam* in the Soul-less.

Enough, anyway, has been said to indicate that the world of Oriental scholarship owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Arnold Taylor for this valuable gift. May the spirit of disinterested devotion to the building up of the temple of Truth leave him no rest till he begin again!

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE JĀTAKA, OR STORIES OF THE BUDDHA'S FORMER BIRTHS. Vol. VI. Translated by E. B. COWELL and W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A., Litt.D. Cambridge, 1907.

It was while engaged in himself completing the noble English version of the great Jātaka collection, of which he was editor, that Professor Cowell passed away. Dr. Rouse, who, at his request, had begun the revision of the veteran scholar's translation of this volume, carried on and finished his work, Cowell's MS. breaking off at p. 165 of the English. Full twelve years have elapsed since the "guild of Jātaka translators, *çreshṭhi-pūrvā vayanā çrenih*"—as the editor picturesquely dubbed them—launched their first volume; and it is hard on a quarter of a century since Professor Rhys Davids, drawn from his studies in Jātaka history and translation by the greater problems indicated in his Hibbert Lecture, approached Professor Cowell as to the desirability of such a guild of co-operating scholars carrying out the long task of translating the 547 numbers. A long period in all as human lifetimes go, if but a flash when compared with the age of these most venerable tales. The work is not even now completed according to the announcement made in the first volume. We were led to hope that a complete index would be given at the end of this volume vi. Wisely, as I venture to think, the translator has only added, in symmetry with the rest of the work, an index to these last ten lengthy tales. To such a wonderful mine of folklore and so much else as is the Jātaka Book there should now be compiled a full index, equal in bulk, or nearly so, to any one of the six volumes. I have had more than once to plough a path with mixed feelings through the total contents, and can testify how great a desideratum is such an index which shall, as to the matter of the collection, be all to us that Professor Dines Andersen's index volume to the text is in respect of proper names

and verses. The several indices appended to each volume are only adequate where Dr. Rouse has been the compiler; and of course a great deal of time is lost in consulting six instead of one. I earnestly hope, in the interests of historical investigation and of lexicographical advance, that the edition may not be judged complete till this very important additional task has been carried out.

There is certainly, in wealth of archaeological and philological interest, no falling off in this concluding book. We read on and on, as much absorbed in all the play of folklore as in the insight with which the translators cope with the difficulties of the text, or the unfailing wealth of resource—*appaṭivāṇiyaṃ asecanakaṃ ojaṇaṃ*—with which Dr. Rouse renders the condensed Pali gāthās into excellent jingle of English ballad flavour. If we turn, for instance, to any one of the ten tales, or clusters of tales—the first—we at once come upon the moon deity being invoked by sterile wives, the chief queen being named after the moon, on some quaint lore of the nursery, and a variety of other superstitions; then on a public announcement being written on a gold plate, which is another instance in the evidence given in Bühler's "Alter der indischen Schrift" (p. 5); and finally on the almost unique appendix, paralleled only in vol. iv, naming ancient Theras of Ceylon, the historical interest of which has been discussed by Professor Rhys Davids in this Journal (J.R.A.S., October, 1901).

Continuing, and confining ourselves to only a few of the more salient points of interest, we note the god Sakka, or Indra, and *not* the moon goddess, terminating the queen's sterility, and intervening in the rebirths of the Bodhisat, as he was aspiring, after a spell in Sakka's heaven, to higher heavens, by advising him to be reborn on earth. A little later we see Sakka not devising, but merely discovering a rebirth of the Bodhisat in progress (pp. 2, 20). On p. 22 we come on a god's daughter as

guardian of the sea, carrying the drowning brine-soaked Bōdhisat to land.

The Nimi-Jātaka tells of a king being shown both Hell and Heaven in the celestial chariot of Sakka, the charioteer acting the part of Dante's Vergil. It is highly interesting to compare the Dantesque Inferno with that of the Jātaka, noting to what extent the convictions of crime and the allotted punishments differ. And it is much to be regretted that such pertinent material was not accessible to M. E. Blochet, when he was writing his valuable essay on "*Les Sources Orientales de la Divine Comédie*" (1901). King Nimi we know from the Makhādeva-Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, in which the ride through the Inferno is asked for by the king, but is not described.

In the Khaṇḍahāla-Jātaka is an interesting *aperçu* of the growing influence of the '*dhammikā samāṇabrahmaṇā*,' as opposed to the brahmanic ritual, somewhat analogous to the position of prophet *versus* priest in Hebrew history. A brahmin, in constructing a proper place for a special sacrifice, surrounds it with a fence, "lest some righteous ascetic or brahmin might come and stop the rite."¹ Now cruelty to and violence done on animals is among the crimes most sharply punished in the description of hell mentioned above; Dante, I believe, does not include any such deeds as having incurred damnation. On p. 252 the account of a famine opens up the long perspective of these still chronic visitations, and comes in grim contrast to the quaint miniature of an old Indian announcement, three pages back, of "Dinner is served"—

"The menial calls aloud,

'God bless King Sivi! come to meat!'"

The evil omen of a throbbing right eye (p. 287) is good food for the folklorist, as is the libation poured on the

¹ Cf. Rhys Davids, "*Buddhist India*," p. 241. It was to the interest of the priests, who were paid for building the altars, each time anew, that there should be no permanent structure.

right hand as sealing a donation (p. 293). The unfortunate mother, Maddi, who was, by this agreement, given away, is a *varia lectio* of that depressing staple dish of old literature, patient Griselda. Old-world gambling is nowhere more interestingly illustrated than in the detailed account of the dice game between Puṇṇaka and the king (p. 137), as Professor Lüders has found in his monograph on "Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien." The similes alone, in this one volume, are a veritable thesaurus, and reveal many omissions in the Simile Index in last year's Pali Text Society's Journal. That of the moth flying into the lighted candle, applied, not as is usual in the West, but to "the idiot who has adopted a naked mendicant's life," is possibly unique. It was conceivably suggested by the usual word for asceticism—*tapo*—although that word does not occur, '*naggabhūvaṇṇa*' embracing the last three words of the English.

No time or space remains to discuss such renderings as 'I will live the life of a Buddhist priest' for *samaṇa-dhammaṇ karissāmi* (29), 'the goal of mystic insight' for the (very unusual) expression *vipassanādhuraṇṇaṇ pūretuṇ* (38), 'nirvana' for *param* (54), 'Fate' for *Maccu* (17), nor were it worth while, where the work as a whole is so admirable. The difficulties of translating these last lengthy Jātakas, so teeming with verses and obscure verse-idiom, must have far exceeded those encountered in the previous volumes, and the translation has worthily met these more exacting demands. Quaintly new are the phrases of courteous inquiry after the health of a great sage on the part of a layman in one of these latest tales:—"Are your vital airs not wasted? Are your movements unimpeded? Is your sight unimpaired?" May the distinguished translator of nearly one-half of the whole Jātaka collection be able to respond no less confidently than that sage in the affirmative!

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

PAPYRI SCHOTT-REINHARDT I, mit Unterstützung des Grossherzogl. Badischen Ministeriums . . . herausgegeben und erklärt von Dr. phil. C. H. BECKER. Folio; pp. viii, 119, mit 12 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Heidelberg: Winter, 1906.

The word 'papyrus' has lately assumed a fascination which it has not possessed for many years past. The world still rings with the sensation caused by the latest finds which bring the reader right back into Biblical times, and are so replete with historical facts and possibilities that much time will be required to gauge their importance and to reduce them to their proper proportions. Meanwhile we must not neglect other gifts of papyri unearthed from the same soil, and although these are more than a thousand years later than the others and appeal to a much smaller circle of students, their claim to our attention is by no means less. These are the Arabic papyri, eloquent witnesses of the changes that had overtaken the land of the Pharaohs, and of the new culture introduced into the country by Islām.

Arabic papyri have been known for a long time, but a systematic study of them for historical and palæographical purposes was hardly possible till Professor Karabacek began to publish the results of his investigation of the large *Erzherzog Rainer* collection. Much additional material is now available in the *Scott-Reinhardt* collection, which has come in the possession of the University library of Heidelberg, and it is a small group of these papyri which forms the subject of Dr. Becker's present work.

He is to be congratulated not only on the choice he has made, but also on not having delayed the publication of this volume till the description of the whole collection entrusted to him is completed. The glimpse he allows the reader of some interesting specimens of the collection is very promising, particularly as regards the earliest strata of Mohammedan tradition, fuller communications on which

will be awaited with impatience. The first instalment, now lying before me, is a fine volume, and contains a selection of some twenty documents and fragments, being government dispatches sent by Qorra b. Sharik, the Khalifa Al Walid's viceroy of Egypt, to the prefects and inhabitants of various districts. The importance of these documents, several of which are in a very good state of preservation, can hardly be over-estimated. Dating from 90-91 H. (708-9), they belong to the earliest Arabic scripts known, and add considerably not only to our knowledge of Mohammedan administration of conquered lands, but also of the development of Arab writing and, in some measure, Arab philology.

In his prefatory remarks Dr. Becker gives an interesting survey of the material now available in the various libraries for the study of ancient Arabic documents on papyrus, parchment, and paper, and reproduces the beginning of a letter written on a piece of bone which, he considers, belongs to the first century of the Hijra. It is not sufficiently known that a considerable number of old documents, mostly written on parchment and paper, are preserved at the University library of Cambridge. Many of these documents show even wider distances between the lines than the facsimiles of Qorra's papyri, and having come into the hands of private persons were converted into palimpsests, often of great literary value. A noteworthy feature of some of the Qorra documents is also the wide distance of non-connected letters belonging to one word, as well as the breaking of words at the end of a line, of course only after disconnected letters. The latter feature also appears in the *second* papyrus, published by the late Dr. Loth (Z.D.M.G., xxxiv, p. 687), to which Professor Karabacek has justly assigned a greater age than assumed by Loth. At all events, the Heidelberg papyri, being dated, are quite invaluable for the history of Arab writing. In connection with others of the same class and

several inscriptions published in Dr. Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography*, they are a surer guide than some other inscriptions, especially those of Harran and Zebed. The evidence they offer for this theory is not, however, convincing.

Dr. Becker's discussion of the original character of the various imposts and poll-taxes adds several new points to the literature already extant on the subject. His theory that *jizya* was at first a tribute only, is very plausible. The term *jāliya* was probably in the first instance employed by, or concerning, Jews. Also *kharāj* means originally tribute, and is used in this sense in the Targum Lament, i, 1, and other places. In the Talmud it assumes the meaning of poll-tax (B. b. 55 vo.). The vocalization of the word is, however, doubtful, and might be *kargā* or *k'rāgā*. The word is not of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 282). From the employment of the word in Meccan passages of the Qorān, we might conclude that it was known in Arabia prior to Islām, and was probably introduced by the Jews of the Hījāz. This might also explain Dr. Becker's statement that the term does not occur in the Egyptian papyri of the first century of the Hījra.

The word *qanqal* might possibly give a clue to the difficult כנקרין in the Elephantine papyri published by Professor Sachau. It seems that also the latter term denotes a measure. The Hebrew כנר will hardly help to explain it, whilst the interchange of כ for ق is accounted for by several cases in ancient Aramaic inscriptions. If this be so, the use of that measure, or, at least, its name might have been of much older date in Egypt than is evident from the Qorra document.

In a little Arabic document, dated Cairo, 1100, there occurs three times the term قنق, meaning a certain weight larger than a karat (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1904). The word is in this sense not to be found in the

dictionaries. Although *daimās* in the Qorra document means a measure and not a weight, it almost looks as if *دیم* were abridged from it.

In his transcription and translation of the documents Dr. Becker shows great care and reliableness, and there are few passages in which one would differ from his opinion. His hesitation in translating *انهبته* (ii, 11) by 'I seize' is somewhat strange. The tone of the letter in question is by no means so mild as appears to him, but rather severe, as can best be seen from lines 39-40: "Satisfy me in this matter, and I will not find fault with thee," etc. Some of the letters convey the impression that the severity of the tone is just a little influenced by religious prejudice. In the threat uttered in iii, 63, a slight sneer is observable, particularly in the words *فانما هي أمانتك ودينك*, "for this is but thy creed and religious duty." The allusion to the religion of the addressee is quite uncalled for. The writer's religious bias is even more openly expressed in the standing phrase at the conclusion of letters, "Peace be upon him who follows the true guidance." This is much more than mere 'provocation.'

Dr. Becker calls attention to the linguistic importance of the documents, which belong to the oldest specimens of secular Arabic prose. Their language is in every way classical, and even the few apparent vulgarisms (see this Journal, July, 1907, p. 691) must be considered from a different standpoint. The style is heavy and occasionally lacks clearness, because the writer has to grapple with new conditions for which the vocabulary at his disposal was hardly adequate. This, of course, only adds to the interest attaching to the letters.

The get up of the work is worthy of its contents, and the author, as well as the authorities who rendered the publication possible, deserves the thanks of all friends of Arabic literature.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

January 14th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Francis Hill Baynes, M.A.,
 Professor Henry Freer Bray,
 Mr. Ernest Klippel,
 Mr. Girdhari Lal Maheshwary,
 Professor Jakob Wackernagel.

The Chairman made mention of the loss to the Society sustained by the death of Major-General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, and spoke with high appreciation of his merits, both public and private. A vote of sympathy with his family, seconded by Dr. Thornton, was passed.

Mr. E. H. Walsh, I.C.S., read a paper on the "Coinage of Nepal." A discussion followed, in which Professor Rapson, Dr. Hoernle, and Mr. Lane-Fox Pitt took part. The paper will appear in the July Journal.

February 11th, 1908.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Kuppuswami Aiyangar,
 Dr. S. Daiches,

Mr. K. N. Gopal,
 H.E. Mahmud Hassib Bey,
 Mr. Maung Maung,
 Mr. Maung Thein Maung,
 Mr. R. V. Russell, I.C.S.,
 Mr. U. Aung Zan.

Mr. Pargiter read a paper on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Grierson and Mr. Maheshwary took part.

Dr. GRIERSON said: We may congratulate ourselves that it is in this room that the important paper which we have just heard has been read, and that it is in our Journal that it and the accompanying map will be published. Only those who have studied the Mahābhārata can have an idea of the immense labour involved in its preparation—labour which has deterred other scholars from a task that has long been known to be necessary. Mr. Pargiter is the one Englishman competent to undertake it, and we have just learnt that he has succeeded.

Many theories about Indian Ethnology will have to be reconsidered in the light of this map, and I do not propose to discuss them on the present occasion. I shall content myself with offering a few remarks on one point that it has illuminated in a remarkable manner.

As Mr. Pargiter says, the sum of the whole is that the war was really one between Pañcāla and the south Madhyadeśa on the one side, and the rest of India on the other. While he has based his account on the Mahābhārata as a whole, as we have it now, and has, quite rightly, avoided all questions of literary criticism, I venture to commence with the ordinarily accepted account of the growth of the poem, as described by Professor Hopkins on pp. 397 and 398 of *The Great Epic of India*. It consists of the following strata:—

B.C. 400. A collection of Bhārata lays, in honour of the Kauravas.

B.C. 400-200. A Mahābhārata tale. The Pāṇḍavas are now the heroes. Kṛṣṇa is referred to as a demi-god.

B.C. 200-100 or 200 A.D. Kṛṣṇa is now the All-God. Insertion of didactic matter.

200-400 A.D. The Introduction and later books added.

The question arises whether the geography of the earliest bards is the same as that of our present recension of the poem. Here we must judge by probabilities, and these lead me to think that while the later editors very possibly added countries in accordance with wider geographical knowledge, they left the actual country known to the bards untouched. I do not think that the original poets can have, for instance, known of the tribes of eastern India, say, beyond Anga, as anything but barbarians, and any reference to settled kingdoms in that locality must be ascribed to later writers. Indeed, this is manifest from discrepancies in the poem itself, a kingdom being in one place described as barbarous and in another as Aryan. But we may safely assume that the original statements about central and western India have been on the whole preserved.

It is well known that the Aryan conquest of India was a very gradual one, and that there was a slow migration eastwards along the Gangetic plain. It is also known that the vanguard of this migration, i.e. the more eastern of the Aryan tribes, was less subject to Brāhmaṇ influence than were the tribes further to the West. The wise old men of Kōsala and Vidēha were Kṣātrīyas, not Brāhmaṇs. Here it was that Janaka flourished. Here the Sāṅkhya philosophy arose. Here, too, Buddhism and Jainism were founded by Kṣātrīyas. At the time of the Great War even so western a country as Pāṇḍalā was unorthodox. Drupada, its king, furnished

the original cause of the war by refusing to acknowledge his old schoolfellow Drōṇa, the Brāhman. He even consented to the polyandrous marriage of his daughter with the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas themselves, as Hopkins (p. 376) says, had no Brahmanical standing and were evidently a new people from beyond the pale. If we accept this, then the real protagonists of the early epic were the Kauravas and the Pāṇcālas, and the Pāṇḍavas were allies of the latter, who rose to power on the ruin caused by the contest. But, in any case, the great ally of the Pāṇḍavas was Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva, the traditional founder of the anti-Brahmanical monotheistic Bhāgavata religion. Its followers called themselves Sātvatas, and these Sātvatas were prominent on the Pāṇḍava side. Another of their allies was the king of Cēdi, whose father, Uparicara Vasu, was intimately connected with the same form of belief (MBh. xii, 12711 ff.). Other tribes to be noticed, subjects, at the time of the war, of Pāṇcāla, were the Śrījāyas and Sōmakas mentioned by Mr. Pargiter. The Śrījāyas were a very ancient tribe who had immigrated to India from the neighbourhood of the Helmund (Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, i. pp. 105 ff.), which was their home in the days of the ancient Vedic king Divōdāsa. In the Atharva Veda (V, xix, 1) they are referred to as enemies of Bhṛgu, i.e., of the family which, under Paraśurāma, was the great vindicator of the Brāhman against the Kṣattriyas. According to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 34) one of their chiefs in Vedic times was named Sōmaka. The Śrījāyas and Sōmakas of Mahābhārata times would therefore naturally take the Pāṇcāla side.

From this point of view the war resolves itself into a combat between Brahmanism (the Kauravas) and anti-Brahminism (the Pāṇcālas and Pāṇḍavas), the former to the West and the latter to the East. We shall also see that it was at the same time a struggle between the

later (represented by the Kauravas) and the earlier (represented by the Pañcālas) Aryan immigrants to India.

Now let us go back to Vedic times.¹ In the sixth *mandala* of the Rg Vēda, Divōdāsa is in Arachosia, mixed up with the Sṛñjayas, the Paṇis, the Bṛsayas, and others. In the seventh *mandala* we are with his descendant Sudās, in times when Divōdāsa had already become relegated to the cloudy region of myth. We are now, not in Arachosia, but in the North-West Pañjāb. Sudās is the leader of one of the latest waves of Aryan immigration into India. He rules the Bharatas, a name used in later times for the most famous of the lunar kings, who was an ancestor of the Kurus. There are plenty of earlier immigrants to his east with whom he has much fighting to do. His family priest is a Brāhmaṇ, Vasiṣṭha, and we have a forerunner of the cult-war of the Mahābhārata in the famous struggle between him and Viśvāmitra, the Kṣattriya priest of Kanyākubja, for the sacrificial gifts of Sudās. This battle is idealized in the Rāmāyaṇa (I, 51 ff.). Here the object of the struggle is a magic cow, not priestly plunder, but the tradition of the Western origin of Vasiṣṭha and of his connection with the trans-Indus country persists. The army with which he fights Viśvāmitra is composed of Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, and Barbaras, the very people whom Mr. Pargiter has shown were fighting on the side of the Kauravas. There are none of these foreign western nations on the Pañcāla (Kṣattriya) side. The Mahābhārata also includes Piśācas and Nāgas, whom, for other reasons, I have elsewhere placed with the Daradas beyond the North-West Frontier.

In the Great War the Kṣattriya party prevailed over the Brahmanical one, but the conquerors were ultimately compelled to yield to those whom they conquered.

¹ See Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, i, pp. 96-111.

Nothing is more instructive in the history of Indian civilization than the skill and characteristic astuteness with which the Brāhmanas gradually drew their opponents, the Bhāgavatas, and their opponents' allies, the followers of Sāṃkhya-Yōga, into their fold, and enlisted their aid in the life and death struggle with Buddhism. This has been admirably brought out by Professor Garbe in his recent works on Sāṃkhya and the Bhagavad Gītā.

The treaty of peace which sanctioned the alliance is found in the pages of the latter poem. Originally composed a century or two B.C., but added to, Brahmanized, and incorporated formally in the Mahābhārata in the course of the following three or four centuries, it is now the textbook of the Brahmanized Anti-Brahmanists. Later than this came the long *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the Śānti Parvan, in which the fusion is still more complete, and the authority of the Vēdas still more fully admitted. The next stage in which we meet it is in the systematized form given to it by Rāmānuja in the twelfth century A.D., which with, as I believe, additions taken from early Christianity forms the foundation of the *bhakti* religion of the India of the present day.

May I add as a postscript a suggestion for another line of enquiry by scholars who have made Vedic times their special study. Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to the fact that the Solar dynasty is scarcely mentioned as taking part in the Great War. Most of the members of the Lunar dynasty sided with the Kaurava (or, as I call them, the Brahmanist) party. The only exception is the eastern Rājā of Kāśī. In fact, we might almost call the original western bardic poems with Kaurava heroes as the Lunar epic, in contradistinction to the eastern Rāmāyaṇa, the Solar epic. Now the Lunar dynasty is just as often called the Sōma-vaiṣṇa as the Candra-vaiṣṇa. We have already noted that Bharata was an important chief of the Sōma-vaiṣṇa, and that Sudās, the patron of Vasistha, was chief

of the Bharatas. In the Vēdas a sharp distinction is drawn between *sunvants* and *asunvants*. The former are the orthodox pressers of *sōma*; the latter were the unfaithful who did not worship Indra and who did not press *sōma*. We have no right to assume that the *asunvants* were necessarily non-Aryan. There were Aryans on the banks of the Rāvi and of the Jammā in Sudās's time whose speech was unintelligible to the Bharatas (Hillebrandt, p. 114). According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, ii, i, 24) he who speaks an unintelligible speech is a *Mleccha* or Barbarian, and in the preceding verse Asuras, who seem to be there considered as unorthodox Aryans, are represented as speaking a Prakrit of Eastern India.¹ Is it possible that the Sōma-vamśa really represents tribes who considered themselves as orthodox *sōma*-pressers, *sunvants*, as distinct from the unorthodox earlier immigrants, whose language they could not understand? The connection between the Vedic *sōma* and the moon has often been discussed, and I need only refer here to Professor Hillebrandt's well-known work, which has been frequently quoted in the preceding pages. Of course, it will be understood that I do not put this forward as a well-defined theory, but I think that it offers a line of enquiry which is worth following up.

The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

March 10th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Sofiullah Saifuddin Ahmad,
Dr. A. Büchler,
Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Bux,

¹ They say *hē 'lavō* for *hē 'rayō*.

Mr. W. Coldstream, I.C.S. (ret.),
 Mr. Kumar Padma Gopal Menon,
 Mr. Pyare Lal Misra,
 Mr. Mya Ū.

A vote of condolence with the family of the late Dr. Pope, for the loss they had sustained in his death, was adopted.

Dr. Grierson read a paper on "The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works." A discussion followed, in which Miss Ridding, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kennedy, Sir Alfred Lyall, and the Rev. J. E. Padfield took part.

The paper appears in this number of the Journal.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. lxi, Heft 4.

Hultzsch (E.). Die Tarkakaumudi des Laugākshi Bhāskara.

Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.

Horn (P.). Ross und Reiter im Šāhnāme.

Spoer (H. H.). Spuren eines syrischen Diatessarons.

Goldziher (I.). Kämpfe um die Stellung des Hadit im Islam.

Schmidt (R.). Amitagati's Subhāṣitasamdoha.

Kahle (P.). Zu den in Nāblus befindlichen HSS. des Samaritanischen Pentateuchtextes.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxi, No. 4.

Franke (O.). Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa.

Brünnow (R.). Über Musils Forschungsreisen.

Hrozny (F.). Bemerkungen zu den babylonischen Chroniken B.M. 26472 and B.M. 96152.

III. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série x, Tome x, No. 3.

Addai Scher (Mgr.). Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir.

Ferrand (G.). Les îles Râmny, Lâmery, Waḳwâḳ Ḳomov des géographes arabes et Madagascar.

IV. T'OUEN PAO. Série II, Vol. viii, Nos. 4-5.

Bonifacy (M. le Commandant). Étude sur les Cao Lan.
Cordier (H.). La correspondance générale de la Cochinchine, 1785-1791.

——— Les Lolos.

Forke (A.). Das arabische Alphabet nach dem Tien-fang tse-mu chieh-yi.

V. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. i, Fasc. 2.

Ballini (A.). Il Vāspūjyacaritra di Vardhâmnasūri.

Chajes (H. P.). Note sulle Meḥabberoth di Immanuele Romano.

Goldziher (I.). Arabische Amen-Formeln.

Guidi (I.). Di alcuni inni abissini.

VI. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE L'EXTRÊME ORIENT.
Tome vii, Nos. 1-2.

Parmentier (H.). L'Architecture interprétée dans les bas-reliefs anciens de Java.

Besnard (H.). Les populations moï du Darlac.

Chéron (A.). Note sur les dialectes Sač et Muông.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. xxii, No. 62.

Scott (Rev. H. R.). The Nasik Hoard of Nahapâna's Coins.

Taylor (Rev. G. P.). The Coins of Surat.

Modi (J. J.). Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A.D.

——— A few Notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view.

Vithal (Shamrao). The Parāśariya Dharma Śāstra.

VIII. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY. Vol. xviii.
Second half.

Gottheil (R.). Al-Hasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāk.

Moore (J. H.). Metrical Analysis of the Pāli Itivuttaka, a collection of Discourses of Buddha.

Gray (L. H.). On certain Persian and Armenian Month Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar.

Hopkins (E. W.). Aspects of the Vedic Dative.

IX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY.
Vol. xxx, Parts 1-2.

Hall (H. R.). The Di-hetep suten Formula.

Sayce (Professor A. H.). Notes on Assyrian and Egyptian History.

——— Karian, Aramaic, and Greek Graffiti from Heshān.

Murray (Margaret). The Coffin of Ta-āth in the Brassey Institute at Hastings.

Robinson (W. A.). A Monument from Tabok-Göz-Köprüköe.

Thompson (R. C.). The Folklore of Mossoul.

Vol. xxx, Part 2.

Sayce (A. H.). An Aramaic Ostrakon from Elephantine.

Jerphanion (G. de). Two New Hittite Monuments in the Cappadocian Taurus.

- Pileher (E. J.). A Coin of Gaza and the Vision of Ezekiel.
- Pinches (T. G.). The Legend of Merodach.
- Thompson (B. C.). An Assyrian Incantation against Rheumatism.
- Johns (Rev. C. H. W.). The First Year of Samsu-iluna.
- The Editor. Recent Discoveries in Egypt.
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OBITUARY NOTICES.

EDWARD LYALL BRANDRETH.

IN the Obituary list for the past year is the name of one of the oldest members of the Society, Mr. Edward Lyall Brandreth, Honorary Vice-President, who passed away on the 10th December, 1907, in his 85th year.

The event was referred to by our President, Lord Reay, in his opening address at the first General Meeting of the present year, and in proposing a vote of condolence with the family his Lordship gave a statement of the services rendered by the deceased to the Society. The statement was necessarily very brief, and as an old friend of Mr. Brandreth, and a fellow-worker with him in India and on the Council, I ask leave to give a few further particulars of his career.

Mr. Brandreth was a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, the third son of Mr. Joseph Pilkington Brandreth, M.D., of Liverpool, and grandson of Mr. Joseph Brandreth, the eminent physician. He was born in 1823 and a cotemporary at Eton and subsequently at Haileybury College, and a friend through life, of our late Honorary Secretary, Dr. R. N. Cust. At Haileybury he was a medallist in Persian and in Sanskrit, and throughout his career took a keen interest in Oriental studies, and latterly more especially in the vernacular languages of Northern India.

In India Mr. Brandreth received his earliest training as Civil Servant in the "North-Western Provinces,"¹ one of the most historic and interesting portions of the Bengal Presidency; situate in the region of the upper Ganges and its tributaries, with Benares, Agra, and (at that time) Dehli among its cities—the home of Sanskrit learning, the centre of Patān and Mughal sovereignties, and still the show-ground of their architecture, and, from a linguistic point of view, the cradle of Hindi and birthplace of Urdū literature. Such were some of the surroundings of his earlier Indian service. And here he was a cotemporary of two distinguished Orientalists; of William Muir, who, great as administrator and economist, was also great in Arabic, and his brother, John Muir, the well-known Sanskritist. With the latter, indeed, Brandreth, when Assistant Magistrate at Benares, for some time, shared a house.

But he was soon afterwards moved from the "regulation districts" of his province and attached to the Political Agency of "Ājmere and Mairwarra,"² two British districts in the heart of Rājputāna³—Ājmere picturesquely situated on a rock-hemmed plateau, with a fort and capital of the same name, where in A.D. 1615 the 'Great Mogul,' Jahāngir, received Sir Thomas Roe, first founder of our Indian Empire, and where, in recent times, the establishment of Mayo College, the 'Eton of the Rājputs,' has done much to stimulate Imperial loyalty; Mairwarra (the 'realm of the Mairs') a hill-tract in the Aravallis adjoining Ājmere on the south-west, once the home of hereditary plunderers, now, thanks to irrigation and

¹ A name which after the annexation of the Panjab became misleading, and has been recently changed to that of the "United Provinces of Agra and Oude."

² Now spelt 'Merwāra.'

³ Now in the Jurisdiction of the Rājputāna Agency—then under the Government of the N.W. Provinces.

recruiting, and the benevolent energy of Dixon, a land of peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiery. In this interesting region he remained until the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, after which he was transferred as Deputy Commissioner to the Cis-Satlaj States Division of the new province, and made his first acquaintance with Panjābī. In 1857, the year of the great Mutiny, he was on furlough; but soon after his return Dehli and four adjacent districts were transferred from the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces Government to that of the Punjab. This led to the formation of two new Punjab Divisions—that of Hissār and of Dehli. In 1859 he was appointed Commissioner of the Hissār Division, and in 1861 transferred in the same capacity to that of Dehli, where his calm judgment, serene temper, and warm sympathy with the natives of all classes, combined with tact and firmness, specially fitted him to restore confidence, after rebellion had been crushed, and deal wisely with the difficult questions of law and policy arising.

In 1863 he was transferred, as Commissioner, to the Rawalpindi Division, in the north of the Punjab, with its summer headquarters at Murree in the Western Himalayas, which gave him a new field for linguistic investigation. Here he worked as Commissioner till 1867, then served for two years as Member of the Legislative Council for India, and in 1870, while on furlough in England, retired from the service. Meanwhile he had been called to the English Bar in 1863, and had become a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex.

He joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857, was appointed a member of Council in 1872 and Honorary Treasurer in 1886, a post he filled for seventeen years, retiring in 1903. When the rank of Honorary Vice-President was created he was one of the first on whom it was conferred.

In June, 1877, he read a paper before the Society (Sir E.

Colebrooke presiding) on the "Non-Aryan Languages of India," a subject dealt with by Professor Max Müller thirty years previously, since when, however, much additional information had become available.

Dividing the languages into six main groups—the Dravidian (or Southern), the Kolarian, the Tibeto-Burman (subdivided into nineteen classes), the Khāsi, the Tai, and the Mon-Anam—each group comprising many separate languages and dialects, about one hundred and fifty in all, the paper gives a scholarly account of those among them of which a grammar or vocabulary was then available, a work of no small labour; while annexed to the paper is a language-map of India, coloured so as to show the position and extent of the several non-Aryan groups. There was a full discussion, in which Sir Walter Elliot, Sir George Campbell, and Messrs. W. W. Hunter, Lewin-Bowring, and Forbes took part, and the great interest attaching to these languages and the necessity for further investigation were strongly insisted upon.

On April 21st, 1879, at a meeting of the Society May 1879, aided over by Sir Henry Rawlinson, he read the first of two parts on the "Gaurian as compared with the Romance Languages."

'Gaurian' or 'Northern' is a name given by Dr. Hoernle to the languages of Northern India in contradistinction to 'Dravidian,' applied by Caldwell and others to the languages of South India; and is here applied by Mr. Brandreth to those languages which Beames in his Comparative Grammar refers to as 'Modern Aryan,' and which may be perhaps more fitly designated 'Neo-Sanskrit'—languages bearing the same relation to the Sanskrit as the Romance or 'Neo-Latin' languages to Latin. They comprise the following vernaculars:—Hindi, Panjābi, Sindhi, Gujarāthi, Marāthi, Orya, Bangālī, on the Sanskrit side, and Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, and French on the Latin side; and the main object of Mr. Brandreth's paper is

to show that there is a remarkable resemblance in the changes by which Sanskrit had become 'Gaurian' and Latin Romance.

The second paper was read on July 5th, 1880, the two being the result, not indeed of independent research, but of careful and detailed study of the works of Beames, Trumpp, Hoernle, Diez, Littré, and Brachet.

The first part deals chiefly with phonology, and seeks to demonstrate that the letter-changes in the development of the Indian vernaculars from their Sanskrit base present a remarkable similarity to those occurring in the development of Romance languages from Latin.

In part ii he shows that certain characteristics common to both Sanskrit and Latin, e.g. the neuter gender, had generally disappeared in the derived languages; that the loss of case-endings was supplied by particles or prepositions; that special forms of tense and mood all tend to disappear, the present indicative and the imperative remaining as root-forms, to which the various shades of meaning—past, future, or (as the case may be)—are imparted by particles prefixed or added to the root; that there is a certain amount of analogy and other minor developments, concluding with a brief account of the prevailing rules of syntax.

Sir Henry Rawlinson took great interest in the papers and presided on both occasions.

On June 14th, 1898, Sir Raymond West in the chair, Mr. Brandreth read a paper on "Landscape in Indian Poetry," which led to an interesting discussion.

In addition to being the author of these papers, he was a most useful member of Committees.

But his energies were by no means confined to his work for the R.A.S.; he was a member of the Council of the Philological Society and a regular attendant at its meetings, and was for years one of the Honorary

Sub-editors of the "New English Dictionary." In 1879, when that great work was restarted under the auspices of the Oxford Press and the editorship of Dr. Murray, Mr. Brandreth enrolled himself among the volunteer helpers, and worked indefatigably as such, until a few weeks before his death, in collecting and arranging illustrative quotations, sub-editing the text of sections, re-examining work already done, and latterly in making research at the British Museum among printed books and manuscripts not available at the Bodleian. In the preface to vol. v of the Dictionary (the last volume published) Mr. Brandreth's services are specially recognised not only for assistance rendered in sub-editing, but "for great research into the literary history of Oriental words"; and in estimating the value of the work done by him Dr. Murray writes as follows:—"Among the many volunteers whose work has contributed to making the New English Dictionary what it is not many have had the capacity and qualifications, the willingness, and the energy as our honoured friend has done. His name will not be forgotten when the story is told!"

Mr. Brandreth was for years Chairman of the Committee of the London Missionary Society, and also of the Managing Committee of the New Cottage Home Schools at Banstead, an institution which he took a leading part in establishing, and in which he always took the deepest interest.

All his work, both in India and at home, was painstaking and thorough, and, being blest with excellent health, he was enabled (to quote the words of the obituary notice in the *Times* of December 14th) "to live a life of continuous activity until a few weeks before his death."

His bearing was singularly quiet, and he was a model of courtesy, and the charming hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Brandreth (the latter passed away in 1897), both in

India and at Elvaston Place, will never be forgotten by the many friends who were privileged to enjoy it.

Mr. Brandreth leaves an only child, a daughter, now the wife of Mr. J. G. Butcher, K.C., late M.P. for York.

T. H. T.

January, 1908.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERIC JOHN GOLDSMID,
K.C.S.I., C.B.

THE death of Mr. E. L. Brandreth at the ripe age of 84 has been quickly followed by the death of another Honorary Vice-President, the distinguished officer above named, who passed away on the 12th January at the still riper age of 89.

The deceased was a good specimen of a class to which the world in general, and India and the East particularly, are much indebted—a class of which our late Director, Sir Henry Rawlinson, was a fine example—the Military Civilian; combining indomitable energy, mental as well as physical, quickness of perception, accuracy of work and statement, together with the military instinct of respect for orders and instructions.

The subject of this memoir had all these virtues and many more. Besides being a good soldier he was a remarkable linguist. Having lived in France and Italy when young, he spoke French equally well with English and Italian with facility; at college he distinguished himself in classics, and made himself, as time went on, master, in more than a colloquial sense, of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, in addition to Ūrdū, Sindī, and other Indian vernaculars. In Sind he proved himself a good Magistrate and Judge, with a keen interest in education, and a careful investigator of complicated questions of tenure

and the like; in political work he was tactful as well as energetic; and in later years he was a good director of the work of others—a chief under whom it was a pleasure to serve, for he always gave subordinates full credit for good work, minimising his own performances, and stimulating by example rather than by criticism; a good writer—at times, perhaps, voluminous, but always clear and forcible, and in describing scenery and journeyings particularly bright and interesting; a valued contributor to reviews and the Encyclopædia; and author, *inter alia*, of “Telegraph and Travel,” “Eastern Persia,” and, above all, of the “Life of Outram.” In character a man of singular modesty; “a fine soldier and administrator,” says one of his biographers, “with the heart of a little child”; of deep religious feeling, without a trace of bigotry; a most genial companion and, to his friends, one of the most lovable of men.

Sir Frederic was born at Milan in 1818, the only son of Mr. Lionel Prager Goldsmid, an officer of the 19th Dragoons. On his father’s side he was of Jewish descent, the scion of a well-known City family, but through his grandmother, Mrs. Benjamin Goldsmid, his branch of the family became Christian, and Sir Frederick himself was through life a member of the Church of England.

He was educated partly at an English school in Paris, partly at King’s College School, and King’s College, London. He was destined for a military career, and in January, 1839, entered the Madras Army, joining his regiment, the 37th Madras N.I., in the April following.

Of his subsequent career as soldier, administrator, diplomatist, and writer, a brief but good account is given in the *Times* of January 13th, and those who would know more of his religious life and work after retirement and the “beauty and simplicity and unselfishness” of his personal character should read the obituary notice in the *Church Times* of the 24th.

The year during which young Goldsmid joined the Army was the year of the first Afghān war. He did not take part in that campaign, but in August of the following year his regiment was ordered to proceed to China, and he there took part in the actions at Canton and along the coast, which preceded the treaty of Nankin—receiving the Chinese war medal. While the campaign was in progress he was appointed Adjutant of his regiment; it was then that he turned his attention to the study of Eastern languages, in which he became afterwards so remarkably proficient, and in 1845 he qualified as interpreter in Hindūstāni.

In 1846 he had to return to England on medical certificate, but did not lead an idle life, acting during the two years of his residence in England as orderly officer at Addiscombe. In 1848 he returned to India, and, continuing his studies, passed the qualifying examinations, and was appointed in 1849 Interpreter for Persian and in 1851 for Arabic. In the same year, having obtained his company, he was appointed to act as Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Nagpur Subsidiary Force. It was at this juncture that, through the influence of the great General John Jacob, he entered Civil employ in the recently acquired province of Sind, first as Deputy Collector and then as Assistant Commissioner for Special Enquiry into "the Settlement of Alienated Lands." He quickly mastered Sindī, passing the examination for Interpreter, and was recognized as a very promising officer.

In 1855 he had again to proceed to England on medical certificate, but, his health being recruited by the voyage, he at once volunteered for active service in the Crimea, and was forthwith attached to the Turkish Contingent as Assistant-Adjutant-General under General Vivian; here he acquired Turkish, was made President of the Local Examining Committee at Kertch, and, in

recognition of his services, received the Turkish war medal, the order of the fourth class Medjidieh, and the brevet rank of Major in the Army.

In 1856 he returned to India and was appointed to the post of Judge at Shikārpur, subsequently resuming his enquiry into the "Alienated Lands," and soon afterwards he was attached to the staff of Sir Bartle Frere, who had succeeded to the office of Commissioner in Sind, and at once appreciated Major Goldsmid's ability and character.

In this capacity he showed much tact and energy, did good service during the anxious period of the great Mutiny, and was subsequently employed on more than one Special Commission. In 1861 he was deputed to arrange with the Chiefs in Balūchistān and Makrān for the construction of a land-line of telegraph along the coast to Gwādar, and received the thanks of the Bombay Government for the "speedy and successful issue of his negotiations."

In 1862 he again went to England on sick-leave,¹ returning to India in November, 1863, with the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. About this time it was decided to establish overland telegraphic communication from Europe through Persia and Balūchistān to India, and Colonel Goldsmid was at once selected to take part in the undertaking. Accordingly in 1864 he accompanied the late Colonel Patrick Stewart, R.E., when laying the cable in the Persian Gulf; later on he proceeded overland to Constantinople *via* Turkish Arabia and Asia Minor—a long and arduous journey—and after much reporting and discussion had the satisfaction of conveying

¹ On this occasion the writer of this memoir had the pleasure of accompanying him for part of the journey, and well remembers how greatly he enjoyed Major Goldsmid's conversation, and how much he was struck by his classical knowledge as well as his perfect mastery of Arabic and Persian.

the Indo-Ottoman Telegraph Treaty duly signed to England. In the beginning of 1865, on the death of Colonel Stewart, he was appointed Director-General of the Indo-European Telegraph, and proceeded at once, *via* Russia and the Caspian, to Tehrân, to assist Her Majesty's Minister in negotiating a Telegraph Treaty with the Persian Government. Having obtained the required convention he started overland for India, and, after a trying journey of 2½ months through the then little-explored tracts of Eastern Persia and Balûchistân, reached Chârbâr, a port of Makrân in 1866; thence going forward to Simla to report the proceedings to the Viceroy. He then started again for Europe, submitted the draft of a supplemental Convention to the India Office, and the same year returned to the Persian capital with a view to further negotiations. For these services he received the thanks of the Government of India; all his proposals were approved, and the Companionship of the Bath was conferred upon him.

After being delayed at Tehrân by a temporary hitch he proceeded to India to confer with the Governor of Bombay, and thence again to England, where the difficulty was finally settled. As a measure of the more physical toil involved in these operations—irrespective of worries, anxieties, and hardships—it was computed by the late Sir Henry Yule that Colonel Goldsmid's land-journeys alone must have covered a distance of at least 5,700 miles.

But this was not all; on his return journey from England to India he was engaged in somewhat protracted negotiations with the French authorities on the terms of admission of the Indo-European Telegraph into the general system of telegraphs in Europe. These were satisfactorily settled.

In 1868 Colonel Goldsmid attended the Telegraph Conference in Vienna, where he was received with great honour by the Emperor and his Ministers as the

accomplisher of a great work, and thereafter proceeded to Bombay to resume the work of telegraph extension to the West. In 1869, in furtherance of this object, he again visited Makrān, Gwādar, and Chārbār, and provided for the better security of the cable by transferring it from the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf at Rās Masandom to the island of Henjām just off the Persian shore. The Indo-European Telegraph having been now fairly organized, Colonel Goldsmid resigned the directorship in 1870 in favour of the Assistant Chief Director, Major (the late Colonel Sir John) Bateman Champain, R.E.

During the six years of his work as Director-General he had not only helped to fix the alignment of the telegraph and make arrangements with the Turkish and Persian Governments for its protection, as described in the preceding paragraphs, but he personally superintended the erection of the poles and the carrying of the wires across the whole extent of the Shah's dominions. Of that arduous work he gave an interesting and modest account in his volume entitled "Telegraph and Travel" (published in 1874), rendering full justice to the efforts of his assistants, and saying little or nothing of his own; showing at the same time such great powers of description that his narrative was pronounced by the Press to be "as interesting as it was important."

But new work was soon found for Colonel Goldsmid. It had long been known that the boundary between Persia and Balūchistān sorely needed delimitation, and the necessity was all the greater now that an important telegraph-line passed through the territories of both; it was decided, therefore, in 1871, to appoint Colonel Goldsmid a Commissioner to arrange for such delimitation, with the local rank of Major-General and a suitable staff. The task was a difficult and delicate one, but the boundary proposed by the British Commissioner was at last accepted by the Persian Government, and on the return of the

Commission to England Major-General Goldsmid was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India, and received "the warm acknowledgments of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council."

In the same year Sir Frederic was entrusted with a far more difficult task, that of defining the boundary between Persia and Afghānistān in the disputed province of Sistān. A full account of his proceedings and the text of his arbitral award is contained in a voluminous collection of papers relating to Eastern Persia, including reports by members of his staff,¹ edited by Sir Frederic, with an introduction by himself, and published under the direction of the Government of India in 1876.

Suffice it here to say that, after careful historical research, much surveying and investigation on the ground, and great difficulties caused by the Persian Commissioners and the attitude of the representative of the Amir of Kābul (Sher Ali Khan), who was accompanied by Colonel (afterwards Sir Richard) Pollock representing the Viceroy of India, the arbitral award was declared at Tehrān on August 19th, 1872.

It failed to satisfy either party. This is no matter for surprise, and is testimony to the arbitrator's impartiality. He was required by his instructions to "pay special regard to ancient right and present possession"; but the questions involved were complex, and as the parties were keenly hostile it was impossible to give a decision acceptable to both. The award was confirmed by Her Majesty's Government after considering the objections of the parties, and the thanks of the Government of India were given to Sir Frederic Goldsmid "for the tact and good judgment

¹ Viz., Major Oliver (afterwards Sir Oliver) St. John, R.E.; Major Beresford Lovett, R.E. (afterwards Major-General, C.B., C.S.I.); Major Euan Smith (afterwards Colonel Sir Euan Smith, K.C.B., C.S.I.); W. T. Blanford, C.I.E., F.R.S.

he had displayed through these negotiations under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty." It should be added that though the award satisfied neither party, it had the highly beneficial effect of maintaining peace.

With the arbitration award Sir Frederic's career in India terminated. On the 1st January, 1875, after 35 years of arduous service, Sir F. Goldsmid retired from the Government service with a special pension and the rank of Major-General.

But Sir Frederic was not destined to lead an idle life. He at once devoted himself to the preparation of the voluminous Report on Eastern Persia, which has already been referred to, and was further entrusted with an important work for which he was well fitted both by knowledge and by sympathy—the biography of General Sir James Outram, "the Bayard of India." The work was completed in two volumes in 1880 and was a literary success.

But though Sir Frederic had retired from Government service he was still considered more or less indispensable, and was appointed in 1877 British Representative of an International Commission to enquire into the matter of coolie emigration to the Island of La Réunion. In company with a French Commissioner he proceeded to the island and made a tour of the estates, and a joint report was issued in February, 1878, and a separate report in the April following. For this enquiry he received the acknowledgments of the Government of India, and in this the Secretary of State "entirely concurred." On June 14th of the latter year he delivered a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution on "Communications with India under possible contingencies," an elaborate paper for which he was cordially thanked by Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Yule, R.E., who presided.

In 1880 Sir Frederic accepted the office of British Controller of the *Daira Sanieh* (Crown lands) in Egypt,

and was there during the outbreak in September, 1881. In June, 1882, he was sent for by Lord Granville and despatched on a mission to Constantinople, and on returning thence to Alexandria he organized an Intelligence Department, which rendered useful service until the surrender of Arabi after the victory of Tel-el-Kebir. For these services he received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt (Viscount Wolseley) and the War Office. On the 1st of May, 1883, he resigned his office of Controller of Egyptian Crown lands, and received from the Khedive the Osmanieh Decoration of the second class and the Bronze Star.

Leaving Egypt he accepted an invitation from the King of the Belgians to proceed to the Congo as "*Administrateur Délégué*" with a view of carrying out special measures for the organization of the new state. He landed at Banana Point on September 4th, 1883, and proceeded with his staff up country. Had he been able to remain and properly organize the administrative system, much good may have resulted, but he was soon prostrated by severe illness, and had, to his great disappointment, to return to England from Loanda, reaching London on the 31st of December.

This may be termed Sir Frederic's last appearance in a public capacity, and during the remaining years of his life he devoted his attention partly to literary work, consisting of contributions to newspapers, reviews, and works of reference, like the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," a sphere in which he gained the reputation of being a laborious and conscientious writer; and he also wrote an interesting preface to a new edition of Morier's *Hâji Bâbâ*. Besides his literary work he took an active interest in various philanthropic and religious institutions. For many years he was an interested member of the Committee of the Gordon Boys' Home (which he helped to found), also of the Committee of the S.P.G., and was of the

greatest assistance to Archbishop Benson in founding his Mission to the Assyrian Christians.

Sir Frederic's connection with the Royal Asiatic Society commenced in 1864, the year after he had published a metrical translation of the Sindī legendary poem of *Sūsūi* and *Punkū*, and in 1865 he furnished a paper on the "Preservation of National Literature in the East," suggested by his interest in folklore, a paper in which he advocates the introduction into Sind of an official language and character (then non-existent) with a view not only to public convenience, but to prevent the legendary poems and oral traditions of the country dying out. The proposed measure was adopted, and the official language and character are now known as Arabic-Sindī.

He was an ordinary member of the Council for brief periods between 1875 and 1889; and between November, 1885, and June 30th, 1887, he held the post of Secretary, a post which, to the great regret of the Council, he was constrained to resign, but not before he had improved the Journal by the introduction of the "Notes of the Quarter" which are now included in it. He was a Vice-President from 1890 to 1905, and on his retirement from increasing infirmities was appointed Honorary Vice-President.

He was also a Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society, and presided at the Geographical Section of the British Association Meeting of 1888.

On the principle that a man is known from his "companions and his recreations" it may be mentioned, in conclusion, that among his great personal friends in England were, in early years, Thackeray, Balfe, Charles Kean, and various artists, and in later years Archbishop Benson, besides his fellow-workers in India, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Green, Sir Bateman Champain, R.E., and many others with whom he remained on terms of cordial intimacy; and that latterly his favourite recreations were

four—Eastern politics, Literature, hearing good Music, and the Drama. Age and deafness interfered with these enjoyments, but did not affect his cheeriness or interest in mundane affairs. As to his manner of life it was simple and methodical; he was fond of early rising, took regular exercise, but was not a golfer, cared not for cards or billiards, was not an abstainer, but 'moderate' in all things. He kept up his classics to the last, and in his 90th year addressed a postcard in Greek to one of his grandsons.

He was buried at Hollingburne, in Kent, where he once lived for many years, and among the multitude of tributes sent was a wreath from the R.A.S., a meeting of which he had attended not many months before his death.

Sir F. Goldsmid married in 1849 Mary, eldest daughter of Lieut.-General Mackenzie Stuart; she died in 1900. He leaves two sons and four daughters: one of the former is a retired officer of the Bengal Staff Corps; one of the latter has proceeded to India, and seems to have inherited her father's facility for acquiring Eastern languages.

T. H. T.

February, 1908.

ROBERT ATKINSON, LL.D., D.LITT.

MAY an old pupil dedicate a few lines to the memory of one to whom he owes more than he can tell, and whose friendship he has been proud to retain unbroken for nearly 40 years. Professor Atkinson was not himself a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, but more than one of those who have taken an active part in the work of its Council are indebted to him for their early training, and a long list of his pupils could be compiled

from the roll of its members. Year after year, for close on half a century, he sent out young men to the East, not a few of whom have distinguished themselves as scholars or as public servants.

Born in Yorkshire, he was, as Professor Mahaffy aptly puts it, "one of those peculiar men whom Trinity College, Dublin, trains, or acquires, who are specialists in several subjects, and masters in them all." His early education at Liège gave him a grasp of French from which he developed the amazing knowledge of the Romance languages that earned for him his first college professorship. Although an omnivorous reader, he had far more than mere book knowledge, and in all the forms of speech that he studied his command of the colloquial idiom and of pronunciation was remarkable. A Parisian savant has told me that his French was *absolument sans accent*; on his first visit to St. Petersburg he chattered volubly in Russian with a cabman and rescued a party of visitors from the inevitable difficulties that beset new arrivals; and a high authority has informed me that his Chinese pronunciation was irreproachable.

After entering college he worked as a schoolmaster in Kilkenny till he won a scholarship in the year 1862. Thenceforward his academic progress was rapid. He took his B.A. degree in the following year. In 1867 he was elected Professor of the Romance languages, and in 1871 Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. He became LL.D. in 1869, D.Litt. (*Honoris Causa*) in 1891, and was President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1901 to 1906. Last Autumn failing health compelled him to resign his official connection with the University, and on the 10th of January, 1908, he passed away peacefully in his 69th year.

With the exception of the great editions of the ancient Irish classics published under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy, most of his work is hidden away in the

journals of learned societies. Only his pupils know his best books. One of the earliest of these was a *Māeso-Gothic Grammar*. About this, one of his former students, now occupying an honoured post at Cambridge, writes to me in a private letter, "I know nothing like his masterly synopsis of the structure of the language." He had it lithographed for his pupils, but it was never published. He commenced a dictionary of the *Ṛg Vēda*, in which it was my privilege to take a humble share as assistant, but it was anticipated by Grassmann's. Useful as the latter is, Atkinson's would have been far more scientific, and its abandonment was a calamity for scholarship. He was the only Englishman I ever met who had thoroughly mastered the intricacies of Pāṇini. He knew the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (the way Pandits know it in India) off by heart from beginning to end, and any difficult point in Sanskrit grammar he solved at once, without a moment of hesitation, by a quotation of the appropriate *sūtra*. But this study he reserved for advanced students. For us beginners he prepared a manuscript grammar—who of his pupils does not remember its familiar brown-paper cover, worn and ragged by continual use?—full of ingenious labour-saving devices, which gave us an insight into the genius of the language in a way that no other book that I have seen has approached. Nor was his knowledge of Indian languages confined to those of Aryan type. Tamil and Telugu were also taught by him, and his pupils over and over again obtained the highest marks in the Civil Service examinations in these forms of speech. There were, of course, professors of Persian and of the various Semitic languages in the University, and therefore he did not give official instruction in them, but he was familiar with them, and was, I have been told, a most admirable Hebrew scholar, so much so that for many years candidates for the Fellowship examination (the

highest in the University), or even for chairs in Divinity, who felt themselves deficient in that language, came to him for further instruction.

On the thorny question of Celtic philology I dare not dilate. Many of us will remember criticisms on his work in this branch of learning that appeared some years ago in the pages of the *Academy*, and I am not competent to judge of their correctness; but, it will be remembered, he never answered them, and this, I know, was not because he admitted that he was in the wrong, but because he refused on principle to waste his time in controversy. He was content, he told me, when in my impetuous way I urged him to reply, to leave the sum-total of his work, with its flaws and with its excellences, to be judged by posterity. His interest in Irish was purely linguistic. He cared little for its literature as literature, and in later years this brought him into active collision with the moving spirits of the Gaelic League.

So far I have dealt with him as a master of tongues, but his varied energies were not confined to this side of learning. He had a real love for nature, and was so accomplished a botanist that he was regularly consulted by the University Professor of that science. Only his intimate friends knew his powers as a musician, and have listened with delight to his fine violin-playing, though that was by no means the only instrument of which he was a master. Again, long before *jujitsu* was popularly known in this country, he had acquired it both in theory and in practice; and on a cold day, in the intervals of his lectures, many a bruise did I receive from him in the course of a lesson in the use of the single-sticks or of the Indian clubs.

But above all he was a student of philology. As a comparative philologist he had from the first thoroughly grasped the principle of law in language, by the enunciation of which Brugmann afterwards made his name, in opposition

to the teaching of Curtius, Schleicher, and the older masters who resorted when in difficulties to theories of "sporadic changes." Many and many a time, long before Brugmann's name was known, did he impress upon us that the existence of an apparent exception but proved the existence of an undiscovered rule, and that it was our business to find that rule out. He used to maintain, and with great justice, that the only way to study comparative philology was to commence with the Romance languages. There, he would say, you can check off your results by the mother Latin; whereas, in the comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonic, and so forth, you are only guessing at an *Ur-Sprache*.

His excellence as a teacher can be gathered from the foregoing. It was impossible to study under him without directly acquiring knowledge, and without, at the same time, learning to step ahead for oneself. The loss is still too fresh for me to put into words the personal affection with which he inspired us. Few have been privileged to meet so loyal, so delightful, a friend,—a true friend who never feared to criticize, and whose criticism was always sought for and valued by those that knew him. Although pre-eminently a teacher, he founded no school,—there has been no Elisha worthy to receive his mantle,—but his pupils are scattered over England, India, and the Continent of Europe, and have carried with them the devotion to learning for its own sake, and the habit of sparing no drudgery, however toilsome, in its acquirement, that they gained from Robert Atkinson, and of which he was a bright and distinguished example.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.

WHEN I was asked to write a short obituary notice of Dr. Pope, my esteemed *guru* in Dravidian studies, I was reminded of what he once said to me: "It is not in play, but in the performance of useful work, that a true man derives the greatest pleasure." This shows the bent of his mind. To do useful work was the great aim and pleasure of his life, and his success in it by his achievements, both as a missionary and as a student of research, is well known to the world.

He was born in Nova Scotia (Prince Edward Island) on the 24th of April, 1820, and was trained in a Wesleyan College for mission work in India, but later joined the Church of England. He arrived in India in 1839, took priest's orders at Madras in 1845, and for 42 years worked as a missionary in the Tamil country. In October, 1885, after his return to England, he was appointed Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu at Oxford. He died on the 11th of February last, after a short illness of two or three days. His eminent services in the cause of education and the propagation of Christianity in Southern India, and the reverence in which he was held by the people among whom he laboured, are too well known to need mention here. His numerous pupils and admirers have from time to time and in various ways shown their appreciation of his labours. It was only the other day that he was the happy recipient of an address and a presentation from them. He was, indeed, a model missionary. He loved his people and the people loved him. It was no doubt this spirit, rather than the mere exigencies of mission work, that led him to a thorough study of Dravidian literature.

So early as 1842, hardly three years after his arrival in India, he published his "First Catechism of Tamil Grammar"; in 1844, "The Second Catechism." These

were followed by "The Third Catechism," including an edition of *Nannūl*, "A Tamil Handbook for English Students," in three parts, "A Tamil Prose Reader," and "A Tamil Poetical Anthology." His Oxford appointment and his election to an honorary fellowship at Balliol College gave a fresh impetus to his literary labours. In 1886 he brought out an edition of the *Kuṛaḷ* with an English translation; in 1893, the *Nāḷadiyār*; and in 1900, his monumental work—a critical edition, with an English translation, of the *Tiruvāṇṇam*. These volumes do not represent even a tithe of his work, for besides a short history of India and contributions on Indian topics to various periodicals he left behind in MS. complete editions and English translations of the *Paṇamōṟi*, the *Ṭilappadigāram*, and the *Maṇimegalāi*, as well as a vast amount of material for a standard Tamil dictionary.

He received the triennial Gold Medal of the Society in June, 1906, in recognition of his distinguished services to Indian research, and in pp. 767-790 of the *Journal* for that year will be found a detailed account of his life-work.

M. DE Z. WICKREMasinghe.

HENRIK EMILE HERBERT BORGSTRÖM, M.R.A.S.

IN the death of Henrik Emile Herbert Borgström, of Turholm Park, and Trikant, Helsingfors, on the 19th of November, 1907, Finland lost one of her most accomplished sons, and the British Royal Asiatic Society one of its most promising young members. He was only in his 34th year, yet his acquirements as a philologist and deep philosophic thinker attracted and astonished all who met him and were capable of following his brilliant conversation and comprehending his field of thought. He spoke and wrote every literary language of modern Europe perfectly, and was a devoted student

of the classic tongues. In addition to which he was master of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, but perhaps his great passion was Hebrew literature, which was as familiar to his lips as his mother tongues of Swedish and English. He would sit for an hour at a time reciting Hebrew poetry from memory to interest myself and others who had a similar appreciation of its sublime and pathetic verse in its native numbers, as manifested in its prophets, psalmists, and the philosophic Solomon. He was offered the Readership of Sanskrit in the University of Finland, but was prevented from accepting it by his broken health.

I soon found he was no ordinary intellect, or pedant, full of dead scholar cram, but a man of living and vivid talent, and an accomplished Orientalist, and who possessed a perfect command of English for both prose and poetical renderings. Some of the finest passages in my translation of the Book of Job into verse are his work, and amongst them I may point to chapters iv and the first seven verses of chapter v as his, except verses 19 to 21, inclusive, of chapter iv.

When I printed an edition of over 5,000 copies of the version of Job he wrote the preface. He was at the same time reading hard in the Greek classics and modern languages, and practising in mathematics and *Ægyptology* under the professor of that science at the University of France.

At last, in 1897-8, the break-down of his system came, after monitions of it in the previous years, when we were engaged upon the Hebrew historical books, and he was obliged to cease during the attacks of prostration from coadjuting in my work. But as soon as a little rested he would plunge in again, until after the collapse of 1897-8, which was accompanied by a severe seizure of influenza at Brighton, he was obliged to withdraw from active assistance, and to confine his efforts to reading the proofs as they were sent from my printers.

He was, however, not merely a philologist, but a student of historical philosophy, and a very profound thinker in the regions of metaphysics and psychology, and an extensive traveller. He went from land to land ranging from Lapland to Ceylon, and all the intermediate countries. He explored all Northern and Central Europe, North Africa, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, and Southern Europe, and, until his health broke down, he was also devoted to athletics and the study of art.

He was born in Finland on the 5th of June, 1874, and sprang from noble ancestry, his father being Herr Emile Borgström, of Helsingfors, in Finland, and his mother an English lady, a Miss Constance Herbert. His education was conducted partly in Finland and partly under tutors in England, and he early showed the remarkable talents which his mature manhood displayed. In 1883 he inherited, under the will of his grandfather, the Och Ritteren Henrik Borgström, of Turholm and Helsingfors, extensive estates and a large shipping and merchant's business, when about 9 years of age. The mercantile part of his fortune was conducted for him by an uncle, and he devoted himself to literature; and the actual and contemplated improvement of the lands, comprising, as he once told me, a large number of villages, he kept in his own hands.

With the sorrows of his native land he suffered deeply in mind and health, and they probably hastened him on to dementia and death by suicide in London, on the 19th of November last, at the age of 33 years—an age when men of great genius generally begin the productive period of their career in literature. In the last conversation we had together, three days before his death, he informed me that he had nearly got ready for the press a treatise upon a philosophic subject, and his MSS. will be published if sufficiently completed to justify this being done.

FERRAR FENTON.

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 326, line 1, *for* Kīrāṭas *read* Kīrātas.

p. 332, line 1, *for* Ehaçakrā *read* Ekacakrā.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

XVI.

THE FACTITIOUS GENEALOGIES OF THE MONGOL
RULERS.

By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., ETC.

WHEN the various tribes of Mongols and Kalrnuks were definitely converted to Lamaism in the sixteenth century it was not unnatural that the Lamaist monks, who formed their only literary class, should have tried to affiliate their famous heroes and their princely families to the old royal stock of Tibet, which had become for them a sacred land. Hence we find the two Mongol chronicles, one known as the "Altan Topchi" and the other generally quoted from the name of its author as *Ssanang Setzen*, and the Kalrnuk legend derived by Pallas from the Tibetan work called the "Bodimer," all concurring in a pedigree for the Mongol royal race which traces them first to the early Tibetan kings, and through them up to the alleged Indian ruler Olana Ergükdeksen, and through him again up to Sakiamuni Buddha himself. This pedigree was probably the invention of the author of the "Altan Topchi."

It specially refers to a Tibetan ruler named Dsanbo Dalai Suwin Arn Altan Shireghetu, who had three sons, Shivaghochi, Borochoi, and Burtechino. We are told that their father having been killed by his minister Longnam, who usurped the throne, the three brothers fled; the first to the land of Nganbo, the second to that of Bubo, and the third to Gongbo, south-east of Lhasa (*Ssanang Setzen*, p. 25).

This story of the usurpation of Longnam is told in the Tibetan books, and notably in one which was translated into Kalmuk and is named "*Nom gharkoi todorkhoi Tolle*," whence it has been abstracted by Schmidt and others (*Ssanang Setzen*, p. 317, note 6; Schmidt, *Forschungen*, etc., p. 15; Klaproth, *Tableaux*, p. 157, and note 8). In the original story the three brothers are called Ja thi, Ma thi, and Sha za thi. Thi, which is written Khri, means throne, and is the surname of all the early Tibetan kings. Ja means bird or fowl, Ma means fish, and Sha za means the flesh-eater. The two former names are similar in meaning, therefore, to Shivaghochi and Borochoi, already named, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman, while the third brother, the flesh-eater, has been by the compiler of the pedigree identified with Burtechino, 'the blue wolf,' a very typical flesh-eater, and a hero of Mongol legend to whom we shall presently revert. The Lamas who constructed the pedigree found a plausible resemblance between the meaning of the two names Sha za and Burtechino, and having equated them bridged over a very awkward gap. I need not say that no part of this Tibetan legend is to be found in the indigenous traditions of the Mongols dating from before their conversion to Lamaism, and that it is a pure invention of the monks.

Let us now turn to another and a similar invention, in which the Muhammedan legends take the place of the Tibetan ones. When the Persian Mongols were converted to Muhammedanism it was natural that their rulers and

principal men should wish to connect them with the genealogical and ethnographical tables of the Koran, and we thus find that the famous historiographer of the Persian Mongols, Rashid-ud-din, and his successors in the craft of chronicler, trace the royal Mongol stock to Nuh and Yaphet or Yafiz, and the other heroic personages who figure so much in the Old Testament and the Koran.

In the *Tarikhi Guzideh* of 'Hamdu-l-lah, Rashid-ud-din is expressly referred to as *the authority* for the derivation of the Mongols and Turks from Yafiz, the son of Nuh (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 523), a descent which would hardly have been suggested by any Mongol writer before the conversion of the Western Mongols to Muhammadanism. This took place definitely in Persia in the reign of the Ilkhan Ghazan, who was Rashid's master.

Rashid-ud-din thus states his theory: "In the history of Islam and in the Pentateuch of the Children of Israel we are told that the prophet Nuh divided the earth from south to north into three parts. The first he gave to Ham, who was the father of Sudan (i.e. the Black), to the middle son Shem he gave the Arabs and Persians, while the third, Yafeth, was the father of the Turks." Rashid's theory was that the Turks and Mongols sprang from the same ancestor and formed the same nomadic race. Thus, in his preface he tells us that the second section of his work deals with the history of the Turkish nations comprised under the name of Mongols, but who originally had each their own name and surname (*Quatremaire*, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 53). The fourth section, he says, gives the history of the Turkish nations which from time immemorial bore the name of Mongols (*id.*, pp. 53-55). He says further: "This race (i.e. the Mongols), known from time immemorial under the name of Turks, inhabited the country extending in length and breadth from the rivers Jihun and Sihun to the extremities of the East and from the limits of Desht Kipchak to those

of Churcha and Khatai" (id., p. 67). Again, "although all the Turks and Mongols resemble one another remarkably, and were originally known by the same name, nevertheless the Mongols formed a branch distinct from the Turks, and the two nations differed from one another in essential characters, as will be seen in the course of this work" (id., pp. 69-71). The second section of his Ethnographic table is headed "Concerning the Turkish tribes who are now called Mongols, but who in former times had each one its own name" (Erdmann, *Volstaendige Uebersicht*, etc., p. 513; *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, ix, p. 513). Under the heading Tartars, and speaking of the various tribes, such as the Jelairs, Umads, etc., who were in his time known as Mongols, Rashid-ud-din says, "they fancy that in former times they were known as Mongols; but this was not so, for the Mongols then formed but a section of the nomadic Turks" (Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 40; *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, ix, p. 525). Lastly, in the third section, headed "Concerning the Turkish tribes who were called Mongols in ancient times," we have the following paragraph: "It has been already said that the Mongol race was a section of the Turkish, and that their appearance and speech resemble one another" (Erdmann, p. 74).

This theory of Rashid-ud-din's was accepted as a genuine tradition by subsequent Persian writers, and has been absurdly adopted in our time by Raverty. Used in the generic sense in which Rashid-ud-din generally employs the term Turk, i.e. as connoting the same general notion that Tartar or Turanian does now with many people, and including the various nomades of Central Asia, the theory may pass, but when used to imply that Mongols and Turks were racially the same people it is of course erroneous, the Turks and Mongols differing, as Rashid-ud-din says in one of the passages above quoted, essentially in language, traditions, and other respects. While the races differ, however, it does not follow that their royal stocks were

not derived from one source. Rashid-ud-din, in fact, derives the Mongol Imperial house from the mythical stem father of the Turkish princes, whom he called Abulja Khan, and for this, as we shall see, he had some reason.

It is possible that the mythical Turkish hero Abulja had long before Rashid's day been connected with Yafiz, the son of Nuh, by the Turks, for large numbers of the latter had been Muhammedans for several centuries. He says that the Mongols and Turks reported, according to one of their traditions conformably with the narrative in the Tora that Nuh sent his son Yafiz, *whom the Turks call Abulja Khan*, into the East.

"Yet wise men know not," he adds, "whether this Abulja Khan was a son of the prophet Nuh or was a son of one of his sons. From him are sprung the Mongols, the Turks, and the dwellers in the Steppes" (Berezine, Rashid-ud-din, i, p. 12; Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 7; Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 4). Again, he says: "They (i.e. the Mongols and Turks) are all sprung from Yafiz, son of Nuh, whom they call Abulja Khan" (Berezine, i, p. 124; Erdmann, Volstaen. Ueb., p. 74).

Rashid-ud-din tells us that Abulja and his people lived on the mountains Urtagh and Kurtagh (Berezine, p. 12). Urtagh is the Urtu ola of the Chinese (Hyacinthe, History of the Mongols, p. 36), and by it they mean the western prolongation of the Little Altai towards Lake Balkhash. Abulghazi identified the two mountains mentioned by Rashid with the Ulugh Tagh and Kichik Tagh, i.e. the Great and Little Mountain of his day.

Rashid also tells us that Abulja lived in Summer near the town of Anbaj or Inanj (Berezine, pp. 12 and 121; Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 463), and in Winter he encamped at Barsuk and Karakum (i.e. the well-known Barsuk and Karakum Sands) to the east and north-east

of the Sea of Aral; and near the towns of Talas (i.e. the later Taras or Avlie ata) and Sairam, also a well-known town, described by Rashid as in his day occupied by Muhammedan Turks, and as possessing forty gates. This was the homeland of the famous Ghuz Turks, the ancestors of the modern Turkomans, and points to Rashid having tried to affiliate the Mongol royal house to that of the Ghuz Turks.

The next writer who, so far as we know, gave an independent account of the genealogy and origins of the Mongol chiefs was Ulugh Beg Mirza. His famous history is not available for reference, and it is doubtful whether a copy of it survives at all. We have it at second-hand, however, in the so-called *Mokademma Zafer Nameh*, or introduction to the *Zafer Nameh* of Sherif-ud-din of Yesd, which was written about the year 1424. Sherif-ud-din expressly tells us in his last paragraph that he took the matter of this introduction from the work of Ulugh Beg. This introduction to the *Zafer Nameh* was translated into English in 1838 by Colonel Miles, under the title of "*Shajrat-ul-Atrak*."

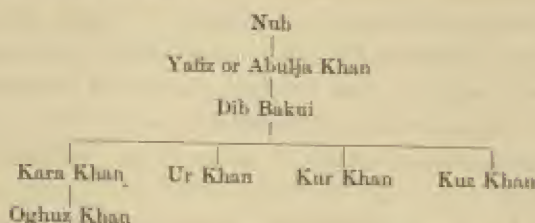
The genealogy as given by Ulugh Beg differs considerably from that given by Rashid. Instead of identifying Yafiz with Abulja Khan we are here told that Yafiz had nine sons, one of whom was Turk, who was the father of Abulja. These nine sons were respectively named Turk, Khajar or Khurz, Saklab, Rus, Ming, Chin, Gomari or Komari, Kimul, and Mazukh or Mesech. "Some say" (he adds) "that there were but eight sons, and that Komari and Kimul are one." This is, in fact, the view of most of the later authors.

These eight interpolated names are merely an imitation of the Biblical and Koranic ethnic and geographical names, the eight chiefs being the eponyms of the Turks, Khazars, Russians, Slaves, Manguti or Nogais, Chinese, Gomerians, and Moskhi. A still later writer, Mirkhavend,

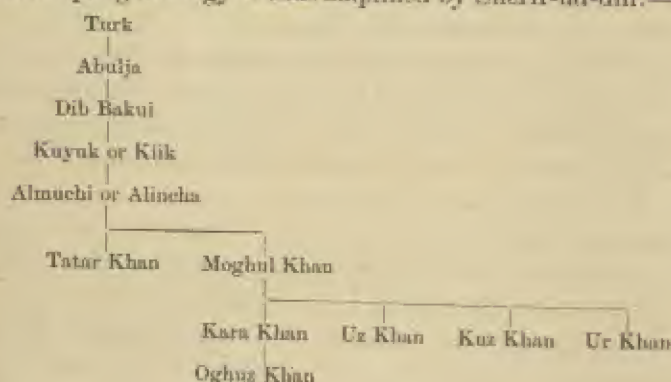
who died in 1498, further extends this chronological table and gives us 11 names: (1) Khazar, (2) Saklab, (3) Mashakh, (4) Gumari, (5) Turk, (6) Khalj, (7) Rus, (8) Saksur or Sadsan, (9) Ghuz, (10) Tarikh, also written Taraj, and lastly a name wanting in the MS., which was probably Chin (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 464, note 4). These names simply answer to those of the various tribes and peoples of Europe and Northern Asia known to the writer and correspond substantially to the similar lists in the Koran and the Pentateuch. In the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, which is professedly the introduction to Sherif-ud-din's work, Turk is made the contemporary of Kaïomars, the first king of Persia, and is himself made the first Kaan of the Eastern country. He is further made the father of five sons, the eldest of whom is the Abulja above-named.

Mirkhavend and Abulghazi do not name Abulja here, but give Turk four sons only, being the same four enumerated in the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, after Abulja. These names are much corrupted in the MSS., and can only be approximately read as Tunaj or Tutag, Chikal or Hakal, Barsinjar or Barsanjar, and Amlak, which names are apparently derived from four districts or towns of the Western Turks. At least two of them seem to be so. Amlak can be no other than Almalig; Barsinjar is a Turkish town mentioned by Abulfeda; Chikal or Jikal, according to Raverty, is still known as a name applied to a small district (*Trans. Orient. Cong. St. Pet.*, p. 78); and Tugag or Tutag seems compounded with *tagh*, the Turkish for mountain. All these names are doubtless topographical, and, like the ethnic names which precede them, are quite artificial additions to the table, and only found in the later writers who follow Sherif-ud-din. One of these topographical names, namely, Tutag or Tutagh, is made the father of Ilchi by Mirkhavend and Abulghazi, Ilchi being apparently a form of Alincha by which Abulja is known to these writers (Abulghazi, ed. *Des Maisons*, p. 9).

Rashid-ud-din's genealogy of the Khans down to Oghuz Khan runs as follows:—



This simple genealogy is thus amplified by Sherif-ud-din:—



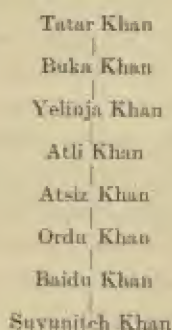
Both lists agree in making Dib Bakui the son of Abulja. In regard to him Hamdullah says: "They called Mashakh, the son of Yaphet, Dib Jakui" (i.e. Dib Bakui), (Erdmann, Temudschin, etc., p. 523).

Between Dib Bakui and Kara Khan, Sherif-ud-din and his followers again interpolate certain names not found in Rashid-ud-din's account. Thus Dib Bakui is made the father of Kuyuk (which name is apparently a duplication of Kaian, *vide infra*), and he of a second Abulja or Alincha Khan, also doubtless a duplication; Alincha Khan, again, is made the father of two twin sons, Tatar Khan and Mughal Khan (Shajrat-ul-Atrak, loc. cit.; Abulghazi, p. 10). The names Tatar and Mughal Khan and the struggles of their families are merely the representatives of the Turks

and Mongol stocks and their rivalries in early times, a rivalry which it was thought prudent to represent in this way in the genealogy. We can trace the two names no higher than Ulugh Beg Mirza. They do not occur, as I have said, in the pages of Rashid-ud-din. Hamdullah makes the Turks and Mongols descend from Yaphet's two sons, Turk and Mashakh (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 523).

Let us now turn to the *Mokademma* and the authors who followed it. From Tatar Khan it claims that there sprang a series of seven successive descendants.

I will give the pedigree from Abulghazi:—



Of these Abulghazi tells us nothing except that Ordu spent his time in drinking spirit and kumiz, and in dressing himself in precious stuffs of Khatai or China, and crossing deep rivers. Up to the reign of Baidu he says there had been no feud between the Mughals and Tatars, but Baidu, a young and impetuous prince, attacked the Mughals and was killed by them. The war continued during the reign of Suyunitch Khan, and was so fierce that not all the waters of the Amu Daria (i.e. the Oxus) would suffice to quench it (*op. cit.*, p. 11).

This being the pedigree of the descendants of Tatar Khan, let us now turn to that of his twin brother, Mughal Khan. He is made by Sherif-ud-din and his imitators

the father of the four princes who by Rashid-ud-din and Hamdullah are affiliated to Dib Bakui, the eldest of whom, Kara Khan, is by all the authorities made the father of Oghuz Khan. We will therefore shortly consider what is said of Kara Khan and Oghuz Khan.

Kara Khan is expressly said by Abulghazi to have spent the Summer in the Ur Tagh and Kur Tagh Mountains, and the Winter on the Karakum Sands and on the banks of the Amu Daria. He tells us that in his time all his people were infidels. Of his son Oghuz he reports many wonderful tales, e.g., that he refused to take milk from his mother till she consented to become a Musulman; that he himself, at the age of one year, declared that his name must be Oghuz; that he successively married the daughters of three of his uncles, but only cared for the daughter of Kur Khan because she consented to adopt Islam. When his father heard he had become a Muhammedan he was greatly enraged, and in a battle which followed between them the latter was killed. His father's people and other neighbouring tribes were now converted to his own faith. He then proceeded to attack the Tatars, who lived near Jurjid (i.e. Manchuria). He defeated them and captured great quantities of booty. "For sixty-two years he fought against the Tatars, and subjected," says Abulghazi, "Khitai (i.e. China), Jurjid (i.e. Manchuria), Tangut (which, he adds, the Tajiks call Tibet), and Kara Khitai, a vast country extending from Hindostan to China, whose inhabitants were black. He then advanced beyond Khitai to the high mountains bordering on the sea, where lived the tribes of It Barak, by whom he was defeated and had to retreat. Seventeen years later he marched against the same people, and killed their chief, It Barak Khan. He also furnished troops to one of his dependants named Kipehak, with which to conquer the Russians, Aulaks (?), Majars, and Bashkirs."

Oghuz Khan, we are told, now marched with all the army of the Mughals and Tatars against Talash (i.e. Taras) and Sairam. He captured Sairam and Tashkend, and sent his sons to conquer Turkistan and Andijan; took Samarkand, Bukhara, and Balkh, and conquered the country of Ghur in a winter campaign. He also subdued Kabul, Ghazni, and Cashmere, and killed Yaghma, the king of the last of these countries, and slaughtered his people, and returned home again to Mongolia by way of Badakhshan and Samarkand.

A year later he set out for an expedition against Iran or Persia, and marched by way of Taras, Samarkand, and Bukhara, and crossing the Amu Daria entered Khorasan. There was then, we are told, no king in Persia, Kaiomars was dead and Hushing had not yet mounted the throne, and the country was in a state of anarchy. Oghuz Khan successively conquered Khorasan, Irak Ajem, Irak Arabi, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Syria, and went as far as the frontiers of Egypt, and left governors in the various provinces. He now returned home again and gave a feast in a grand tent, of which the poles were covered with plaques of gold ornamented with rubies, sapphires, emeralds, turquoises, and pearls, and it was said that this great king had constructed a tent which had put even the vault of heaven to shame. Nine hundred camels and nine thousand sheep were slaughtered for the feast and 99,000 *hautz*, (i.e. great bags?) of worked leather, of which some were filled with arrak and some with kumiz were furnished. He rewarded his sons with kingdoms and his naukers or servitors with towns, villages, and lands. He died after a reign of 116 years, and left six sons; the three eldest were jointly styled Buzuh and the three youngest Uchuk.

These six sons, according to Rashid-ud-din, were called Kun Khan (i.e. Sun Khan), Ai Khan (i.e. Moon Khan), Yulduz Khan (i.e. Star Khan), Kuk Khan (i.e. Sky

Khan), Tagh Khan (i.e. Mountain Khan), and Tenghiz Khan (i.e. Sea Khan). This list of quite artificial names shows how entirely made-up the whole genealogy is. With them Rashid-ud-din entirely breaks off his genealogy. He tells us that "the descendants of Oghuz occupied the throne for a thousand years. In the time of Feridun his son Tur fought a desperate battle against them. Only two members of the race survived, called Nokuz and Kaian, who sought shelter in a retired valley, to which there was only access by one path" (Erdmann, *Temndschin*, p. 523). It is after this long break and with these two names that Rashid recommences his genealogy. It was the business of the later chroniclers to invent links by which such gaps and breaches as the one just mentioned could be bridged. Rashid, in naming the six sons of Oghuz, calls each of them Khan, and doubtless meant it to be understood that they successively occupied the throne.

The later writers who tried to equate and rationalize these lists treat their names somewhat differently. Their theory first appears in the *Mokademma*, and was adopted by Mirkhavend and Abulghazi. Sherif-ud-din says that Oghuz was succeeded by Kun Khan, who appointed his father's vizier, Irkil Khoja, a Uriangkhit, called by Abulghazi a Uighur, as his own. Kun Khan, he says, reigned seventy years, and was succeeded by his brother Ai Khan, and he by Yulduz Khan.

Abulghazi says he did not know whether Yulduz Khan was the grandson of Ai Khan or only his near relative, but what he was clear about was that he was not the younger brother of the Ai Khan generally so called. These three Khans—Kun, Ai, and Yulduz—were almost certainly taken over from Rashid-ud-din, while their three younger brothers—Kuk, Tagh, and Tenghiz Khan—were dropped out and two other names were interpolated which were made to bridge over the hiatus in Rashid's scheme. Thus Yulduz Khan was in the view of the later writers succeeded

by his son Mengli Khan, who is described by Abulghazi as spending his life in eating meat, drinking kumiz, dressing in ermine and sable, living in the arms of women beautiful as the sun and moon, and riding ambling horses as volatile as quicksilver. Mengli Khan left a son named Tengkiz Khan, and he a son Ilkhan. Neither the Mengli Khan nor the Ilkhan of this genealogy was known to Rashid. This arrangement of the chiefs was doubtless to make Suyunitch, the ninth descendant of Tatar Khan, synchronize with Ilkhan, the ninth successor of Mughal Khan. We are told the Mughals were always at war, but Ilkhan was always the conqueror, as he also was over the other neighbouring tribes. Suyunitch therefore formed a combination against him, of which the Khan of the Kirghiz was a prominent member. In the battle which followed the greater part of the Mughals were defeated and mercilessly slaughtered, and the whole race was either put to the sword or reduced to slavery, and we are told that only two of the royal stock remained—Kaian, the youngest son of Ilkhan, and his cousin Nokuz. They were of the same age and became slaves of the same master. They were both married and managed to escape with their wives, who are described as their sisters, and having collected a portion of the abandoned herds they sought shelter in a retired valley surrounded by rugged mountains, which could only be approached by a narrow footpath, and was very fruitful and abounding in game. This retired valley was called Irgene Kun.

With Nokuz and Kaian, Rashid-ud-din, and the other Western writers come together again. They apparently connoted the two great divisions of the Turkish race, the Uighurs and the Turks proper. Nokuz in Turkish means nine, and the Uighurs were known as the Nine Uighurs, or simply the Nine, while Kaian or Kaiat would seem to have been a synonym for the Turks of Lake Issikul. So that the two names, like the rest of those

already cited, belong to the Turkish and not to the Mongol legend. The story about Irgene Kun, where they took refuge, is in fact found at a much earlier date than the Mongol era, and is then attributed by the Chinese to the Tukiü or earliest Turks. The name was applied to a very famous cradleland of Turkish tradition, namely, the valley in which Lake Issikul is placed. The district was still called *Organum* by the Franciscan traveller Rubruquis in the thirteenth century. Lake Issikul is called Sihai, i.e. the Western Lake, by the Chinese. Now it is on the western borders of the Sihai Lake that the Chinese place the beginnings of the Tukiü or true Turks. We are told they were almost destroyed there by a neighbouring nation who killed them all without distinction, except a boy of 10 years old, on whom the enemy had a certain compassion and spared his life, though they cut off his hands and feet. This is a similar story to the one told by Rashid-ud-din and others about the early history of the Mongols, and already quoted, in which this boy of 10 years old was substituted for the two cousins Kaian and Nokuz. The connection of the legend we are discussing with the Turks is supported in another way. Rashid-ud-din mentions the Uriangkhuits, and the five tribes of the Kunkurats of his day as especially claiming to be descended from the two cousins Nokuz and Kaian. They were both, as we shall see, notable Turkish tribes. The former, according to the legend, had taken part in the iron smelting in Irgene Kun (*vide infra*), and about the latter there was a saga representing that they had suffered from pain in their feet which was dear to their ancestors, as a reminder that they had burnt them while walking over the glowing coals in the same place (Erdmann, Temudschin, pp. 194-196).

Rashid-ud-din and the later Western chroniclers tell us that Kaian and Nokuz had a great number of descendants; those of the former were called Kaiat and those of the latter Darlegins. They increased and multiplied greatly

at Irgene Kun, and were formed into various Umaks or clans. They remained at Irgene Kun for four hundred years (Hamdullah says two hundred and more years), and accumulated great flocks and herds. They then determined to return to their old homes, and, in order to find a way out of the enclosed valley, they collected wood with which they smelted a bed of iron they found there, and thus opened a way. Afterwards it was customary for the Khan and beks to commemorate the event by making a piece of iron red-hot and beating it on an anvil on the anniversary of the day on which they secured their deliverance. The Khan, says Rashid, who ruled over them at the time of their exit from Irgene Kun was Burtechino, of the tribe of the Kurulas and the race of Kaian (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 523-4; Abulghazi, pp. 32-3). The Kurulas were a well-known division of the famous Turkish race of the Kunkurats. It is quite plain, therefore, that with Burtechino Rashid-ud-din starts entirely afresh. Up to this point he had borrowed and invented names, incidents, etc., from the legends of the Turkish neighbours of his master's dominions, and had thus constructed a purely artificial pedigree for them quite unknown to the old traditions of the Mongols themselves and the Chinese. Down to Burtechino the whole story as told by Rashid was therefore spurious.

Burtechino does occur in the older legends of the Mongols themselves, as preserved in their native works, and notably in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, a work I described some years ago in the *Journal of the Society*, and which was written in the reign of Ogotai, the son of Chinghiz Khan. Chino means a wolf, and Burtechino merely means the blue wolf, so that this native legend traces the royal stock to a wolf.

This claim to wolfish ancestry is not peculiar to the Mongols, however. It was also alleged that the stem father of the Turks was a wolf, and it is, in fact, very

probable that the Mongols borrowed their legend from the much older one of the Turks, with which it agrees in so many particulars.

We have traced the Turkish legend about Irgene Kun in the Chinese writers down to the point where the race was reduced by its enemies to a single boy who had had his hands and feet cut off. They go on to tell us that he then withdrew to a marsh, where he concealed himself. There he was tended by a she-wolf, who eventually became pregnant by him. As the enemy still sought to destroy the young man, the she-wolf, inspired by a spirit, took him with her and transported him to the east of the Sihai Lake, i.e. the Western Lake, and stayed with him on a mountain north-west of the kingdom of Kaochang (i.e. of the Turks so called), where they found a cavern or defile opening into a retired valley 200 li in circumference. There the wolf bore ten young ones, and each one took a different family name. A-Se-Na, who was the cleverest, was chosen as their king, and ordered that the heads of his standards should be shaped like the heads of wolves to show that he did not ignore his origin (Visdelou, pp. 91 and 92; Klaproth, *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. 1, vol. iii, pp. 209-211). Sena or Asena in Turkish means a wolf.

On turning to the Mongol legend about their wolf ancestor it tells us he was called Burtechino. While chino means wolf Burte means blue and secondarily celestial or divine; Burtechino therefore means the divine wolf. Ssanang Setzen tells us that Chinghiz Khan called his people Kōke Mongol, i.e. the Blue Mongols (op. cit., 71 and 380, p. 22). Blue, again, was the imperial colour of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 265). Burtechino is said to have married Goa Maral or the white or fair hind (Schmidt, op. cit., p. 373, n. 2), which name is apparently a complementary foil to that of Burtechino. Together we are told they roamed across the Tenghiz or lake and reached the sources of the river Onon,

and on the sacred mountain (Burkhan) they had a son. All this is clearly a repetition of the Turk legend, and shows whence the story was derived, and the conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Tenghiz or Dengiz, by which "the lake" is referred to in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi, is apparently a borrowed Turkish and not a true Mongol word. The Mongols usually call a lake *nor*. General Cunningham identifies Burtechino directly with Bahitigin, the legendary ancestor of the Turkish rulers of Cashmere, of whom Al-Biruni says that after living in a cave for some time without food he came out of it suddenly, clothed as a Turk with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot (see Elliot, *Indian Historians*, ii, p. 9; *Num. Chron.*, 1889, p. 304). Hamdullah tells us that certain Mongols held that Nokuz and Kaian were two women who had connection with a wolf in a defile and had children by it (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 523).

With Burtechino, the blue grey wolf as we have seen, the legends about the origin of the Mongol royal house reported on the one hand by the Chinese and the native Mongol chroniclers, and on the other by Rashid-ud-din and his successors in Persia, come together. Rashid-ud-din no doubt derived his knowledge of the legend at this point from the Altan Defter, or Golden Register, to which he refers as his main authority. What we have here to note is that while the details of the earlier story as told by the Persian writers was purely artificial, due to the ingenuity of Rashid and his followers, it is plain that the derivation of the Mongol royal house from a Turkish source was one not peculiar to these Western writers, but was one adopted by the Mongols and Chinese themselves. This conclusion is confirmed by many facts. Limiting ourselves to those above set out, it will be seen that in both the Mongol and Turkish legend about their origin we have a wolf for the common ancestor. In both it lives near a great lake, which it crosses. In both it then goes to the east or

north-east on leaving its original shelter. In both it reaches a mountain and brings forth offspring.

The chief variation is that while the wolf Sena in the Turkish legend is made to take refuge in the retired valley of Irgene Kun, Burtechino of the Mongol legend was the leader who led them out of that valley. It is curious to turn to Abulghazi's narrative to see how he gets over the difficulties of piecing together the patchwork story. He tells us that from Kaian to Burtechino was 450 years. "We have used every effort," he adds, "to learn the names of the intervening kings, but all our efforts have been fruitless. We have not found them in any history. The interval was passed by the Mongols at Irgene Kun, hence the gap" (op. cit., p. 75).

It is curious that in the *Mokademna*¹ Burtechino is entirely ignored and is apparently merged in Kaian. When we have traced the legends that surround Burtechino to the old Turks we have by no means reached *terra firma*. When the Mongols took to writing annals they were dependent for their knowledge of letters upon the Uighurs, who had had a long and famous history, and as their own early annals were uncertain they apparently fell back upon their literary mentors, who supplied them not only with the wolf story but also with the pedigree extending from Burtechino to the two brothers Doa Sochor and Doben Mergen, to be presently mentioned.

The Yuan-chao-pi-shi, in reporting the story of Burtechino, makes him and Goa Marat go to the river Onon and the mountain Burkhan, the Burkhan Khalduna of Ssanang Setzen, by which the chain of Kentei is no doubt meant. This chain is called Burkhan-ola in the Chinese geographical

¹ Klaproth reminds us that the Chinese dictionary called Wan sing t'ang pu reports the legend of Burtechino and gives this genealogy in epitome, and also tells us that Borjig was the family name of Chinghiz Khan. (Aser. Polyglotta, 263.)

work translated by Hyacinthe and Klaproth (*Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 159). Burkhan in Mongol means divine or sacred, and Buddha, according to Dr. Bretschneider, is known among the Mongols as Sakyamuni Burkhan.

Again, Ssanang Setzen, in reporting the same story, converts the river Onon into Lake Baikal, and adds a paragraph to glorify his protégés the Lamas. He also tells us that Burtechino lived on the Burkhan Mountain for a while with the Bede people. Bede was a synonym for the Uighur Turks. The Uighurs of Northern Tibet, also known as Hor-pa to the Tibetans, are called Bādā Hor in the Tibetan work called *Nom Gharkoi Todorkhoi Tolli*, and in describing the capture of Yenghi-kent by the Mongols in 1219, Rashid-ud-din speaks of 10,000 men of the Ulus Bede where other writers speak of the Uighurs.

Now it is curious that the district on the Onon and about the Burkhan Mountains was in fact the old homeland of the Uighurs, and when Ssanang Setzen says that Burtechino lived some time with the Bede people he apparently means that he lived or ruled over the Uighurs. The name Bede is probably, as Rémusat suggested, a corruption of the Chinese, Pe-ti northern barbarians.

We will now continue the genealogy as reported by the different authorities.

The first three tables (*vide infra*) are clearly derived from one source. The only real variants are the omission of the name Khali Kharchu, doubtless by an inadvertence, immediately after Sam Sochi, in the Altan Topchi; the conversion of Eke Nidun, large-eyed, into Nike Nidun, one-eyed, by Ssanang Setzen; and the giving, by the same writer, of a brother named Bedes Khan, otherwise unknown, to Bedetse Khan. I next give the names as recorded in the Tibetan work, the Bodimer, where they are much corrupted, and by Rashid-ud-din.

YUAN-CHAO-SHI-PI.	ALTAN TOPCHIL.	SSANANG SETZEN.
A grey wolf	Burtechino	Burtechino
Batachi Khan	Badnitsaghan	Bedetse Bêdes
Tamatsba	Tiemuelin	Tamatsak
Khoritshar Mergen	Koritsal Mergin	Khoritsar Mergen
Auchzhan boroyun	Ukdjan Boghural	Agbojin Bughural
Salikhetshag	Sali Galtzego	Sali Khalyigbo
Eke Nidun	Eke Nidun	Nike Nidun
Sin Sochi	Sam Sochi	Sam Suji
Kharchi		Khali Kharchu
Borchizhiday Mergan	Buriti Mergen	Borijetci Mergen
Torokholechhin Boyan	Torgholchin Bayan	Torghaljin Bayan
Dava Sokhor Doben Mergan	Dava Sokhor Dobo Mergen	Dox Sokhor Dobo Mergen

THE BODIMER. (See Pallas, Saml. hist. Nach., i, p. 17.)	RASHID-UD-DIN.
Burudachi	Burtechino
Barchen	Beteji
Temana	Tunaj
Kaksa Mergen	Kichi Mergen
Aiza Borogol	Kuchum Bughural
Eke Dagun	Yeke Nidun
Sai Snuji	Sam Sochi
Tebzu	Khali Khaju
Derben Zargan	Dubun Bayan

The two later lists, however some of the names differ in spelling, agree remarkably in substance against the other three, and it is difficult to understand how they could have been sophisticated by each other, since their origin was so far apart, and it seems to point to their representing the original form of the pedigree, which has possibly been interpolated in the previous three lists. Thus they agree in excluding the name Sali Khaljigho immediately before Eke Nidun. Now one of the Mongol Khans mentioned by Ssanang Setzen is named Khalighochin (op. cit., pp. 175, 191, and 259), a name which does not apparently occur until the fifteenth century. This looks as if the occurrence of the name in the earlier three lists may be due to an interpolation to flatter a particular tribe.

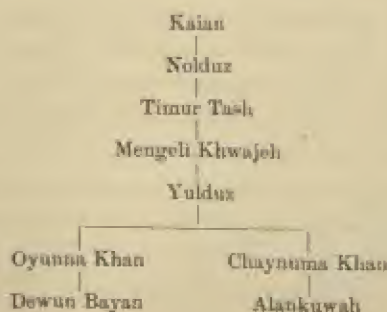
There is another notable variation in the two sets of lists. Rashid-ud-din and the Bodimer agree in making Dobo Mergen the son of Khali Kharchu. The Yuan-chao-pi-shi, Ssanang Setzen, and the Altan Topchi, on the other hand, interpolate two other names. These names do not seem to have formed part of the original legend, but to have been imported into it from some saga or folk-tale, for in these instances the king's wives are also mentioned, and in the case of the second pair there is an additional statement. In these three authorities Khali Kharchu is given a son named Borjigetei Mergen, formed probably from Borjig, 'blue-eyed,' the family name of the Mongol chiefs. He married, we are told, Mongholjin Goa, the former name apparently derived from the race-name Mongol, and the latter being the ordinary word for 'fair, white.' This pair had a son called Torghaljin Bayan, perhaps derived from some form of the name Turk, who married Borokehina Goa, also derived probably from the Mongol *boro*, blue or blue grey, a common appellation of the race. So that all four names are doubtless artificial and invented. Of the latter of these pairs we are told in the Yuan-chao-pi-shi that they had a household

slave called Boroldai sugal-bi and two stallions called Dair and Boro. As Palladius says, these horses probably played a significant part in Mongol tradition.

The three authorities above-named agree in giving Torghaljin Bayan two sons, Doa Sokhor and Dobo Mergen. Rashid-ud-Din and the Tibetan lists do not mention Doa Sokhor.

The Yuan-chao-pi-shi and Ssanang Setzen tell us that Doa Sokhor, like Cyclops, had only one eye in the middle of his forehead, with which he could see three days' journey ahead, and that he had four sons. The former says they were the ancestors of the tribe 'Durban,' i.e. 'the four.' Ssanang Setzen expands this, and identifies the Durbans with the four tribes of the Uirads (i.e. the Kalmauks), whom he here calls the Ogheled, Baghatud, Khoit, and Kergud. He further calls the four brothers Donoi, Dokshin, Emuk, and Erke.

Rashid-ud-din, on the other hand, makes the Durbans descend from the four younger brothers of Tamatsak, or Timaj (as he calls him), a divergence which shows how artificial the whole genealogy is. While the five lists above quoted are in substantial agreement, differing only in details, the Mokademna of Sherif-ud-din has an entirely different story. All the names above given are ignored, and the pedigree is derived from Kaian in the following way:—



Abulghazi, who had both stories before him, was apparently much puzzled, and amalgamated them *more suo* by inscribing the names of Timur Tash, Mengeli Khwaja, and Yulduz, immediately after Khali Khaju. He does not mention by name the two sons of Yulduz, as given by Sherif-ud-din, and says they died before their father, but he does mention them as the respective fathers of Dubun Bayan and Alan Kua (i.e. Alung Goa). The whole table as given in the *Mokademna* is a pure invention, and it is curious that the inventor was so artless as to make one of Chinghiz Khan's ancestors a Khoja.

Reverting to Dobo Mergen, to whom we have traced down the genealogy, it is quite plain, according to all the accounts, that after him there is again a real break in the story, showing that from Burtetchino down to himself the list of names is a foreign and intrusive boulder borrowed from other traditions.

It was after his death that, according to the legend, Alung Goa gave birth to three sons in a supernatural way, from whom the Mongols are in fact derived, so that even in the saga Dobo and his ancestors have nothing to do directly with the lineage of Chinghiz Khan and the Imperial Mongol House. This seems to be quite recognized in the official history of the Mongol dynasty of China, in which all the names in question down to Dobo Mergen inclusive are omitted, and the genealogy is made to begin with Alung Goa.

Several of the names, as Berezine has said, in the form they take in Rashid-ud-din, are not Mongol but Turkish, and Rashid treats them all as princes of the Kurulas (as we have seen a Turkish tribe), and says they lived on the rivers Onon, Kerulon, and Tula, and on the mountains Burghad (i.e. Burkhan) and Bermed (?) (Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 535), which was the old land of the Uighur Turks.

Dobo Mergen and Doa Sochor were, in fact, identified

with two famous Turkish chiefs by Schmidt, the editor of *Ssanang Setzen*.

He identifies Dobo with Topo Khan, the famous ruler of the Turks, who died in 581, and he makes his brother Doa *Sokhor* the equivalent of *Sokhin*, Topo's brother, who was also called Moko Khan, and explains the statement about the division of the tribes among the four sons of Doa *Sokhor* as equivalent to the division of the Turks into four sections on the death of Topo Khan (*Ssanang Setzen*, pp. 59, 374). It is curious that the predecessor of Topo and *Sokhin* as ruler of the Turks was Kolo, who may answer to the *Khali* *Klarchu* of some of the lists.

It is plain, therefore, that, apart from the efforts of the Lamas and the Muhammedan doctors to connect the Imperial house of Mongolia with Buddha and with Noah respectively, the genealogies which professedly give us the beginning of Mongol history and tradition are of purely artificial invention and were probably of foreign origin, and created for them by their literary teachers the Uighurs. They found them an heroic ancestry by appropriating the great names of another race with whom the Mongols had been in contact for many generations, namely the Turks, from whom they derived their culture, and from whom, as is far from improbable, their chiefs may have been really descended, though not in any way as related in the genealogies. The real home-story of the House of Chinghiz begins with Alung Goa.



XVII.

THE COINAGE OF NEPAL.

By E. H. WALSH.

THE coins which are dealt with in the present paper fall under three divisions. *First*, the coins of the Early Licchavi Sūryavarmśi dynasty, whose capital was at Mānagrha, the present Kāthmāndū, and those of the Thākuri dynasty who were ruling at the same time over the western portion of Nepal, with their palace at Kailāsa-kūṭabbavana, situated in another part of the same city.¹ *Second*, the coins of the three Newār Malla dynasties, who reigned contemporaneously over the three kingdoms of Bhātgaon, Kāthmāndū, and Pātan, or Lalitāpur. *Third*, the Gorkhā dynasty, founded on the conquest of Nepal by Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa in 1768 A.D., and which continues to the present time.

Several of the coins now illustrated have appeared previously. The early coins, of the Sūryavarmśi dynasty of Licchavi kings and of the Thākuri dynasties (Plate I), have been described by Professor Bendall,² and have been described and illustrated in Cunningham's "Coins of Ancient India,"³ and by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle

¹ Fleet: "Early Chronology of Nepal," in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, p. 350; and "The Early Gupta Inscriptions," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, appendix, p. 180.

² "On some Nepalese Coins in the Library of the German Oriental Society"; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1882, vol. xxxvi, p. 651.

³ Sir A. Cunningham: "Coins of Ancient India," 1891, pl. xiii.

in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ but apart from the fact that some further varieties are now figured, the coins of these earlier dynasties, which have been already figured, have been included in the present paper so as to bring together what has been written on the subject, and because the subsequent silver coinage of the Newār Malla dynasty, though differing from them entirely in character, shows its continuity by the adoption of many of their symbols.

Of the seventy Malla coins shown on Plates II to VI, eight are illustrated by Marsden² and seven in the recent "Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,"³ by Mr. Vincent Smith, but the remaining fifty-five are, as far as I know, now illustrated for the first time. In the case of the coins of the present Gorkhā dynasty, shown on Plate VII, five have been illustrated by Marsden, and one, amongst those given in the recent Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum. But the other seven, I believe, have not before been illustrated.

The coins shown, of the Sāryavamśi and Thākuri dynasties, are in the British Museum; as are also those of the present Gorkhā dynasty. The coins of the Malla dynasties are partly from my own collection and partly from those in the British Museum. The coins from the British Museum are in each case noted in the list. The square double mohar of Pratāpa Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 14) is in the collection of Dr. Hoernlé, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce it.

I have to thank the authorities of the British Museum

¹ Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal for May, 1887.

² Marsden: "Numismata Orientalia" (1825), pl. xlix; viz., Pl. II, Fig. 4 = Marsden mexxi; Pl. II, Fig. 7 = mexxiii; Pl. III, Fig. 8 = mexx; Pl. IV, Fig. 2 = mex, Fig. 3 = mexi, Fig. 4 = mexii, Fig. 7 = mexiii, and Fig. 8 = mexv.

³ Vincent A. Smith, "Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta" (1906), vol. i, pl. xxviii; Marsden, *op. cit.*, pl. i.

for allowing me to have casts from their coins of the thirteen early coins, figured on Plate I, as also of fourteen of the coins of the Newār Malla kings, which are shown on Plates II to VI as follows: Pl. II, Figs. 1 and 11; Pl. III, Fig. 3; Pl. IV, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13; Pl. V, Fig. 7; Pl. VI, Fig. 9; and the thirteen coins of the present Gorkhā dynasty given on Plate VII; and to thank Dr. Hoernle for letting me have a cast of the square double mohar of Pratāpa Malla, in his collection (Pl. II, Fig. 14). The remaining fifty-one coins of the Newār Malla kings, forming Plates II to VI, are from my own collection.

As already noted, the coinage of Nepal falls under three main divisions. *First*, the early coins of the contemporaneous dynasty of Sūryavamśi Licchavi kings, whose capital was at Kailāśakūṭa,¹ and of Thākuri kings with an adjacent palace at Mānagrha; *second*, those of the Malla dynasty of Newār kings which commenced with the conquest of the country by Jayasthiti Malla in 1380 A.D., and whose coinage commenced in 1556 A.D. and continued until the Gorkhā conquest; and *third*, those of the Gorkhā dynasty founded by Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāha's conquest of the country in 1768 A.D., and which continues to the present time. The second period of the Newār kings also falls into three subdivisions; namely, the kingdoms of Bhātgāon and Kāthmāṇḍū into which the kingdom was divided by Yaksha Malla on his death *circa* 1460 A.D., and the kingdom of Pātan or Lalitāpur, which was divided from that of Kāthmāṇḍū during the reign of Śivadeva, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The present kingdom of Nepal dates only from the Gorkhā conquest of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa in 1768. The

¹ Fleet, "Early Chronology of Nepal": *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, p. 350.

kingdom of Nepal, to which the earlier coins and those of the Newār Malla dynasties belong, was practically the small area comprised in the Nepal Valley and the mountains which surround it. The valley itself is comparatively level at an elevation of about 4,500 feet, the bed of a former lake, and its extent is about twenty miles from east to west, and fifteen from north to south, though both length and breadth vary considerably owing to the spurs running down from the mountains. Within this area too, and within a few miles of each other,¹ were Bhātgāon, Kāthmāṇḍū, and Pātan, the capitals of their respective Malla kingdoms, and also the earlier Licchavi capital of Mānagṛha, and jointly the capital of the Thākuri kings with its palace of Kailāśakūṭa, which, as all their coins come from the immediate neighbourhood of Pātan and Kāthmāṇḍū, and their inscriptions are found in the immediate vicinity of Kāthmāṇḍū, probably occupied the same or an adjacent site.²

Nepal in this restricted sense formed part of the empire of Asoka, but had ceased to form part of that of Samudra Gupta in the fourth century A.D. About 640 A.D. it seemed to have been subject to Harsha Vardhana, as his era, which dated from 606–7 A.D., is found on inscriptions in the country at that time.³ His suzerainty, however, lasted only a few years, and at the time of his death, in 648 A.D. Nepal was a dependency of Tibet, which it continued to be until 880 A.D., when the institution of the Newār Era shows that the Newār kingdom had then succeeded in throwing off the Tibetan suzerainty, and had become an independent kingdom.

¹ Pātan is only two miles south-east of Kāthmāṇḍū, and Bhātgāon nine miles to the east of it and eight miles from Pātan.

² Fleet, "The Early Gupta Inscriptions": *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 189.

³ Fleet, "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors": *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 189.

The history of Nepal, as given in the native chronicles, commences with the creation of the world, but is chiefly concerned with gods and mythological personages, until the time of Ne Muni, from whom the country is said to derive its name. This sage, having come to Nepal from the south, persuaded the people that there would be no Kṣatria Rājas in the Kali Yuga, and installed as king one of the Goala settlers, who are said to have come into the country shortly before, with Kṛṣṇa.¹ There were eight kings of this first Gupta dynasty, when, as the last king, Yakṣa Gupta, had no issue, an Āhīr from the plains of Hindustan came and ruled over the country. This Āhīr dynasty continued for three generations, when the Kirātis came from east and conquered the country. There were twenty-nine kings of the Kirāti dynasty, when they were conquered by the Somavaṃśīs, who ruled the country for five generations. The last of the Somavaṃśī kings, having no children, "appointed as his successor one Bhūmivarman, a Kṣatria of the Solar race of Rājapūts of the Gautama gotra, who had been one of the followers of Śākya Siṃha Buddha of Kapilavastu, and had remained in Nepal after his departure."² The Vamśāvalī gives the names of thirty-one kings of the Sūryavaṃśī dynasty, the sixteenth of whom, Śīva Deva, is the first whose date can be fixed. His date has been fixed from his inscriptions at 635 A.D.; as also that of Aṃśu-varman, Śīva Deva's minister, who founded the contemporary dynasty of Thākuri kings. The subsequent kings of these dynasties, with their dates as fixed from inscriptions, are given by Dr. Fleet³ as follows, the serial number being that which they occupy in the Vamśāvalī:—

¹ Wright: "History of Nepal," p. 108.

² Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

³ Fleet: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, p. 178.

LICCHAVI SŪRYA-VAMŚĪ DYNASTY.			THĀKURĪ DYNASTY.		
	A.D.			A.D.	
16	635	Śivadeva.	1	635	Aṁśuvarman.
17	654	Dhruvadeva.		654	Jiṣṇu Gupta.
18		Vṛiṣhadeva.			Udayadeva.
19		Śāṅkaradeva.			Narendradeva.
20		Dharmadeva.		725	Śivadeva II.
21	705	Mānadeva.	12	751	Jayadeva II.
22	733	Mahideva.			
23	754	Vasantasena.			

The fact that Aṁśu-varman was reigning between 640 A.D. and 650 A.D. is also proved by the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.

The succeeding names of the Licchavi dynasty are given in the Vamśāvali as follows:—¹

24. Udayadeva.
25. Mānadeva.
26. Guṇakāmādeva-varman.
27. Śivadeva-varman.
28. Narendradeva-varman.
29. Bhīmadeva.
30. Viṣṇudeva-varman.
31. Viṣvadeva-varman.

The names of the Thākurī dynasty as given in the Vamśāvali differ altogether from those given above for that dynasty. Professor Sylvain Lévi, however, assigns an earlier date to the above Licchavi kings. He considers that there is not sufficient evidence to show that they were subject to Samudra Gupta, but that the word *pratyanta* ("frontier states"), amongst which Nepal is included, in the panegyric of Samudra Gupta has been misunderstood, and means, not a subject state, but an

¹ Wright: "History of Nepal," p. 313.

independent state forming the boundary of the empire. He therefore considers that the dates in their inscriptions are either in a Licchavi era of their own, which commenced in 113 A.D., or are in the Śāka era, and fixes the date of Mānadeva as between 497 and 524 A.D. on the former hypothesis, or between 464 and 491 A.D. on the latter, and considers that in his time the kingdom was not partitioned.¹

At the time when the coinage of Nepal commences, there were, thus, reigning from a joint capital at Kāthmāndū a dynasty of Licchavi kings, who are styled in their inscriptions *Licchavikula* and in the native chronicles *Sūryavamśa*, who used the Gupta era, reigning over the eastern portion of the country, and of Thākuri kings, who used the Harsha era, reigning from a joint capital over the western portion.²

The coins of the first period have been described by Sir A. Cunningham in "Coins of Ancient India";³ by Professor Bendall, who has described the specimens of these coins in the library of the German Oriental Society;⁴ and by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle, who have described specimens of these coins in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁵

A coin of the same type as that shown on Pl. I, Fig. 5, is figured by Professor Rapson in his "Indian Coins,"⁶ and a specimen of the type given in Pl. I, Fig. 10, is figured in "The New Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta" (pl. xxviii, fig. 1). For convenience of

¹ Sylvain Lévi: "Le Népal," pp. 113-116; Leroux, Paris, 1905.

² Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

³ Sir A. Cunningham: "Coins of Ancient India" (1891), p. 112 et seq., and pl. xiii.

⁴ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1882, vol. xxxvi, p. 651.

⁵ P. A. S. B. for May, 1887, and March, 1888.

⁶ "Indian Coins," by E. J. Rapson: *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol. ii, p. 32, and pl. v, fig. 10.

reference I give below a Table showing the specimens of the early Nepal coins which have been previously described.¹

These early coins are large copper pieces of varying weight, but with the exception of coins No. 1 (197 grains) and No. 6 (249 grains), they approximate to a standard of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *papas*, or 180 grains, the weight of the *papa* being 144 grains.² As noted by Sir A. Cunningham

¹ Table for reference to early Nepal coins previously described :—

Plate I.	Cunningham, "Coins of Ancient India."	Prof. Bendall.	V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle.	
Figure.	Coin No.	"Alte Schrift," Coin Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.	III (a), (b), and (c).	Prof. Rapson, "Indian Coins," pl. i, fig. 10.
1	1			
2	A variety of coin No. 2.			
3	2			
4	3	1		
5	4	6, 10	II (a) and (b).	
6	5		I	
7	6	7, 8, 9, 11, and 12.	IV (a) and (b).	
8	7			
9	8			
Not fig- ured, coin No. 10.	9 Obv. as pl. i, fig. 9; Rev. as pl. i, fig. 8.			
10	10			
	11 Similar, with bull to l.	"Neuere Schrift," Nos. 1, 2, and 3.		V. Smith, C.C.I.M.C., pl. xxviii, fig. 1.
11	12			
	13 Similar, no legend.			
12	15			
13	14			

² The Indian *papa*, 'handful,' derived from *pāṇi*, 'the hand,' "was a handful of cowrie shells usually reckoned at 80. This term *pāṇi* is still used in Bengal, where a *pāṇi* of cowrie shells consists of 20 *gaṇḍas*, or '20 fours' of cowries. By repeated trials I have found that 80 cowries form a very fair average handful. But the *papa* was also a copper coin of 80 *rati* seeds in weight (144 grains) and 80 cowries in value" (Cunningham, C.A.I., p. 1).

and Professor Rapson,¹ they bear a resemblance to the second class of Yaudeya coins, which is probably due to a common origin from the coins of the Kuṣānas. Their symbols of the standing humped bull and the standing lion with its tail curled over its back are also found on the Rajañya coins of the second or first century B.C.² The standing bull and standing lion on two of those coins are exactly the same as on the Nepal coins. The conclusion that the Nepal coinage was derived from that of the Kuṣānas is borne out by the fact that Kuṣāna coins have been dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāthmāṇḍū, which would seem to show that these coins were either current in Nepal in early times, being brought by merchants, or were brought by pilgrims. I have two coins of Wema Kadphises (85-120 A.D.) and one of Kanishka (120-150 A.D.), which were dug up at Kāthmāṇḍū, which were sent me by Colonel Pears when resident in Nepal. The seated figure of a deity on a lotus-seat, and also the seated figure of a deity or king on a throne with one leg hanging down, were also probably copied from the Kuṣāna coinage. In some coins of Huvishka³ the seated figure is so like that on Mānānka's coin (Pl. I, Fig. 1) as to at once suggest the connection. The seated figure of the deity or king with one leg hanging down, and the trident on long straight shaft with battle-axe to left, as on coins of Paśupati (Pl. I, Fig. 2), also have their prototypes in the Kuṣāna coins of Kadphises II⁴ and of Huvishka, the humped bull standing by itself in coins of Kadphises I,⁵ and the elephant in coins of Huvishka, though with a rider on its back. The elaborate symbol of a trident on the reverse of the coin of Jigṇu Gupta, resembling the

¹ E. J. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

² "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta," 1900, vol. i, p. 179, pl. xxi, figs. 11 and 12.

³ C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 82, serial 47, and pl. xlii, fig. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68, serial 5, and pl. xi, fig. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67, serial 17, and pl. xi, fig. 4.

Florentine Giglia, appears to be a form of the "*nandipada trisūla*," the two hoofs of the bull *Nandi* forming the pedestal at its base. A simple design, the parts of which are essentially the same though unelaborately formed, but in which the two hoofs clearly appear, occurs on a coin of Raja Kumuda Sena,¹ one of the early kings of Ayodhya (between 150 B.C. to 100 A.D.), with a standing bull on the reverse, similar to the bull on the Nepal coins. The seated figures also bear a close resemblance to those on the Gupta coins. The vase of flowers with streamers which figures on the coins of Paśupati (Pl. I, Figs. 12 and 13) occurs on copper coins of Chandra Gupta II (about 375–413 A.D.), where it bears the same shape as that of the ordinary brass *lota*, and the resemblance suggests that the Nepal coin was copied from that coin.

The names which appear on the coins are as follows:—

MĀNĀṆKA. (Coin No. 1; Pl. I, Fig. 1.)

This name does not occur in the list of kings given in the *Varṇśāvalī*. But it would appear to be the same as Mānadeva, whose date, as already noted, is given by Dr. Fleet as 705 A.D., and by Professor Lévi as either 497 A.D. or 464 A.D. Professor Bendall² thought that it was probably another name, or *biruda*, of Aṁśu-varman. But he based this opinion on the supposition that the legend on the obverse is *Śrī Bhagīnī*, and suggested that the explanation of the legend is to be found in inscription No. 7 of the series of inscriptions published in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, p. 171, in which King Aṁśu-varman proclaims that his sister (*Bhagīnī*) Bhogadevī has dedicated a *linga* to the temple of Paśupati. The legend on the obverse, however, is clearly not *Bhagīnī*, but *Bhogīnī*, 'the enjoyable one,' which probably applies to the goddess

¹ C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 150, serial 14, and pl. xix, fig. 15.

² *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxvi, p. 651.

seated on the lotus, as Dr. Hoernle supposes.¹ Professor Sylvain Lévi² points out that the term *Bhoginī* was used for the wives of kings other than the principal wife, the Mahiṣī, but thinks it unlikely that such a title would be used as the name of a person, or placed on a coin, and also considers that it is the name of the goddess. In any case there appears to be no sufficient reason to suppose it to be a coin of Aṁśu-varman's, or Mānāṅka to be his *biruda*. Dr. Hoernle reads Mānāṅka, 'the Māna-marked,' as a *biruda* of Mānadeva, 'the lord of Māna,' a name which in both cases was taken by him owing to his belonging to the family who ruled from the palace of Mānagrha. Professor Lévi,² on the other hand, takes the word to apply to the coin 'bearing the mark of Māna,' viz. Mānadeva.

GUṆĀṆKA. (Coin No. 2 ; Pl. I, Figs. 2 and 3.)

('Bearing the mark of Guṇa.') This would appear to be a coin of Guṇakāmadeva, who, according to the Vamśāvalī, was the twenty-sixth king of the Licchavi dynasty. Professor Lévi reads Guṇāṅka (similarly to Mānāṅka) as meaning money bearing the mark of Guṇa (-kāmadeva). The coins of this name bear a seated goddess on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse. The coin No. 2 is the only type of these Early Nepal coins which is not surrounded with the characteristic of dots, but has a plain convex band in place of it.

VAIŚRAVAṆA. (Coin No. 4 ; Pl. I, Fig. 4.)

This name does not occur in the list of kings given in the Vamśāvalī. Cunningham suggests that as the name is a patronymic of Kuvera it might possibly be a coin of Kuvera Deva, the ninth king of the Sūryavamśī dynasty. But, as he observes, this would place the date of the coin

¹ P.A.S.B. for March, 1898.

² "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 107.

² "Mānāṅka : (monnaie) à la marque de Māna :". Le Népal, vol. ii, p. 106.

too early, as it is of the same nature as the others, and the Gupta characters of the inscription are of the same date. It is probably, therefore, the name of a god, as in the case of the coins of Paśupata, and its date cannot be fixed. These coins bear a seated figure on the obverse and the divine cow "Kāmadehi" (or Kāmadhenu) on the reverse, as in the coins of Aṃśu-varman.

Kāmadhenu is connected with the legendary history of Nepal, as given in the *Vaṃśāvali*, in the following manner:—Maheśvar appeared in the shape of a deer in a grove near Kāthmāṇḍū, and disclosed himself in the form of light which pervaded the seven firmaments above the earth and the seven firmaments below. On seeing this Brahmā went upwards to see how far the light extended, and Viṣṇu went downwards for the same purpose. Having returned from their journeys they met near a village on the hill south of Kāthmāṇḍū, and on comparing notes Viṣṇu said that he was not able to find the limit to which the light extended, whilst Brahmā declared that he had gone beyond it. Viṣṇu then called for witnesses, and Brahmā produced Kāmadhenu, who on being asked to declare the truth corroborated Brahmā's assertion with her mouth, whilst she shook her tail by way of denying it. Viṣṇu then, seeing what was the truth, uttered a curse on Brahmā, to the effect that his image should nowhere be worshipped, and on Kāmadhenu, that her mouth should be impure, but her tail sacred. Having done this, he remained in that place with the cow, but Brahmā disappeared.¹

AṂŚU-VARMAN. (Coins Nos. 5-7; Pl. I, Figs. 5-7.)

This king, who was the founder of the Thākuri dynasty, reigned from 635 to 654 A.D. His coins bear on the obverse a winged lion with raised paw. The lion on his coins differs from that on Mānāka's coin in being winged, but

¹ Wright, p. 82.

there is an unwinged lion similar to Mānānka's on the obverse of one type of his coins (Fig. 7). On the obverse of another type of his coins (Fig. 5) is the divine cow "Kāmadehi," and on another (Fig. 6) is the title, Mahārājādhirājasya, round a central sun.

JISŪ GUPTA. (Coin No. 8; Pl. I, Fig. 8.)

This king was the son and successor of Amśu-varman. His date is also fixed, by inscriptions, at 654 A.D., which is corroborated by the narrative of Hiuen Tsang. His coin bears a winged bull with raised paw on the obverse, but it differs from the lion on his father's coins in having the tail hanging down and not curled over the back. The reverse is an elaborately ornamental form of the trident.

PAŚUPATI. (Coins Nos. 9-20; Pl. I, Figs. 9-13.)

There is nothing to fix the date of these coins. They are of six distinct types, four of which are shown on the Plate. On the obverses are a recumbent bull, a standing bull with crescent, a trident with an axe attached to its shaft; on the reverse of these coins are various forms of a sun with rays. There is also another type (Fig. 12) with a seated crowned figure, apparently a king, on the obverse, and a vase of flowers on the reverse, which resembles coins of the Guptas, and would appear to have been copied from them. There is also another type (coin No. 10; not illustrated) on the obverse of which is a recumbent bull, as in Pl. I, Fig. 9, and on the reverse the ornamental form of "*nandipada triśūla*" found on the reverse of Jisū Gupta's coin (Fig. 8). This is interesting, for as it appears to be the only coin of Paśupati bearing that reverse, whereas there are several examples of the other types, it suggests that the reverse of this coin, which is unusual for the Paśupati coins, was copied from that of Jisū Gupta, and thus shows that these coins are subsequent to his date.

The number of these early coins which have been found is not large. Cunningham¹ mentions that he obtained most of the coins which he describes from Colonel Warren, who collected them in Kashmir. According to his list there were about a hundred legible coins and thirty-seven that were unnamed. Cunningham himself also had twenty-three coins that came from Benares, and twenty which he obtained at Gaya by purchase in the Bazaar, or at Buddha Gaya in the small votive stūpas. The Gaya coins were, as he says, no doubt found by workpeople at Buddha Gaya, and were no doubt votive offerings of pilgrims from Nepal. The coins described by Mr. V. Smith and Dr. Hoernle were from a collection of forty coins obtained at Kāthmāṇḍū by Dr. Gimlette, the Residency surgeon.² Dr. Hoernle has a collection of eleven of these coins which he collected at Kāthmāṇḍū, and I have seven from Kāthmāṇḍū. There are 106 of these coins in the British Museum, but some of them are from Cunningham's and Colonel Warren's collections, and are therefore included in the numbers already given. The number of specimens of each type of coin in the British Museum is given in the list of these coins.

Cunningham, writing in 1891, says: "The coins of Paśupati are by far the most numerous, as they form about half of the known specimens of the early Nepalese coinage. The coins of Aṁśuvarma form about one-fourth, and the remainder are nearly equally divided between Mānāṅka, Guṇāṅka, and Jisṇu Gupta."³ To the latter should be added Vaiśravaṇa.

¹ C.A.I., p. 114.

² Of these, a coin of Mānāṅka (Pl. I, Fig. 1) and the three coins of Aṁśu-varman (Pl. I, Figs. 5-7) were made over to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. There was only one specimen of Aṁśu-varman's coin (Pl. I, Fig. 6) amongst the lot. Three specimens of Mānāṅka and five of Aṁśu-varman, which were then retained by Mr. V. Smith, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (V. Smith, C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 283).

³ C.A.I., p. 115.

I have not ascertained the number of these coins in the Bodleian Collection, or those in the Cambridge Museum, or the Museum of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

COINS OF THE MALLA DYNASTY OF NEWĀR KINGS.

The coinage of the Newār kings is of an entirely different character to the previous coins of Nepal already noticed. With the exception of one king of Kāthmāndū, Jaya Prakāśa (1736 A.D.), who coined gold as well as silver, the coinage is entirely a silver coinage. It is based on a mohar of the weight of six māśās, a broad bean used in India as a weight. Cunningham notes that the māśā averages 14·6 grains,¹ and the weight of six māśās is therefore 87·6 grains. The mohars, with the exception of lighter coins of one or two kings, vary in weight between 80 and 90 grains, and the fractional coins based on them show a corresponding variation in proportion. Half mohars, quarter mohars, eighth mohars, and in the case of one king, Jaya Prakāśa, a sixteenth of a mohar and a do-dām, or thirty-second part of a mohar, were also coined. The value of the mohar was eight annas, and two of them were equivalent to the Mogul rupee.

Although there is one specimen of a double mohar, the square coin of Pratāpa Malla, shown on Pl. II, Fig. 14, the fact that there are no other coins of this value, and that the square form does not occur again, leads to the conclusion that this specimen must have been a medal, or a *nīgār*. Kirkpatrick distinctly says that the *sicca*, or double mohar, "has been known in this country only since the time of Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇ."²

The Vamśāvali (Native Chronicle), translated in Wright's "History of Nepal," says that Ratna Malla (the first king of the separate kingdom of Kāthmāndū), "having brought

¹ "Coins of Ancient India," p. 2.

² Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

copper from Tāmbā Khani, introduced pice (*paisā*) into the currency instead of *sukichās* (viz. quarter mohars, worth eight pice), but I have not heard of any copper coins of the Mallas, and the chronicle probably refers to the "dumpy pice," lumps of copper, which were used in Nepal, as, until recently, in India.¹

The mohar was first coined by Mahendra Malla, King of Kāthmāndū, who reigned in 1566 A.D. In the *Vamśāvali* it is recorded that: "He went to Dihli with a present of a swan and hawks for the Emperor, who, being much pleased therewith, granted him permission to strike coin in his own name, in weight six mashas. He struck this coin and called it Mohar, and made it current in every part of his country."²

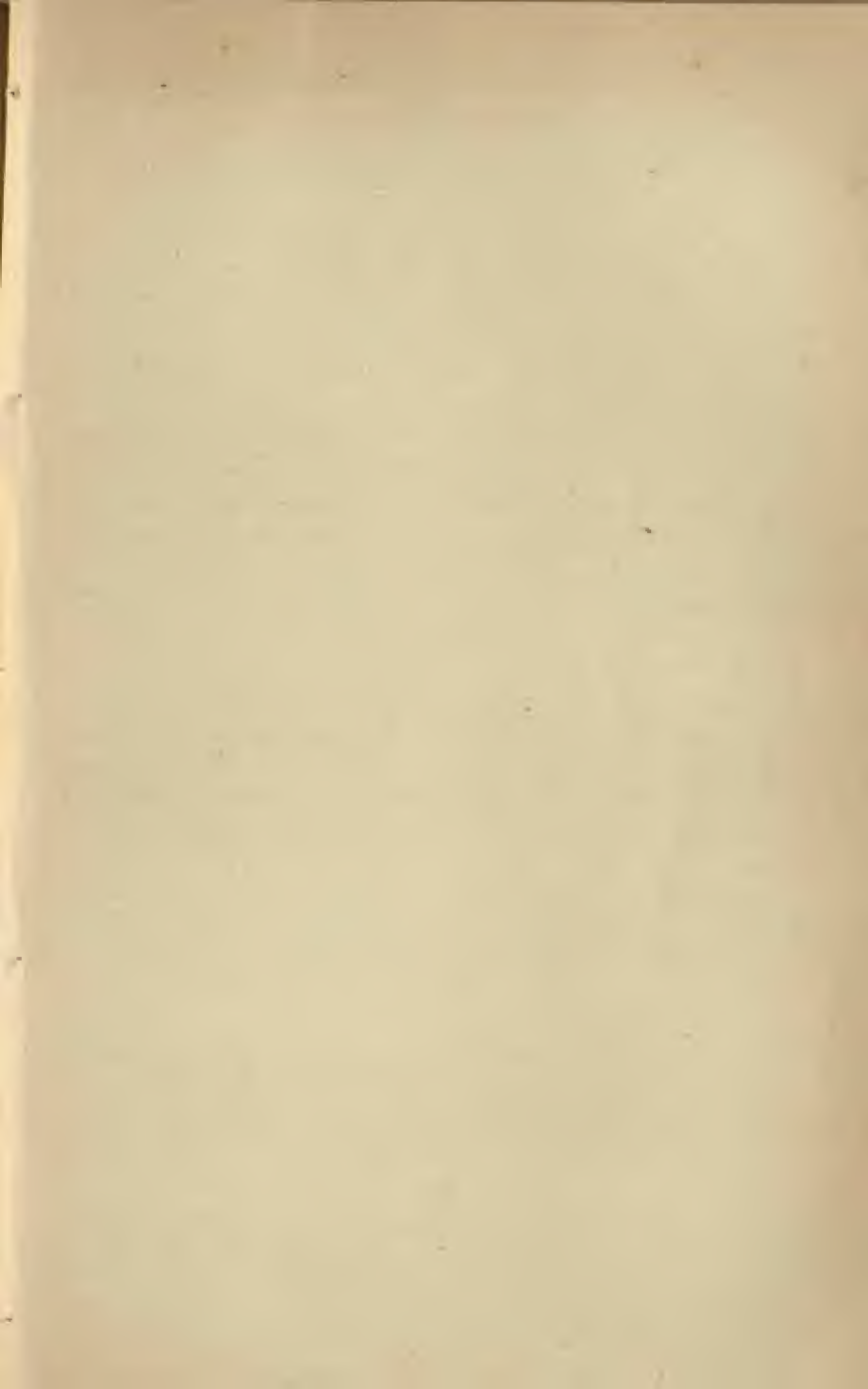
Professor Lévi thinks that this story of Mahendra Malla's visit to the Emperor of Delhi is open to suspicion; as the reign of Mahendra Malla fell between 1550 and 1570 A.D., when the throne of Delhi was violently shaken. Humayun had been defeated by the Afghan Sher Khān in 1539, and had fled from the country. Sher Shah's successors were weakened by internal wars. Humayun returned and took Delhi in 1555, and died six months after. His son Akbar was a minor, and did not exercise personal rule until the close of 1560, and then passed seven years in putting down the seditions which broke out in all parts.³

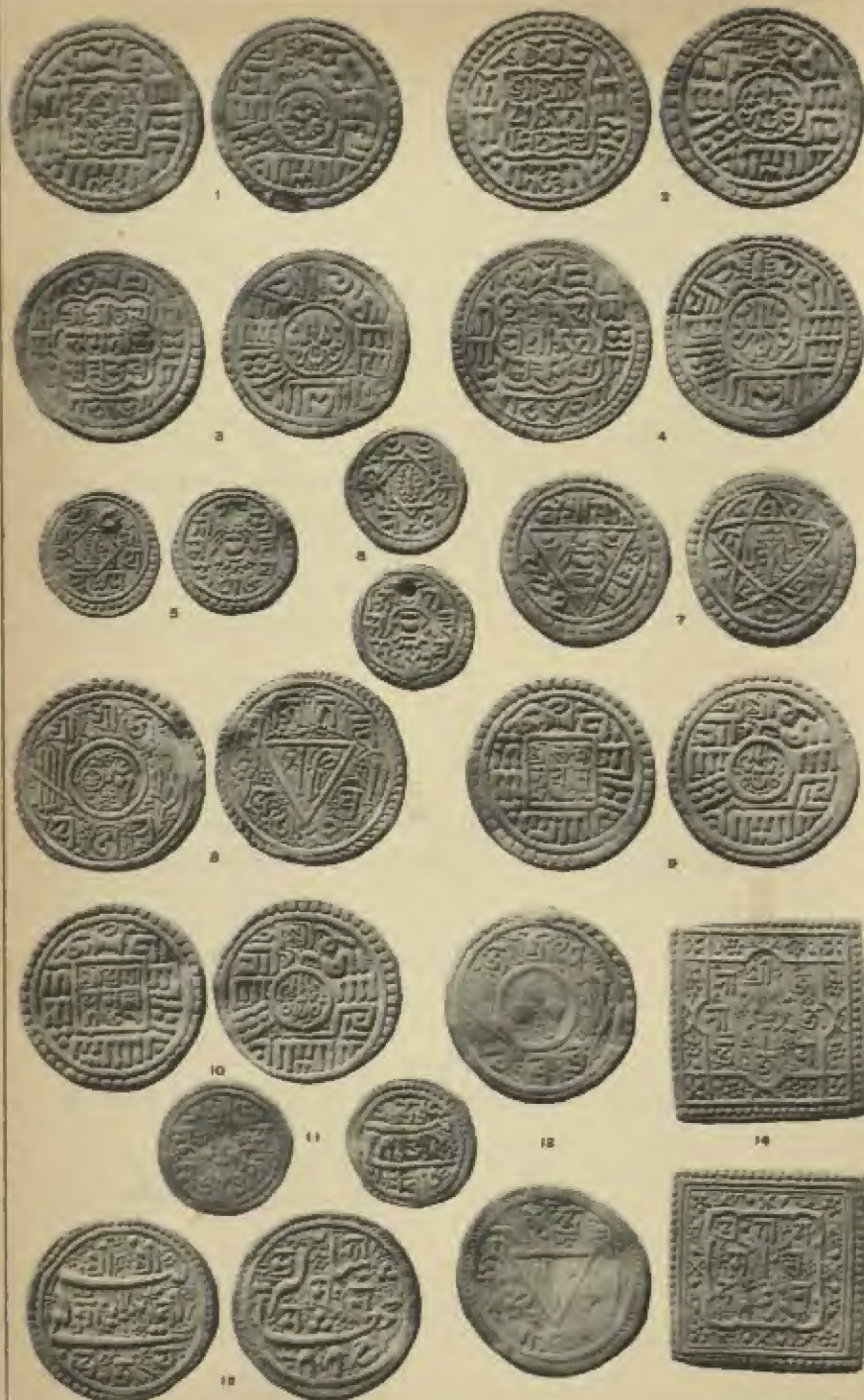
But, however this may be, what made it possible for Mahendra Malla to strike a silver coinage was the fact that he made a treaty with Tibet, by which he supplied the coinage of that country, and obtained from Tibet the silver for the purpose. This privilege, besides supplying Nepal with the silver for its own coinage, continued to be the source of an extensive annual revenue to Nepal,

¹ Wright: "History of Nepal" (1877), p. 293.

² *Ibid.*, p. 297.

³ Lévi: "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 245.





from the royalty it obtained on the coins that were supplied from it for currency in Tibet.

This privilege of supplying the currency of Tibet was at any rate subsequently shared by the kingdom of Bhātgāon, and, in fact, became the monopoly of that kingdom; for the coin of Bhūpatindra Malla of Bhātgāon (Pl. II, Fig. 3) was current in Tibet, and while the last coins of this early pattern, of Kāthmāndū, are those of Pratāpa Malla, A.D. 1641, and of Pātan, those of Śrī Nivāsa, A.D. 1661, they continued to be coined by Bhātgāon up to the end of the Malla dynasty. The earliest examples of the Malla coinage of the three kingdoms respectively are that of Lakṣmīnara Siṃha of Kāthmāndū, undated (Pl. II, Fig. 9); next, that of his successor, Pratāpa Malla, of date 1641 A.D. (Pl. II, Fig. 10); of Jagatprakāśa of Bhātgāon, of date 1642 A.D. (Pl. II, Fig. 1); and of Siddhi Narasiṃha of Pātan, of date 1631 A.D. (Pl. V, Fig. 1). These coins are all of the same design. This shows that the kingdom of Bhātgāon in its coinage, and subsequently, on its formation, the kingdom of Pātan, adopted the design which was probably adopted from the first by Jaya Mahendra Malla for the Tibetan coinage, and at the same time for the coinage of Nepal itself. It will thus be seen that although the Nepal-Tibet coinage was commenced by Jaya Mahendra about the year 1556, there are no examples of his coinage nor of that of his successors, Sadāśiva Malla, Śiva Deva, or Hariharasiṃha, the earliest being that of Lakṣmīnara Siṃha and his contemporaries Jagatprakāśa of Bhātgāon and Siddhi Narasiṃha of Pātan. Even these are earlier than any coin that I have come across in Tibet, where the earliest coin I have found is that of Bhūpatindra Malla of Bhātgāon, of date 1696 (Pl. II, Fig. 3), and of that I have only found two specimens, and these were considered rarities.

Marsden notes that the Gorkhā king Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa called in all the previous coinage of the Malla dynasties, so

that even in his own reign it was difficult to obtain any of the money of his predecessors, but this would not account for the disappearance of only the coins of the earlier kings, while specimens of the later ones remain, nor for their disappearance in Tibet. Although the quantity coined at first was probably small, it is still difficult to account for this entire disappearance of the earlier coinage.

In a paper on the coinage of Tibet, which I read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ I suggested that the characters around the margin of these coins, which no Newār or Tibetan understands or can account for, might be intended for an imitation of the characters on the seal of the Dalai Lama, which they to some extent resemble. The Dalai Lama's seal is the official symbol of the Tibetan Government, for whose circulation they were intended, and I thought that for this reason it was not unlikely that the seal might be represented on a coin intended for the currency of Tibet.

At the time of reading the present paper, however, Professor Rapson pointed out that, if looked at upside down, they bear a close resemblance to the Arabic characters on the coins of the Mahomedan kings of Bengal. I think there is no doubt that he is right, and the resemblance to certain coins of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, who was king of Bengal from 1526 to 1537 A.D., is so striking as to suggest that these particular coins were copied by Mahendra Malla for his mohar. I give below for comparison a copy of coins Nos. 147 and 149, in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Kings of Bengal in the British Museum, together with a copy of the coin of Lakṣmīnara Sīnha, the earliest of the coins of Kāṭhmāndū, which is shown on Pl. II, Fig. 9:—

¹ E. H. C. Walsh, "The Coinage of Tibet": *Memoirs A.S.B.*, vol. ii, No. 2, p. 11.



1

2

3

1. Coin No. 149, viewed upside down, of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, date 934 A.H. = 1527 A.D.¹

2. Coin No. 147, of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, date 933 A.H. = 1526 A.D.

3. Coin of Lakṣmīnara Sīnha of Kāṣhmāyān.

¹ "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," by Stanley Lane Poole, 1885, p. 14.

KINGS OF BENGAL.

XLIX. *Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh III.*

(Partial rule, A.H. 933-9 = A.D. 1526-32; A.H. 939-44 = A.D. 1532-37.)

No.	MINT AND DATE.	DESCRIPTION.
147	Nasratābād. 933	<p><i>Silver.</i></p> <p>Obv. شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان غياث الدنيا ○ والدين ملكه وسلطانہ ۱۳۳ ابو المظفر محمود نصرت آباد</p> <p>Rev. السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان غياث الدنيا ○ والدين ملكه وسلطانہ ۱۳۳ ابو المظفر محمود نصرت آباد</p> <p>In each centre, small circle— شاهی بدر</p> <p>Plate vii. <i>Æ.</i> 1-95. Wt. 166.</p>
149	Muhammad- ābād. 934	<p>Same, but شاه transposed from beginning of rev. to end of obv.; inscription differently arranged, and mint and date محمد آباد ۹۳۴.</p> <p>Plate vii. <i>I.O.C.</i> <i>Æ.</i> 1-95.</p>

The resemblance of the Nepal coin to both the coins of Ghiyās-ud-dīn referred to is most striking, and especially to No. 149, from which the circle of dots round the margin of these coins would also seem to be copied. The territories of the Bengal kings were conterminous with Nepal, and their coins no doubt found their way into that country and were familiar there, which accounts for their being imitated by Mahendra Malla when he instituted his coinage.

The enclosure of the inscription within a square area, on these first Malla coins, was also probably copied from the coins of the Bengal kings, and occurs on the coins of Muhammad Shāh Ghāzi¹ = A.D. 1552-1554, and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh,² 1554-1560.

The following is an extract from the paper which I read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the Coinage of Tibet (*Memoirs A.S.B.*, vol. ii, No. 2, pp. 11-23):—

Kirkpatrick, in the account of his mission to the kingdom of Nepal in 1793, writes: "The silver eight-anna piece, now called *Mehr* and *Adheeda*, was formerly denominated *Mehnder-Mulie*,³ after the Prince who first struck it, and by treaty established it in the neighbouring kingdom of Tibet; this prince would appear to have been one of the successors of Hur Sing Doo, and of the dynasty of Khatmandu, which city is said to have exclusively enjoyed for some time the privilege of supplying Tibet with coin, a privilege the more singular as it was from this very country that Nepal obtained her silver bullion. The origin of this practice is ordinarily referred to the superstitious reverence in which the valley of Nepal, and, more especially, the north-west parts of it (highly celebrated for their sanctity), has been wont to be held by the spiritual sovereigns of Tibet; but, whatever may have been the cause of it, there is not a doubt that the present Nepal Government made the departure of the Tibetans from ancient usage in this respect, the pretext for the war which it waged

¹ Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: "Kings of Bengal," p. 56, pl. vii, fig. 153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58, pl. vii, fig. 155.

³ Mahendra Malla, 1560 A.D.

about four years ago against the confederated Lamas; as evidently appears from a memorial transmitted to me from Nepal on this subject, an extract of which is given in Appendix No. II.

"The Mehender-Malie exhibited anciently a representation of Lehassa on one side, and, on the reverse, the name, titles, and emblems of the reigning sovereign of Khatmandu. Since the conquest of Nepal by Parthi Narain, no allusion to Lehassa has been preserved, the Mohr bearing on one side the following inscription: Sri Sri Sri Run Behauder Shah Dewa, and, on the other, Sri Sri Goorknāth Sri Bhowāni, with the year of the Soka and certain emblems allusive to the Hindu superstition, as the sun, moon, Trisool, of Mahadeo, etc."¹

With reference to this statement of Kirkpatrick's Professor Lévi² says that a coin figured in the *Missio Apostolica Thibetana*³ simply bears on the obverse the effigy of the king, and on the reverse a horse standing towards the left and turning back his head. I have referred to this coin, which is figured on p. 202 of the *Missio Apostolica*. It is clearly a coin of the Yueh-ti, and is an imitation of the coins of the Indo-Scythians, and, allowing for its being a larger size and for elaborate drawing, is similar to a coin figured by Sir A. Cunningham on plate xiii of vol. ix of third series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. As the *Missio Apostolica Thibetana* is not generally procurable, I give below a tracing of the coin referred to, together with Cunningham's coin which it resembles:—

¹ "An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793," by Col. Kirkpatrick, London, William Miller, 1811, pp. 217, 218.

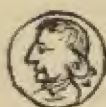
² Lévi: "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 247.

³ "Missio Apostolica Thibetana Seraphica. Das is neue durch Päpstlichen Gewalt indem Grossen Thibetanische Reich. Von demem P.P. Capucineren aufgerichtete Mission und über Dolche von R. P. Francisco Horatio della Penna, etc." München, 1740.



Thibetaner Münz

1.



2.

FIG. 1. Tracing of coin given on p. 202, *Missio Apostolica Thibetana*.
 FIG. 2. Yuch-ti coin, figured by Sir A. Cunningham.¹

From the above, it is clear that the coin referred to is not the original Nepalese coinage for Tibet, and is not in fact a Tibetan coin at all. It appears at the foot of a plate of what purports to be an example of Tibetan writing ("Thibetaner Schrift"), but which is actually a Christian invocation and the Lord's Prayer, written in Hindi! This shows the value of the plate as regards the coin also, to which I do not find any reference in the text, and, as Orazio della Penna could not have made such a mistake as to show Hindi writing as an example of Tibetan, the whole plate has, I think, been edited into the book by the compilers, who evidently in Europe did not know what either the writing or the coin was, but thought them suitable material to illustrate an Oriental book.

The originally exclusive privilege of the Raja of Khātmānḍū to coin for Tibet, mentioned by Kirkpatrick, did not long continue,

¹ The coin is described as follows: "Pl. i, fig. 4, 0.5 in., Al., 28 gr. Rude copy of silver drachma. Diademed head of king to l. with moustaches. Native legend of five characters behind the head, as in No. 2. Rev.: Horse's head to l. with Greek letter α. N.B.—These coins are very rare, but there are numbers of very rude copies in two different sizes."—*Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. III, vol. ix (1889), pl. xiii, fig. 4.

but was also shared by the kingdom of Bhātgaon, by the time of Bhūpatindra Malla, whose coins were current in Tibet, where they are known as *angi drug-pa*, or 'number six,' from the last figure of their Newār date, 816; while those of Jaya Rajajita Malla, the last king of Bhātgaon, are still current.

The reason for the discontinuance of this coinage was, that it became so debased under the later kings of Bhatgaon that when the Gorkhas conquered the country they would not continue coining coins for Tibet if they had to exchange at *par* with the debased coins then in circulation, and the dispute over this question was made the pretext of the war between Nepal and Tibet in 1768. Kirkpatrick publishes an "extract from a Memorial of the Court of Khatmāndū, relative to the origin of the War with Tibet," which gives a full account of the dispute. I give below the portion which relates to the coinage:—

"In ancient times there subsisted a close union between the Rajahs of Nepaul and Bhoat (i.e. Tibet); when the pure Mehnder-mulli of the coinage of the former country was the current money of the latter. During the respective reigns, however, of Rajah Jy Purkaush Mull, the sovereign of Nepal, and of Rajah Ranjeet Mull, the ruler of Bhatgaon, the Mehnder-mulli became much debased, the consequence of which was that at the period Nepal passed into the possession of the Goorkha, Bhoat was full of this base coin. The Maharajah (i.e. Pirthi Nersin) immediately put a stop to this improper practice, sending at the same time a friendly deputation to Bhoat for the purpose of stating the mischievous consequences that would ensue were it persisted in, and of engaging the Lamas to revert to the ancient usage by giving circulation only to a pure currency.

"To this representation the rulers of Bhoat replied that the amount of base Mehnder-mulli then in their country was very considerable; that the suppression of it would consequently be attended with great loss to their people; and that, therefore, they could not agree to the introduction of the pure Mehnder-mulli proposed by the Maharajah, but must desire that the Goorkhas would continue to supply them with the adulterated coin.

"Nine or ten years elapsed in this negotiation between the two governments without their being able to fix on any plan of accommodation. At length the Goorkha envoy proposed that, as they could not stop the circulation of the base coin with which they had been supplied, they should, at least, establish a just rate of exchange between the base and pure coinage, to the end that

the merchants of either country might stand in their commercial transactions on the same footing as formerly. The Bhootias, however, would by no means consent to such a regulation; but, on the contrary, absolutely directed that the base and genuine money should be considered, in all negotiations of trade, as one and the same; the consequence of which was that for three or four years there was no sort of traffic carried on between the two countries. The circulation of the Nepaulian coin accordingly ceased (i.e. in Tibet). The Goorkha, nevertheless, continuing to retain his friendly disposition towards the Bhootias, endeavoured to prevail on them to depute some respectable person to the common boundary, there to meet and, in concert with deputies from Nepaul, devise some arrangement for the mutual benefit of the two states, as, without a speedy adjustment of the matter, it was evident that the trade of the two countries must be inevitably ruined. The Bhootias, however, were so far from listening to this reasonable proposal, that they, on the contrary, sent word vauntingly to the Goorkha that they had constructed a new road through the plain or valley of Tingri; that they were establishing a post on the common frontier; and that they had assembled an army of 125,000 men, and that, if the Goorkha wished for war, he was welcome to advance."¹

The profits made by the Nepal Government on the silver coinage for Tibet are said by Kirkpatrick to have been a lakh of rupees annually.² He adds: "It is to be observed that all silver brought into Nepaul from Tibet, in the way of commerce, must be carried to the mint at Khatmunda, no silver bullion being allowed to pass into Hindostan. In exchange for his bullion the merchant receives Nepaul rupees, the Government deriving a profit of twelve per cent. from the transaction, four per cent. being charged on account of coinage and eight arising from the alloy of the rupee.

"With respect to gold, it has usually been a monopoly in the hands of Government, who obliged the traders from Tibet to sell it at the mint at the rate of eight rupees per tolah, whence the *Ticksali*³ retails it sometimes at the advanced price of fourteen rupees per tolah."⁴

So, altogether, the Newār Government made a large profit out of their monopoly of the coinage for Tibet.

Since the Goorkha conquest, Nepal has not again coined for

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 339-40.

² A Nepalese official.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.



Tibet, though, since the conclusion of the war, the Nepalese-Gorkha mohars have passed freely current in Tibet along with the Tibetan currency and are called *chò-tang* or 'tang-ka for cutting,' owing to these being the *tang-ka* that is generally subdivided.

The coin of Jaya Rāṇajīta (Pl. II, Fig. 5) is known in Tibet as the *nag tang*, or 'black tang-ka.' There are a large number of these coins still in circulation, and many years of grease have made them black enough to deserve their name. A large number of these coins are also still current in Bhutan.

That the mohars of this first type were the design coined primarily for the Tibet coinage, and were consequently continued for that purpose, is supported by the fact that we find other coins of an entirely different device and character struck by the same kings, and even in the same year, reserved, no doubt, for the currency within Nepal. An example of this are the coins of Jaya Rāṇajīta Malla of Bhātgāon (Nos. 5 and 6; Pl. II, Figs. 4 and 8); of Pratāpa Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (Nos. 11 and 12; Pl. II, Figs. 10 and 12); and Śrīnivāsa Malla of Pātan (Nos. 53 and 54; Pl. V, Figs. 3 and 4).

Besides the silver coinage there was until recently a copper currency of rough unstamped lumps of copper, called *dhebuā*, corresponding to the 'dumpy pice' that were formerly current in India. Four of these *dhebuās* make a *gaṇḍa*, and 25 *gaṇḍas* are equal to one rupee; so that $12\frac{1}{2}$ *gaṇḍas* or 50 *dhebuās* were equal to the mohar. With the exception of Jaya Prakāśa Malla, none of the Newār kings coined silver coins of less denomination than the half mohar (called *sukā*, *sukī*, or *sikī*) and the quarter mohar (called *do-ānī*), and as $6\frac{1}{4}$ *gaṇḍas* or 25 *dhebuās* were equal to the *sukā*, and 3 *gaṇḍas* or 12 *dhebuās* equal to the *do-ānī*, the copper currency was in accordance with the silver coinage. As regards Jaya Prakāśa Malla's coins of smaller value, they probably were never in general circulation.

The Gorkhās, however, who adopted the Newār system of silver coinage, carried out its subdivisions to lower denominations, and there are thus under the Gorkhās two systems of currency below the mohar—the old Newār system of 'Pacīs Gaṇḍa,' to which the Gorkhās subsequently added a coin called *dyāk*, equivalent to the Indian double pice; and the silver system of 'Sohra Gaṇḍa.' The two systems are given below.

The Pacīs Gaṇḍa System.

1 mohar	= 2 sukā, sukī, or sikī.
1 sukā, etc.	= 2 do-ānī = $6\frac{1}{2}$ gaṇḍas of copper dhebuās or 25 dhebuās.
1 do-ānī	= 3 gaṇḍas of copper dhebuās or 12 dhebuās.
1 do-ānī	= 6 dyāks (double pice), a Gorkhā coin.
1 dyāk	= 2 dhebuās (<i>Newār</i>), or 2 paisā (Gorkhā).
1 dhebuā	= 4 (copper) dāms.
1 (copper) dām	
or paisā dām	= 2 phokā dāms, or chūn dāms.

The Sohra Gaṇḍa System.

1 mohar	= 2 sukā, sukī, or sikī.
1 sukā, etc. ($\frac{1}{2}$ mohar)	= 2 do-ānī.
1 do-ānī ($\frac{1}{4}$ mohar)	= 2 ek-ānī.
1 ek-ānī ($\frac{1}{8}$ mohar)	= 2 ādhā-ānī.
1 ādhā-ānī ($\frac{1}{16}$ mohar)	= 1 paisā mohar (silver pice).
1 paisā mohar ($\frac{1}{32}$ mohar)	= 2 do-dām (the silver leaf), also called ādhā-paisā.

The value of the silver anna is nominally six copper pice, but the exchange value in practice seems to vary at certain places, as I have heard from Nepalis that it is equal to seven copper pice.

In the lists of Newār and of Gorkhā coins I have called the *sukā*, *do-ānī*, *ek-ānī*, etc., by their fractional part of the mohar.

To follow the coinage of the Malla dynasties it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the history of the three kingdoms of Bhātgaon, Kāthmāṇḍū (also known as

Kāntipur), and Pātan (also known as Lalitapur). In Table I, I have given contemporary lists of the kings of each of the three kingdoms. The names of the first seven kings of Bhātgāon, and also the first eight kings of Kāthmāṇḍū, whose coins are not known, are taken from the *Vaṃśāvali*, and correspond with those given by Professor Bendall in Table II of his "*Journey in Nepal*"¹ and Table II of his "*History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms*."²

The subsequent names for the three kingdoms are fixed by their coins, in addition to the *Vaṃśāvali*. Those for Bhātgāon, viz., Jagatprakāśa, Jitamitra, Bhūpatindra, and Rājajita Mallas, are as given in Professor Bendall's tables, but I have made certain additions to the kings of Kāthmāṇḍū and Pātan which do not appear in those tables, and which I therefore give below.

Kāthmāṇḍū.

1. I have added the names of the thirteenth king Jaya Mahipendra and the fourteenth Jaya Pārthivendra, which do not occur in Professor Bendall's tables. The *Vaṃśāvali* states that Pratāpa Malla had four sons—Pārthivendra Malla, Nṛpendra Malla (also called Mahipatindra Malla), and Chakravartindra Malla. By the advice of a Swāmi he "left his throne for a time to be filled in turn by his four sons . . . Chakravartendra reigned only for one day, but the other three sons reigned for their three years."

The reigns of Chakravartindra and Nṛpendra are known, that of Pārthivendra is now shown by his coins (Pl. III, Figs. 2 and 3), and, as the statement of the *Vaṃśāvali* is thus correct as regards the other three

¹ "*A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Northern India*," by Cecil Bendall, Cambridge, 1886.

² "*History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms*," by Cecil Bendall: J.A.S.B., vol. lxxii, pt. 1, p. 1.

sons, it may also be taken to be correct as regards the remaining one, Mahāpendra Malla.

2. Professor Bendall shows *Jyoti Prakāśa* Malla, the twentieth king, in brackets, as not having reigned; and, referring to a coin bearing his name of date 1749 A.D., notes: "[coin struck apparently in a rebellion—see Wright, p. 224]." *Jyoti Prakāśa*'s coin (No. 49; Pl. IV, Fig. 15), however, bears date 866 N.S., corresponding to 1746 A.D., which shows that coins were struck in his name both in 1746 and in 1749 A.D. *Jyoti Prakāśa* was the infant son of *Jaya Prakāśa*, aged $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, whom the nobles, being discontented with *Jaya Prakāśa*, set up as king under the regency of his mother, Queen *Dayāvatī*, and drove *Jaya Prakāśa* from the kingdom. The *Vaṃśāvalī* says that he spent two and a half years in exile, when he received a miraculous sword from a devotee at *Gujhesvarī*, which enabled him to return and regain his kingdom.¹ It is thus clear that *Jyoti Prakāśa* reigned under the regency of his mother for that period.

The *Vaṃśāvalī* gives the name of his regent mother as *Dayāvatī*. I do not, however, find any coin bearing this queen's name, as would be expected if she had been regent. But there is a coin of *Jananī, Jaya Lakṣmī Devī* (No. 50; Pl. VI, Fig. 12), which bears date of the same year, which would seem to be the title of the queen regent.

Pātan.

3. *Siddhi Narasimha* is shown by Professor Bendall as the first king of the separate kingdom of *Pātan*. I have, however, shown the division as dating from *Hariharaśimha*, as the *Vaṃśāvalī* states that he "went to rule over *Pātan* in the lifetime of his father *Śivasimha*," and although, on succeeding his father subsequently, he ruled over the two kingdoms, *Pātan* as a separate kingdom had already been constituted, and was regarded as such. This is also shown

¹ Wright, p. 224.

by the fact that, although on his father's death Hariharasimha succeeded in ousting his elder brother Lakṣmi Narasimha from the kingdom of Kāthmāṇḍū, it was Lakṣmi Narasimha who succeeded to that kingdom as the son of Śivasimha, while Hariharasimha's son, Siddhi Narasimha, succeeded his father as ruler of the separate kingdom of Pātan.

4. I have added the name of Jaya Indra Malla, the fifth king. His name does not occur in the *Vaṃśāvali* or in Professor Bendall's table, but the date on his coin (No. 61; Pl. V, Fig. 11) is 826 *N.S.*, corresponding with 1706 *A.D.*, which places him as the successor of Jaya Yoga Narendra.

5. The name of Jaya Loka Prakāśa does not occur from his coin, but is given in Bendall's table. The date on his coin (No. 62; not illustrated) is 827 *N.S.*, corresponding to 1707 *A.D.*, on which his name occurs together with that of Yogamati Devī. He was no doubt a minor son of Yoga Narendra, and reigned under the regency of his mother Yogamati; for there is an inscription which records that Yogamati Devī dedicated a temple in memory of her deceased son Loka Prakāśa.¹

6. I have added the name of Vīra Narasimha, the seventh ruler. His name does not occur in the *Vaṃśāvali* or in Wright's table. His coin (No. 63; Pl. V, Fig. 12) bears date 829 *N.S.*, corresponding with 1709 *A.D.*, and as his name also occurs jointly with that of Yogamati Devī, he was also, no doubt, another minor son of Yoga Narendra, who succeeded on Loka Prakāśa's death, and for whom his mother ruled as regent.

7. I have shown the name of Jaya Vīra Mahindra or Mahindra Simha Deva of Kāthmāṇḍū as the eighth ruler, as the *Vaṃśāvali* states that he also ruled over Pātan, and he is consequently shown as the fifth ruler

¹ Inscription No. 22. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, p. 192.

in Bendall's table. The statement of the *Vaiṣāvali* as to *Vīra Mahindra's* reign over *Pātan*, however, appears to be very doubtful. The *Vaiṣāvali* says: "After him (viz. *Yoganarendra*) *Mahīpatindra* or *Mahindra Simha Malla* (*Rāja* of *Kāntipur*) became also *Rāja* of *Pātan* . . . On the 11th of *Bhadra Badi* S.S. 842 (A.D. 1722) *Mahindra Malla* died. *Jaya Yoga Prakāśa* succeeded him."¹ From the coins of the preceding three rulers, however, it is quite clear that *Vīra Mahindra* did not, as stated, succeed *Yoga Narendra*, and from the coins of *Hṛdī Narasimha*, 1715 A.D., it is also quite certain that he did not reign till 1722 A.D. and that he was not succeeded by *Jaya Yoga Prakāśa*. The statement of the *Vaiṣāvali* is, therefore, incorrect on every point, and so it is very doubtful whether *Vīra Mahindra* ever reigned over *Pātan* at all. If he did, it was between *Vīra Narasimha* and *Hṛdī Narasimha*.

8. I have shown the name of *Hṛdī Narasimha* as the ninth ruler. His name does not occur in the *Vaiṣāvali* or in Bendall's table. His date, from his coins (Nos. 64 and 65; Pl. VI, Figs. 1 and 2), is 835 S.S., corresponding to 1715 A.D.

9. I have shown *Rajajita Malla* of *Bhātgaon* as the thirteenth ruler. His name is not shown in Bendall's table. The *Vaiṣāvali* says that *Rajya Prakāśa Malla* "was a pacific man and worshipped a number of *Saligrams*. The six *Pradhāns*, taking advantage of his simplicity, deprived him of his eyesight. He did not long survive this, and after his death the *Pradhān* of the *Dhālāchekācha* caste brought the *Raja* of *Bhātgaon*, *Rajajita Malla*, and made him *Raja* of *Pātan* also. After a year's reign, however, the *Pradhāns* drove him away, when he had gone to bathe at *Sankhamula*."²

10. I have shown *Jaya Prakāśa* of *Kāthmāndū* as the fourteenth ruler. The *Vaiṣāvali* says that after the

¹ Wright, p. 248.

² Wright, p. 250.

expulsion of Raṇajita "the Pradhāns made Jaya Prakāśa, the Raja of Kāntipur, Raja of Pātan also, and he ruled over both cities . . . Jaya Prakāśa ruled for one or two years; but the Pradhāns were afraid of him, and one day, when he went to Tekhu-dobhān to bathe, they expelled him. They then installed as Raja a grandson (daughter's son) of Viṣṇu Malla, named Viśvajita Malla, who reigned for four years. The six Pradhāns were soon displeased with him, and, in order to get rid of him, they accused him of adultery with one of their wives, and killed him at the door of Taleju."¹

Almost all the Malla coins, except those of the Tibet coinage, bear the sword (*khadga*), the emblem of sovereignty, which is generally combined with a garland. The other non-religious symbols are the mace and the lion. The remaining symbols are all religious. Of these, the one most generally found on the coins is the trident of Siva, and the others are the Aṣṭa Maṅgala² (the eight Buddhist signs of good luck); the shell, *śāṅkha*; the holy water vase, *kalasa* or *kumbha*; the vase for offerings, with cover in form of a *stūpa*; the discus, *cakra*; and the double-drum, *damaru*, of form like an hour-glass, used in tantric worship.

With the exception of the trident, these symbols are all of them common to both the Hindu and Buddhist religions, though the interpretation given to them differs according to the religion.

The trident (*triśula*) appears on the reverse of the coins of the earliest type, in the small central circle, which, as already noted, was imitated from that in the coin of the

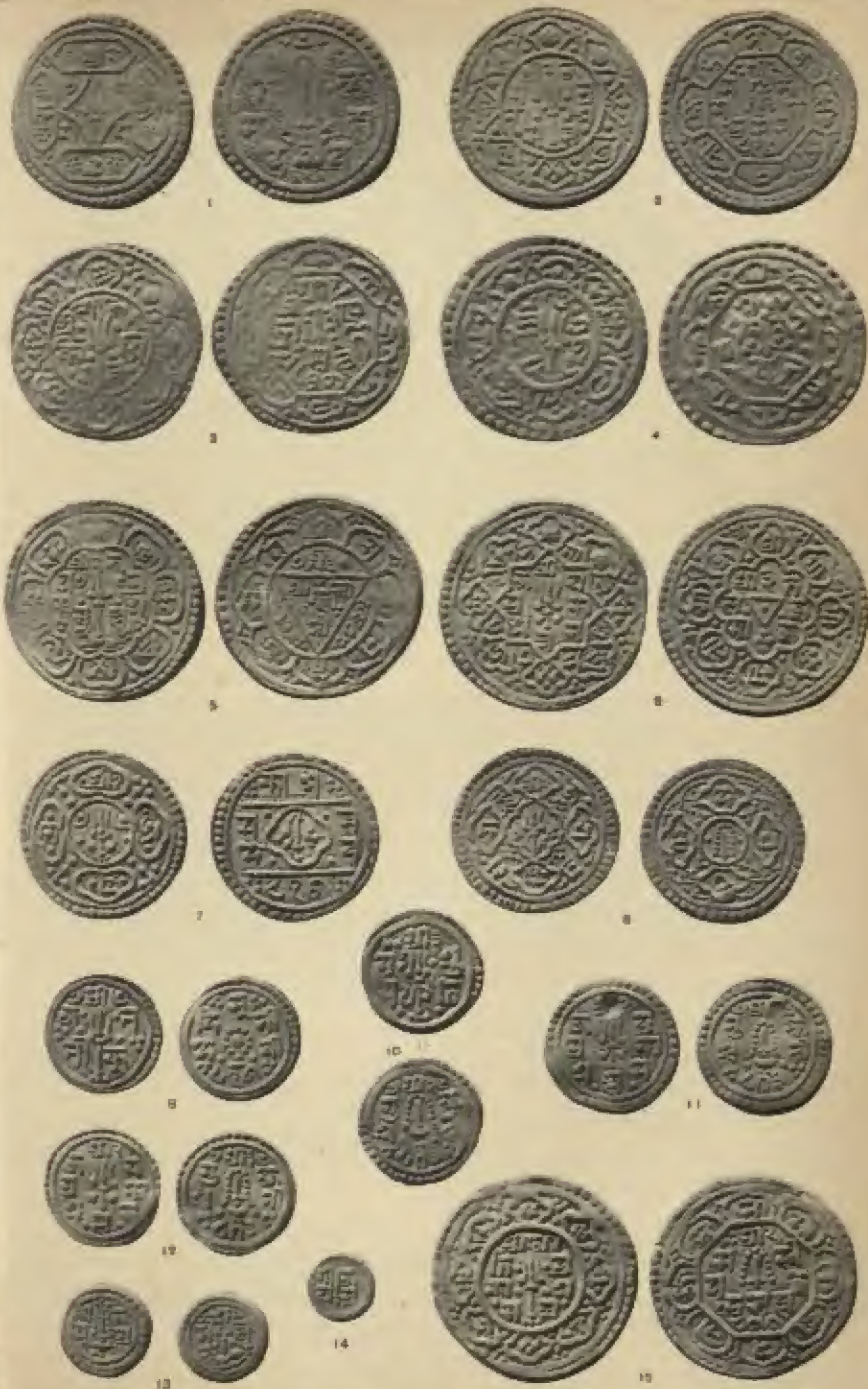
¹ Wright, pp. 250, 251.

² The Aṣṭa Maṅgala are (1) *Matsya*, the two golden fish; (2) *Cakra*, the umbrella of sovereignty; (3) *Śāṅkha*, the hollowed conch shell for blowing as a trumpet; (4) *Śrīvataḥ*, a lucky diagram, also known as "Buddha's entrails"; (5) *Dvaja*, the banner of victory; (6) *Kalasa*, vase of holy water; (7) *Padma*, the lotus; and (8) *Cakra*, the wheel of the law.

Bengal king Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd. On these coins it always bears the same form, with two streamers attached to the shaft. All the mohars of Bhātgāon are of this pattern, except the mohar of Rāṇajita Malla (Pl. I, Fig. 6), which he copied from that of Cakravartindra Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū. On the mohars of Kāthmāṇḍū, subsequent to those of the early type, the trident appears with plain shaft without streamers, though on one of the smaller coins, a quarter mohar of Rūpanatī Devi, the consort of Pratāpa Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 11), it follows the earlier form, and has small streamers. In two coins of Jaya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 37 and 38; Pl. IV, Figs. 7 and 8) the trident has flowers springing from its shaft. In the kingdom of Pātan Buddhism was much stronger than at Bhātgāon and Kāthmāṇḍū, and consequently the Śivaite emblem of the trident does not appear on the coins of the early type, its place being taken in the coins of Siddhi Narasiṃha by the lion which forms the rebus of his name (Pl. V, Figs. 1 and 2), and in the coin of Śrīnivāsa by the legend which is continued on the reverse of the coin (Pl. V, Fig. 3). For the same reason the Śivaite emblem of the double-drum (*damaru*), which occurs on these coins of Bhātgāon and Kāthmāṇḍū, is omitted from the Pātan coins, its place being taken by the Buddhist emblem of the lotus flower. The trident does not also appear on the earlier coins of Yoga Narendra Malla. It first appears on his coin of 1700 A.D., a coin of an entirely different character to his previous ones, which bore only Buddhist symbols, and it then appears on the coins of all the subsequent kings, except those of Hṛdī Narasiṃha Malla.

The double-drum (*damaru*), which is also a Śivaite emblem, and which occurs on the coins of the early type of Bhātgāon and Kāthmāṇḍū as already mentioned, does not appear on those of Pātan.

The Aṣṭa Maṅgala, the eight Buddhist signs of good luck, do not appear on the coins of Bhātgāon which



MALLA COINS OF KĀTHMĀNDŪ (CONTINUED)

adhered to the early type. In Kāthmāṇḍū they first appear on the coin of Bhūpālendra Malla (No. 20; Pl. III, Fig. 4), and, after that, are the standard device for the obverse of the mohar of every succeeding king (Pl. III, Figs. 5-12, and Pl. IV, Figs. 2-6 and 15), with the exception of one coin of Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 31; Pl. IV, Fig. 1). They do not occur on any of the coins of Pātan, and although Yoga Prakāśa Malla copied the device of the circle surrounded by eight petals (No. 66; Pl. VI, Fig. 3), the petals contain the legend, as on the reverse of the Kāthmāṇḍū coins.

The vase of holy water (*kalāśa*) appears on the quarter mohar of Bhūpatindra Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 5), and on the half and quarter mohars of Raṇajita Malla of Bhātgāon (Pl. II, Figs. 6 and 7). Also on the mohar of Pārthivendra Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 17; Pl. III, Fig. 2), and of Śrinivāsa Malla of Pātan (No. 54; Pl. V, Fig. 4).

The vase of offerings, with cover in the form of a stūpa, appears on the quarter mohars of Jaya Mahindra Malla (No. 27; Pl. III, Fig. 10) and Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 30; Pl. III, Fig. 13) of Kāthmāṇḍū, and on the mohars of Yoga Narendra Malla (Nos. 55-58; Pl. V, Figs. 5-8); of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61; Pl. V, Fig. 11); Vira Narasiṃha Malla (No. 63; Pl. V, Fig. 12); and the quarter mohar of Janani Lakṣmī Devī (No. 50; Pl. VI, Fig. 12) of Pātan.

The shell (*śūṅkha*) is a symbol peculiar to the coins of Kāthmāṇḍū. It only appears on one coin of Pātan, a mohar of Yoga Narendra Malla (No. 57; Pl. V, Fig. 7), and on one coin of Bhātgāon, the mohar of Raṇajita Malla (No. 6; Pl. II, Fig. 8), which is copied exactly from the mohar of Cakravartindra Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (Pl. II, Fig. 13). M. Terrien de La Couperie, writing on the silver coinage of Tibet, says that the coins of the three Nepal kingdoms "were generally distinguished by a shell for Bhātgāon, a trisul (trident) for Pātan, and a sword

for Kāthmāṇḍū."¹ This, however, is quite incorrect. The shell does not occur at all on the coins of Bhātgāon with the one special exception noted; the trident is conspicuous by its absence from the early type of coins of Pātan, and did not appear on the subsequent coins until much later than at Kāthmāṇḍū; and the sword, which was the Newār emblem of sovereignty, is common to all the three kingdoms, and, in fact, the earliest coins on which it appears are those of Pātan (Pl. V, Figs. 1, 2, and 3).

The discus of Viṣṇu (*cakra*) appears on the coin of Cakravartindra Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 15; Pl. II, Fig. 13), and may have been adopted partly as a rebus for his name. It appears together with the shell, an association which may be due to the fact that the *cakra* and the shell each supported on a pillar appear as symbols in front of the temple of Cangu Nārāyaṇa.² It similarly appears on the coin of Rāṇajita Malla of Bhātgāon, which, as already mentioned, he copied from Cakravartindra's coin. The *cakra* also appears on a pedestal in a form similar to that which it bears surmounting the pillar in front of the temple of Cangu Nārāyaṇa, of which it is probably a representation on the quarter mohar of Jananī Kumudini Devī of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 39; Pl. IV, Fig. 9), and the mohars of Jaya Indra Malla and Vira Narasiṃha Malla (Nos. 61 and 63; Pl. V, Figs. 11 and 12).

The mace (*gada*) appears on the coin of Cakravartindra, and on its copy of Rāṇajita Malla, and also on the half mohar of Rāṇajita Malla (No. 7; Pl. II, Fig. 7), where its head has been developed into a flower in a very artistic manner. It also appears, in combination with the shell, on coins of Yoga Narendrar Malla of Pātan (Nos. 56, 57, and 58; Pl. V, Figs. 6, 7, and 8).

¹ Terrien de La Couperie, "Silver Coinage of Tibet": Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 340.

² Professor Lévi gives an illustration of this temple: "Le Népal," vol. i, p. 231.

The equilateral triangle, known as *vāṇāstra*, which is a conventional representation of a drawn bow, appears on the reverse of the coin of Cakravartindra and its copy of Raṇajita Malla (Nos. 15 and 6; Pl. II, Figs. 13 and 8), and on Raṇajita Malla's half-mohar (Pl. II, Fig. 7), and on the reverse of the mohars of Jaya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 35 and 36; Pl. IV, Figs. 5 and 6). Equilateral triangles also appear on the coins of Śrinivāsa, Yoga Narendra, and Vira Narasiṃha of Pātan (Nos. 54, 56, and 63; Pl. V, Figs. 4, 6, and 12), but in this case they appear to be merely to form geometrical designs. The triangle (*trikona*) is also the special symbol of the Newār goddess Guṇjeswari, which may account for its use on these coins.

The *Śvastika*, Fly-foot Cross, appears only on the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (Nos. 55, 56, and 57; Pl. V, Figs. 5, 6, and 7). This design of the double *svastika* no doubt suggested to the Gorkhā conqueror Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāha the design for his mohar, which has remained the standard design of the Gorkhā coinage (Pl. VII, Fig. 1), and which was copied by his brother Dala Mardana Śāha when king of Pātan (No. 75; Pl. VI, Fig. 13).

The remaining symbol found on the Newār coins is the lion, which appears as a rebus for the name 'Simha' on the coins of Siddhī Narasiṃha (Nos. 51, 52; Pl. V, Figs. 1, 2) and Hrdī Narasiṃha of Pātan (Nos. 64, 65; Pl. VI, Figs. 1, 2). It is of the same design, facing left with the tail curled over its back, as the lion on the coins of Mānāṅka and Aṃśu-varman, from which it is no doubt copied.

Besides the use of religious symbols, the kings of Pātan inscribed the names of the national deities on their coins. Only two of the kings of Kāthmāṇḍū, Jaya Vira Mahīndra Malla and Jaya Prakāśa Malla, followed this practice, and no names of deities appear on the coins of Bhātgāon which adhered to the early type. The names of the following deities occur on the coins

of Pātan and of Jaya Vira Mahindra Malla, and Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū.

The name of Lokanātha appears on the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla (Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, and, together with the name of the goddess Taleju Māju, on coin No. 60); of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61); of Vira Narasiṃha Malla (No. 63); of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla (No. 67); of Rājya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72); and of Viśvajīta Malla (Nos. 73 and 74) of Pātan. It also appears on the coin of Jaya Vira Mahindra Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 24).

The name of the goddess Kaluṇāmaya, or Karuṇāmaya, appears on the coins of Queen Yogamati and Loka Prakāśa Malla (No. 62); of Hṛdi Narasiṃha Malla (Nos. 64, 65); of Yoga Prakāśa Malla (No. 66); of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla (No. 68); and of Dala Mardana Sāha (No. 75) of Pātan, and on a coin of Jaya Vira Mahindra of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 25).

The name of the goddess Taleju Māju appears, together with that of Lokanātha, on a coin of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (No. 60), and together with that of the goddess Kumārī Māju on a coin of Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 36).

The name of the goddess Gujheswarī appears on a quarter mohar of Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāṇḍū (No. 45), and, together with that of Paśupati, on another quarter mohar of this king (No. 40). The latter coin is peculiar, as it only bears the name of these two deities without the name of the king or queen, and is the only example of this in the Newār coinage, although it occurred in the ancient coins of Paśupati.

A feature of the Newār coinage is the inclusion of the names of the queen consorts on the coins. Besides the names of the queens who were regents for their minor sons, as Janani Jaya Lakṣmī Devī (No. 50), regent for her son Jyoti Prakāśa Malla, and Yogamati Devī (No. 62), regent for her son Loka Prakāśa Malla, and again (No. 63)

for her son Vira Narasimha Malla, the names of the consorts of the reigning kings frequently appear on the coins. In the Kāthmāṇḍū coins the queens' names only appear on the quarter mohar (*do-ānī*). These are Rūpamati Devī, queen of Pratāpa Malla (No. 14); Rājya Lakṣmī Devī, queen of Pārthivendra Malla (No. 19); Mahindra Lakṣmī Devī, queen of Jaya Vira Mahindra (No. 27); and Kumudini Devī, queen of Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 30). In the Pātan coins the queens' names occur on the mohars, as follows: Yoga Lakṣmī Devī and Narendra Lakṣmī Devī, together on the coin of Yoga Narendra Malla (No. 55); Narendra Lakṣmī Devī and Pratāpa Lakṣmī Devī, together on another of the coins of the same king (No. 56); also Yoga Lakṣmī Devī, singly on another coin (No. 57); and Bhāgavati Devī appears on the coin of Jaya Indra Malla (No. 61).

A characteristic of the coins of the Kāthmāṇḍū dynasty is the use of flowers as a decoration on the coins of several of the rulers. The first coin decorated with flowers is the mohar of Pratāpa Malla (No. 12) and his square double mohar (No. 13), the mohars of Cakravartindra Malla (No. 15), Jaya Nṛpendra Malla (No. 16), and Pārthivendra Malla (No. 18). After that the mohars assumed a more or less fixed type, but in these the device was itself based on a flower, being the petals of the lotus flower on the obverse and its leaves on the reverse. The Nepalese as a race are very fond of flowers, and even the poorest use them as personal adornment.

The Malla kings did not generally inscribe titles on their coins, but only their names. The following kings, however, inscribed titles on their coins: Jaya Śrinivāsa Malla of Pātan took the title "Nepāleśvara" (No. 54), which was also assumed by Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla (No. 20), and also by Jaya Jagajjaya Malla (No. 28) of Kāthmāṇḍū, as "Nepāleśvara Rājendra."

Bhūpāleṇdra Malla also assumed the title of "Girīndra Rāja Rājendra," Lord over the kings of the Hills (No. 21), and the title was also assumed as "Nepāleśvara Girīndra" by Jaya Bhāskara (No. 22) and Jaya Vira Mahīndra (No. 26). The title of "Kavīndra," King of Poets, as already noticed, was assumed by Pratāpa Malla (No. 12) and by Bhūpāleṇdra Malla (No. 21). The title of "Nepāla Chuḍāmaṇi," Jewel on the Crown of Nepal, was assumed by Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (No. 58) and "Nepāleśvara Chuḍāmaṇi" (No. 59), and Bhūpāleṇdra Malla of Kāṭhmāṇḍū subsequently uses the title as "Chuḍāmaṇi Samurāt" (No. 21), the Jewel on the Crown of the Empire.

Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan uses the title of "Saṅgītārṇava - Pāraga," skilled in music (No. 55), referring to his proficiency in that art.

The general characteristics of the Malla coinage have now been considered, but there are one or two coins which call for individual notice.

The design of the mohar of Cakravartīndra, 1669 A.D. (No. 15; Pl. II, Fig. 13), has been already alluded to. The device of this coin is supposed by the Newārs to have been particularly unlucky, and to have caused Cakravartīndra's death. The *Vaṁśāvalī* says: "The inscription on Cakravartīndra's coin, devised by the Svāmī, consists of a triangular Bānāstra (bow and arrow), Pās (noose), Ankus (the iron hook for driving an elephant), Kamal (a lotus), Chāmar (a yak's tail), and Saṁbat 789. This device caused his death." To this Dr. Wright adds a footnote that "a bow and arrow are ominous of death, but nevertheless the water in which such a coin is dipped possesses the quality of causing a speedy delivery in child-bed. These coins, which are very rare, are still used for this purpose."¹ This is, as Dr. Wright remarks, the general belief with regard to this coin, and I was told of

¹ Wright's History, p. 220.

this virtue when I obtained my specimen of the coin. It is curious that, with such a belief as to the unluckiness of this coin, Rāṇajita Malla should have copied the device.

Jaya Pratāpa Malla imitated the Persian inscription on the coins of the Moghul Emperors with a floral decoration of the field. His coin which bears this device is dated 775 N.S. or 1755 A.D. (No. 12; Pl. II, Fig. 12).

The upper line of characters on the reverse appears to be intended for the commencement and last portion of "Shāh 'Alamgir," from whose coins Pratāpa Malla would therefore appear to have copied them. This introduction of Persian characters, which the minters failed to correctly imitate, is characteristic of Pratāpa Malla, who prided himself on his extensive knowledge, and composed a prayer to Svayambhū, in which he introduced Persian and various other characters, and had inscribed on a stone at that temple. It was after composing this prayer that Pratāpa Malla assumed the title of "Kavindra," King of Poets, which appears on this coin. Pratāpa Malla's device of this coin was copied by Jaya Nṛpendra and Jaya Pārthivendra (Pl. III, Figs. 1 and 3), and two lines of meaningless imitation Persian characters appear on the reverse of mohars of Jaya Bhāskara, Vira Mahendra, Jaya Jagajjaya Mallas of Kāthmāṇḍū, and were also adopted by Jaya Viṣṇu and Rājya Prakāśa Mallas of Pātan on the obverse of their coins (Nos. 67 and 69).

Jaya Bhūpāendra (1682 A.D.) also assumed the title of Kavindra (No. 21). He originated the device of eight lotus petals surrounding a central circle, with the *aṣṭamaṅgala* within the petals for the obverse, and a similar arrangement of eight leaves for the reverse, which remained the standard device for the coins of the subsequent rulers.

His design, as modified by his successor Jaya Bhāskara Malla (No. 22; Pl. III, Fig. 5), was copied by the Government

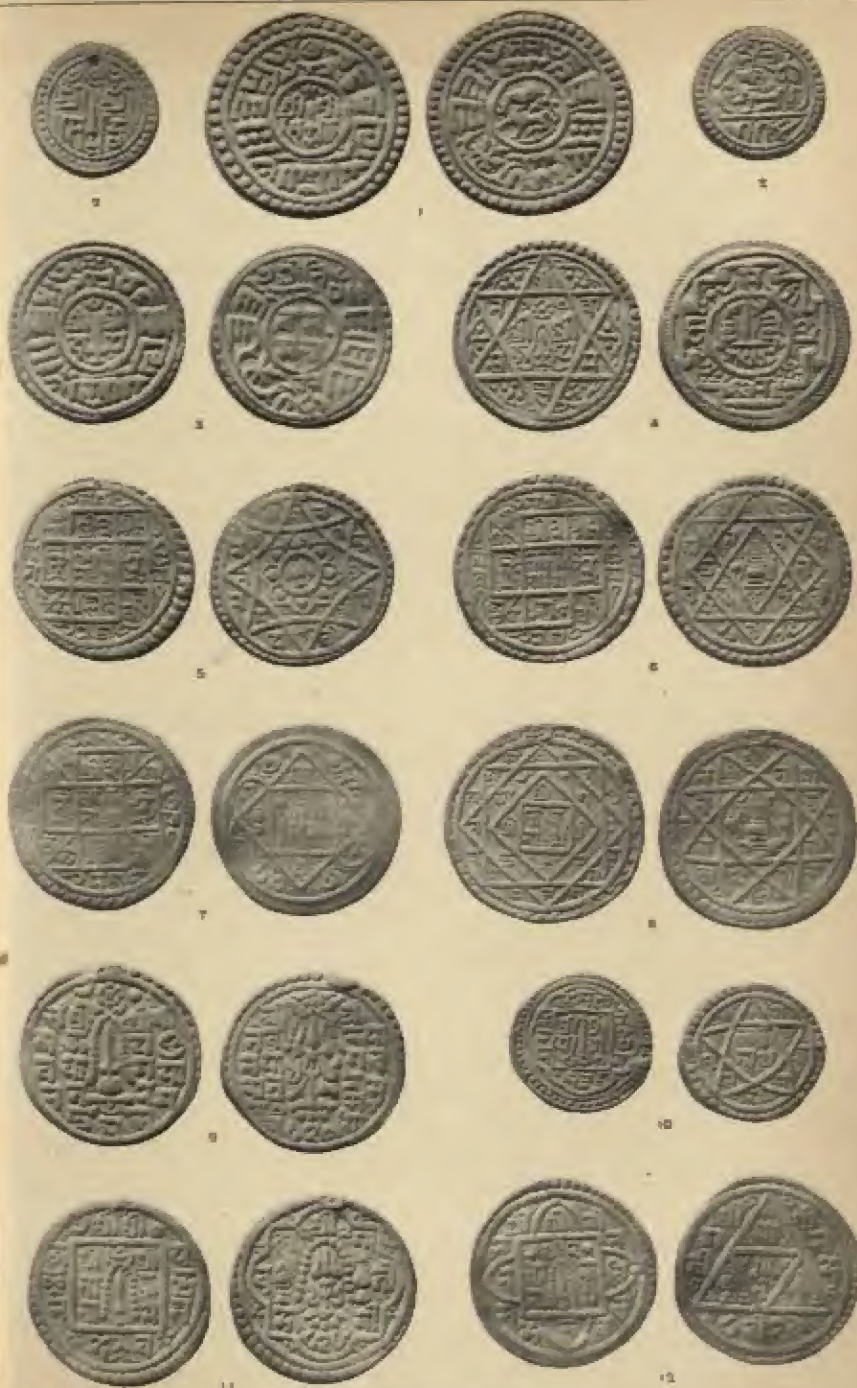
of Tibet for their coinage when Tibet gave up obtaining their coinage from Nepal, and with the substitution of a floral design the central circle on the obverse, and a wheel within the central circle on the reverse, is the "*Gah-dan tanka*," which has continued to be the standard coinage of Tibet up to the present time.

The latest mohars of Jaya Viṣṇu Malla of Pātan (No. 67), and all those of his successor Rājya Prakāśa Malla (Nos. 69 to 72), bear on the reverse the name¹ of Vira Yoga Narendra Malla. The reason of this would appear to be because Yoga Narendra Malla, who from grief at the death of his son and heir relinquished the kingdom and went away as an ascetic, was supposed to be still living, and the government of the country to be carried on by his successors on his behalf. The *Vaṁśāvali* says: "He told the minister that as long as the face of his statue remained bright and untarnished, and the bird on its head had not flown away, he would know that the Rājā was alive, and should cherish and respect his memory. For this reason a mattress is still every night laid in a room in the front of the Darbar, and the window is left open."² To this Dr. Wright adds a footnote that this is still done, as the face of the statue remains bright.

Rājya Prakāśa Malla,² Jaya Viṣṇu Malla's successor, also, for the same reason, inscribed the name of Vira Yoga Narendra Malla on all his coins (Nos. 69 to 72). In coins Nos. 69, 70, and 71 the reverse is the same as Jaya Viṣṇu's coin No. 67, but in coin No. 72 the device is different, which shows that the insertion of Yoga Narendra Malla's name was not merely due to a continuance of the reverse of Jaya Viṣṇu's coin.

¹ Wright, p. 248.

² Rājya Prakāśa Malla was the younger brother of Jaya Prakāśa Malla of Kāthmāndū, by whom he was expelled from the country, as the sepoys wanted to make him king instead of Jaya Prakāśa. As Jaya Viṣṇu Malla had no son he appointed Rājya Prakāśa as his successor, which was accepted by the people (Wright, p. 249).



THE GORKHĀ COINAGE.

The following is a brief sketch of the history of the Gorkhā dynasty. All references to Gorkhā coins which follow are to the serial number in the list of Gorkhā coins, which form a separate series to those of the Newār coins which have been already considered.

The Gorkhās claim to be descended from the Rajputs of Chitor, whose dynasty commences from Rṣirājā Bhaṭṭāraka, about the year 80 A.D. According to their history, after the taking of Chitor by Ala-uddīn in 1289 A.D., one part of the survivors went and settled at Udaipur, and another, under Manmatha Rāṇa, settled at Ujjain. Manmatha Rāṇa's younger son Mica Khān,¹ however, with his followers, migrated to the Himalayas and settled at Noakot,² where they made themselves masters of the neighbouring territories.

In 1559 A.D. they again divided. Dravya Sāha, a younger son, obtained the sovereignty of the town and territory of Gorkhā, forty miles west of Kāthmāṇḍū, from which the Gorkhās have taken their name. Intent on pushing their conquests eastward, Dambara Sāha (1633-1642 A.D.) invaded the territories of Pratāpa Malla, but was repulsed. Nara Bhūpāla Sāha (1716-1742 A.D.), the father of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa, taking advantage of the internal dissensions between the Nepalese kingdoms, again invaded Nepal, but was stopped by the Thākurs of Noakot³ and forced to retreat.

On his father's death, Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa came to the throne at the age of 12, and at once proceeded to

¹ He is the 36th Raja in the Genealogy (Wright's "History of Nepal," p. 276).

² Not the Noakot near Kāthmāṇḍū, but another far to the west.

³ Viz. Noakot in Nepal (Wright, 197).

attack Nonkot,¹ which belonged to the kingdom of Kāthmāndū. He was, however, repulsed by Jaya Prakāśa and forced to retire, but succeeded in his second attack eight years later (1750 or 1751).² At this time he also went to reside with Rāṇajita Malla at Bhātgaon, where he became a close friend of Rāṇajita's son and heir Vira Narasiṃha Malla, and where he continued to reside for several years. He there stirred up the seven illegitimate sons of Rāṇajita Malla, with the promise that he would obtain the kingdom for them, to conspire against Vira Narasiṃha, whom they eventually contrived to poison: the *Vaṃśāvalī*, euphemistically, records that "he died suddenly." Rāṇajita Malla called in Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa to assist him in his quarrel with Jaya Prakāśa, of Kāthmāndū. Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa seized the opportunity to attack Kirtipur, a town on an eminence about three miles south-west of Kāthmāndū, which was subject to the kingdom of Pātan, and which, from its position, was considered impregnable. The king of Pātan did not attempt to defend it, but Jaya Prakāśa went to its assistance and defeated Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa, who was forced to retire. The people of Kirtipur then asked Jaya Prakāśa to become their king, and the nobles (Thāris) assembled to make the town over to him. He, however, insulted them and had one of their number imprisoned, in revenge for which they handed over several places in the kingdom of Kāthmāndū to Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa, who also again laid siege for several months to Kirtipur, but was obliged eventually to give it up. He then attacked the king of Lamjī, a neighbouring state, and after several battles concluded an agreement with him and returned towards Kirtipur.³ The three Nepalese kingdoms then attempted to combine against their common danger and

¹ Nonkot in Nepal.

² Wright, pp. 224, 225.

³ Lévi, "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 271.

attacked Prthvī Nārāyaṇa, but after a protracted siege Kirtipur was given up to Prthvī Nārāyaṇa by the noble whom Jaya Prakāśa had insulted and imprisoned. Prthvī Nārāyaṇa then invested Pātan, but the advance of the British troops under Captain Kinlock into the Terai (1767) caused him to withdraw. On Captain Kinlock's expedition having to retire on account of malaria and difficulty of communications, he laid siege to Kāthmāṇḍū, which he finally entered with scarcely any opposition on the 29th September, 1768, during the festival of the Indrajaatra: when most of the inhabitants were feasting or drunk, Jaya Prakāśa sat in the temple of Taleju watching the fighting. At last, seeing that all was lost, he spread gunpowder on the steps of the temple and fled to Lalitapur, and taking the king Teja Narasiṃha with him, took refuge at Bhātgāon.¹ This gave Prthvī Nārāyaṇa both Kāthmāṇḍū and Pātan, and he then turned his attention to the town of Bhātgāon, which he succeeded in entering through the treachery of the illegitimate sons of Raṇajita Malla, whom he had won over, as already mentioned. Raṇajita was allowed to go to Benares, where he ended his days, Jaya Prakāśa was taken, at his own request, to Paśupati, where he died from the results of a wound he had received in the taking of Bhātgāon, and Teja Narasiṃha was imprisoned at Lakṣmīpur until his death, and thus the three Malla kingdoms came to an end in 1768 A.D.

Prthvī Nārāyaṇa was succeeded by his son Pratāpa Siṃha Sāha, who reigned for three years, 1775-8 A.D.² He was succeeded by his son Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha, who was an infant, and whose mother, Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī, governed as Regent. From the death of Pratāpa Siṃha

¹ Wright, p. 232.

² The brief sketch of the history of the Gorkhā dynasty which follows is taken from Professor Lévi's "*Népal*," which is fuller and more complete than that given in Wright's History.

Sāha, the Gorkhā dynasty has been a succession of minor kings and regencies. The king has been merely a nominal ruler, the real government and power being in the hands of the Prime Minister. In 1795 Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha, having attained majority, decided to reign himself, and arrested and imprisoned his uncle the minister. He had been married to Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī, a daughter of the Rāja of Gulmī, a neighbouring hill state. He, however, neglected her, and married a slave-girl, who appears from coin No. 35 to have assumed the title of Rāja Rājesvarī Devī. The name of Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī does not appear on the coins of this reign, though it appears on coins of his successor Rājendra Vikrama, together with that of Rājendra Lakṣmī. He also married Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī, the daughter of a Brahman, by whom he had a son, Girvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Sāha. Being a Kṣatriya he could not marry a Brahman, and this and other acts of impiety so aroused the people against him that he was obliged to resign the throne, and his infant son Girvāṇa Yuddha Vikrama Sāha was appointed in 1800 A.D. with his mother Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī as Regent, and Damodar Pāṇḍe as Minister; as the senior queen Lalitā Tripurā Sundarī resolved to accompany her husband into exile. Rājendra Lakṣmī's name occurs on the coins both during the reign of her husband, as consort (No. 21) and as Regent for her son (No. 34).

In 1802 Tripurā Sundarī, tired of the ill-treatment of her husband, returned to Nepal, and was welcomed by the people, on which Rāṇa Bahādur Sāha also returned, and assumed the government again in his son's name, until he was assassinated in 1807. Girvāṇa Yuddha died in 1816.

His minor son Rājendra Vikrama Sāha succeeded him under the regency of his grandmother Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī. Her name as Regent during this reign occurs, together with that of Tripurā Sundarī Devī, on coins

Nos. 64 and 65, and by itself as "Regent" on coin No. 69. In 1832 the old queen Tripurā Sundari died.

Rājendra Vikrama had two wives, the first related to the Pāṇḍes and the second to the Thāpās, the two rival factions in the state, who devoted their influence to assisting their respective parties. In 1846 Rājendra Vikrama and his queen were expelled, and his minor son Surendra Vikrama Sāha was appointed as Regent with Jang Bahadur as his Minister. Rājendra Vikrama subsequently returned to Nepal and was imprisoned, where he died in 1847, and Surendra Vikrama then succeeded to the throne under a regency. In 1881 Surendra Vikrama died, after a purely nominal reign of 34 years, and was succeeded by his grandson, a child of six years, Prthvī Vira Vikrama Sāha, who is the present King.

Prthvī Nārāyaṇa, on his conquest of the country, adopted the Newār system of coinage based on the standard of a silver mohar, and with the same fractional parts. The design of his mohar (No. 1; Pl. VII, Fig. 1), which has continued to be the standard design ever since, was also taken from the Newār coins, the design of the obverse, a square divided by a *svastika* having probably been suggested by the coins of Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (Pl. V; Figs. 5, 6, and 7) combined with the small central circle containing a trident with streamers on the current coins of Rāṇajita Malla (Pl. II, Fig. 5) with which Prthvī Nārāyaṇa was familiar, owing to his long residence with Rāṇajita Malla at Bhātgāon. The reverse is also a copy of the obverse of a coin of Yoga Prakāśa Malla of Pātan (Pl. VI, Fig. 3), and is similar to several of the later coins of both Kāthmāṇḍū and Pātan; even the two horizontal lines in the central circle being reproduced from the meaningless imitated Persian characters on those coins.

In the half mohars (*sukā*) and quarter mohars (*sukṛī*), too, the designs of the Newār coins were followed, and the

same symbols, the sword and wreath as the emblem of sovereignty, the trident, the offering vase in form of *stūpa* (Pl. VII, Fig. 3), and the *cakra* on pedestal (Pl. VII, Fig. 8), were adopted. The lion, as a rebus for the name "Simha," was also used by Pratāpa Simha Sāha (No. 17; Pl. VII, Fig. 5, and others of his coins). The Malla coins from which the different Gorkhā coins were taken are noted in the List of Gorkhā Coins. The Gorkhā coins also bear the symbols of the Sun and Moon; as the Gorkhās claim to be descended from both the Solar and Lunar races.

In the gold coinage, however, the Gorkhā kings introduced coins of new denomination and of new designs, some examples of which are illustrated (Pl. VII, Figs. 4, 7, and 9). The copper coinage of Surendra Vikrama Sāha (Pl. VII, Fig. 11), and of Prthivī Vīra Vikrama Sāha (Pl. VII, Figs. 12 and 13) are new, with their devices, and in the latter a new symbol is introduced in the *Pādūkā* (footprints of Viṣṇu) and the crossed *Kukhris*, the national Gorkhā weapon.

The names of deities also appear on the coins, though here the name of Gorkhānātha, the patron deity of the Gorkhās, is the one that is borne on all the mohars. But the name of Lokanātha also appears on some mohars of Prthivī Nārāyaṇa (No. 3) and that of Guhyesvarī on that of Pratāpa Simha Sāha, the name being spelt on the Gorkhā coins with *hy* instead of *jh* as on the Newār coins (No. 12). In the latter mohars, however, the only names that appear are those of Gorakhānātha and Bhavānī.

The Newār era was, however, abandoned. The coins of the Gorkhā kings are dated in the Sāka era, and the copper coins of Prthivī Vīra Vikrama Sāha in the Samvat era.

The Gorkhā kings all bear the title of Sāha Deva. The title of Sāha (Shāhi) is said to have been conferred by the Emperor of Delhi on Jagdeva Khān, the forty-first

king of the Gorkhā dynasty, for some service that he rendered to the emperor, and has been borne by all his successors.¹

The different denominations of the Gorkhā silver coinage have already been considered. The gold coinage, however, comprises some further denominations. With the exception of Bakla, which is equivalent to two mohars, and of the gold mohar, which is known as 'Patlā' (thin coin) or 'Majhawālā' (middle coin), these gold coins, are not in general circulation. The smaller denominations are only minted on special occasions and for special purposes. For the names by which they are known, I am indebted to His Excellency Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamsher Jang Rana Bahadur, G.C.S.I., the Prime Minister of Nepal, who has kindly given me the information.

The gold coinage is nominally based on the standard of the tola (= 180 grains), the mohar being held to be the equivalent of half a tola. In the coins of the previous Gorkhā kings which I have weighed, however, the actual weights are less than that standard, as will be seen from the weights given in Table IV of Gorkhā coins. But I have not weighed any coins of the present reign. Their value generally fluctuates with the market price of gold. The different denominations are as follows:—

Duitole Asarfī, made of 2 tolas of gold = 360	grs., actual weight	356 grs. ; coin No. 10.
Baklā " " 1 " " = 180	" " "	170 grs. ; coin No. 46.
Patlā or Majhawālā " " $\frac{1}{2}$ " " = 90	" " "	
Sakā Asarfī " " $\frac{1}{4}$ " " = 45	" " "	41 or 42 gr. ; coins Nos. 25 and 47.
Sakī " " $\frac{1}{8}$ " " = 22.5	" " "	21 grs. ; coin No. 22.
Ānī " " $\frac{1}{16}$ " " = 11.75	" " "	11 grs. ; coin No. 27.
Ādhānī " " $\frac{1}{32}$ " " = 5.9	" " "	
Pū " " $\frac{1}{64}$ " " = 2.95	" " "	
Dām " " $\frac{1}{128}$ " " = .7	" " "	
Phokā Dām " " $\frac{1}{256}$ " " = .35	" " "	3 to .35 gr. ; coin No. 77.

A list of the different coins of the Gorkhā dynasty is given. It is complete up to coin No. 33, for the coins of the British Museum, and after that, I believe, contains most of the succeeding coins, though, owing to my leaving England, I had not the time to go through the remaining coins in the British Museum in detail: and the subsequent list is therefore compiled from the coins in my own collection, supplemented by those in the British Museum of which I had kept note, including those described by Marsden and also, in the case of coins Nos. 43 and 90, from the catalogue of coins in the India Museum, Calcutta. There may be other queens' coins, and also coins of other denominations than those contained in the list. But the present list will give a comprehensive idea of the Gorkhā coinage until the catalogue of these coins in the British Museum is published.

LISTS OF COINS.

THE LICCHAVI AND THĀKURĪ DYNASTIES.

MĀNĀŅKA OR MĀNADEVA.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	OBTVERSE,	REVERSE.
1	Æ 197 1·0	Lion walking towards left, with a flower in front of it. Over, in a straight line, legend <i>Śrī Mānānka</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 1.)	Goddess seated on a lotus, with the right hand raised and the fingers spread out. The left hand rests on the hips. Legend, <i>Śrī Bhoginī</i> .

The above coin, given in the British Museum, is Cunningham's coin figured in "Coins of Ancient India," pl. xiii, fig. 1.

The British Museum has twelve specimens of this type of coin and its varieties, which vary in size from .95 to



MALLA COINS OF PĀTAN (CONTINUED.)



1.05 and in weight. They vary considerably in workmanship, in the size of the seated figure, which in one specimen occupies the greater part of the obverse and in another not more than one-third of the diameter, in the details of the design, and in the workmanship, some being so much more barbarous that they would appear to be subsequent imitations of the original coinage. Cunningham's specimen is much the most perfect.

Cunningham and Bendall give the "deity seated on lotus throne" as the obverse of this coin, and the lion as the reverse. I do not think this is correct. The lion is, I think, the obverse, as it occurs on the obverse of Anshu-varman's coins, Pl. I, Figs. 5 and 6 (in which latter coin the obverse and reverse have, by mistake, been transposed on the plate), and on Jisnu Gupta's coin, Pl. I, Fig. 8, in each of which there is no doubt, from the inscription, that the lion is the obverse. Cunningham describes the figure as "lion walking to left towards lotus plant with flower and bird." I think neither of the objects is a bird. The upper one is a flower consisting of six petals round a centre, and the lower one appears to be a lotus leaf. Bendall (coins Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5) describes the figure as "lion pawing a vine-branch," and mentions that Professor P. Gardner had called his attention to the Græco-Indian coin of Agathokles bearing a panther pawing a vine-leaf (*Num. Chron.* for 1868, vol. viii, pl. x). I do not think, however, that the object on the present coin is intended for a vine-branch. The upper object, if it were intended for a bunch of grapes, would be hanging down. Also grapes are not grown in Nepal, whereas flowers appear on many of these early Nepalese coins. I think there is no doubt that the object in front of the lion is intended for a lotus on a stem, from which a leaf also grows.

The figure of the deity seated on a lotus on the reverse bears so striking a resemblance to a similar figure on some

of the coins of Huvishka as to suggest that it was copied from them. As already noted, Professor Bendall read the legend on the reverse of a coin of this type as *Śrī Bhagīnī*. It is, however, distinctly *Śrī Bhogīnī* on this and the other specimens in the British Museum.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	OVERSE.	REVERSE.
GUṆĀṆKA OR GUṆA DEVA.			
2	Æ 185 ·95	Deity seated on a lotus, right hand held up. Legend below the figure, <i>Śrī Guṇāṅka</i> .	Elephant facing to right. (Pl. I, Fig. 2.)
3	Æ 130 ·87	Seated figure of king wearing crown; both hands are raised and holding a flower. Legend above the figure, <i>Śrī Guṇāṅka</i> .	Elephant to right, surrounded by margin of dots. (Pl. I, Fig. 3.)

The British Museum has twelve specimens of coin No. 2, which vary as greatly as those of *Mānāṅka*, and two of the variety shown in coin No. 3. In some the reverse is surrounded by a margin of dots, and in one specimen there is a scalloped line within the dots, enclosing each dot in a scallop, and in others a plain circle within the dots. The seated figure also varies considerably. In some specimens the figure occupies the lower part of the coin and sits on a throne, not on a flower, and is crowned, and appears to be a king rather than a deity.

VAIŚRAVAṆA.

4	Æ 172 1·0	Seated figure, with right arm raised, holding a flower, left arm resting on thigh, a flower-pot to the left. The figure is crowned, and would appear to be a king. Legend, <i>Vaiśravaṇa</i> .	Cow facing to left, with calf underneath. Legend, <i>Kāmadehī</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 4.) This sacred cow (<i>Kāmadhenu</i>) sprang from the churning of the ocean, and possessed the power of granting wishes.
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The British Museum has three specimens of this type. They vary very little.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
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AMŚU-VARMA (THĀKURĪ DYNASTY).

5	Æ 170 1·0	Winged lion facing left, with foot raised. Legend above, <i>Śryaśin Varma</i> .	Cow facing left, with calf underneath. Legend, <i>Kāmadehi</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 5.)
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The British Museum has ten specimens of this type. They vary very little.

6	Æ 228·5 1·0	In the centre the sun surrounded by rays. Legend running round, <i>Mahārājādhirājasya</i> .	Winged lion facing left, with foot raised. Legend, <i>Śryaśin</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 6.)
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The British Museum has three specimens of this coin. They do not vary in design.

7	Æ 155 ·95	Winged lion to left, with foot raised. Legend above, <i>Śryaśin Varma</i> .	Lion to left, with foot raised. Crescent over the lion. (Pl. I, Fig. 7.)
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The British Museum has five specimens of this coin.

JISNU GUPTA.

8	Æ 174·5 ·95	Winged bull to left, with forefoot raised. Legend above, <i>Śrī Jisnu Gupta</i> .	Ornamental symbol. (Pl. I, Fig. 8.)
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There is only one specimen of this coin in the British Museum.

The figure on the obverse of this coin is described by Cunningham as a winged lion, similar to the winged lions on the preceding coins. I think, however, that it is a winged bull. The shape of the head is quite different from that of the lions. The legs are thinner, and distinctly end in hoofs and not in paws. The shape of the quarters is square like those of a bull, while those of the lions are all round. The tail also is the tail of a bull and not of a lion.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
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PASUPATI.

9	Æ 105 ·85	Recumbent bull to left. Legend above, <i>Paśupati</i> .	Sun in the centre, surrounded by rays. (Pl. I, Fig. 9.)
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The British Museum has five specimens of this coin. They vary in the size of the sun and the shape of the rays round it, but otherwise are similar.

10	Æ 119 ·95	Similar to obverse of the preceding coin.	Symbol similar to that on obverse of coin No. 8 (Pl. I, Fig. 8), but smaller and not in high relief.
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There is only one specimen of this coin in the British Museum, which is Cunningham's coin No. 9.

11	Æ 97·5 ·90	Humped bull, standing to right, with crescent above.	Sun, with rays in centre. Round it legend <i>Paśupati</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 10.)
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There are nine specimens of this type in the British Museum.

12	Æ 49 ·75	Similar to the preceding coin, but of half the weight and value.	Similar to the preceding.
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There are ten specimens of this coin in the British Museum, ranging from 43 to 48 grains in weight according to their condition, and from ·75 to ·80 of an inch in size. They are all much worn.

13	Æ 174 ·85	Humped bull, standing to left, with crescent above.	Similar to reverse of the preceding coin, but with a crescent with a dot inside it between each character of the legend <i>Paśupati</i> .
14	Æ 152 ·95	Humped bull, standing to left. Over it legend in one line, <i>Paśupati</i> .	Large sun in centre, surrounded by rays, similar to reverse of coin No. 9. (See Pl. I, Fig. 9 above.)

There are two specimens of this coin in the British Museum.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
15	Æ 153 ·9	Trident, with an axe attached to the shaft of it on the left, and some ornament hanging from it on the right. Legend, <i>Paśupati</i> .	Sun surrounded by rays. Round it legend <i>Paśupati</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 11.)

There are two specimens in the British Museum.

16	Æ — ·83	Trident, but with no axe or ornament attached to the shaft. Legend as in the preceding.	Sun surrounded by curved rays of the following form ↳. No legend.
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There is one specimen only in the British Museum.

17	Æ — 1·0	Design similar to obverse of coin No. 11 (Fig. 10). Legend, <i>Paśu</i> and two dots in the place of the other two characters.	Design similar to obverse of coin No. 11 (Fig. 10). Legend, <i>Pati</i> and two dots occupying the place of the other two characters.
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There is one specimen in the British Museum.

18	Æ 116 ·90	Seated figure of king on a high-backed throne, wearing a crown, right hand raised, left hand bent and resting on thigh, flower to left springing from below foot, vase of flowers to right.	Vase of flowers, with legend <i>Paśupati</i> in one line.
19	Æ 146 ·85	Seated figure of a king wearing a crown, with his right hand resting on the knee and left arm bent resting on the hips.	Similar to the reverse of the preceding coin. (Pl. I, Fig. 12.)
20	Æ 116 ·9	Seated figure of a king wearing a crown, with right hand raised and fingers extended, left hand extended resting on knee and holding a flower.	Vase of flowers with an ornamental scroll or a flowering branch on each side of it. Legend in two lines, <i>Paśupati</i> . (Pl. I, Fig. 13.)

THE MALLA DYNASTY.

Kingdom of Bhâtgāon.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
JAGATPRAKĀŚA MALLA.				
1	Æ 85 1·05	1632	Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <i>Śrī Śrī Jagatprakāśa Malla</i> ; above the square, figure of hand-drum (<i>damaru</i>), and below, date 752 x.s.; on either side imitation of Arabic characters upside down.	<i>Trisūla</i> (trident) with ornamental scroll attached within central circle; above it sword with wreath; around, imitation of Arabic characters upside down. British Museum. (Pl. II, Fig. 1.)
JAYA JĪTAMĪTRA MALLA.				
2	Æ 90 1·1	1663	Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Jitāmītra Malla</i> ; outside the square, imitation Arabic characters upside down as in the preceding; date below, 783 x.s.	Similar to preceding. (Pl. II, Fig. 2.)
JAYA BHŪPATINDRA MALLA.				
3	Æ 80 1·02	1696	Three-lined legend in scalloped square, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpatindra Malla Deva</i> . Around, characters similar to preceding. Date, 816 x.s.	Similar to preceding. (Pl. II, Fig. 3.)
4	Æ 21 ·7 (pierced coin)	1696	(Quarter mohar.) Dagger and wreath within two intersecting squares; above, two crescents and stars; legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpa</i> .	Vase of holy water, <i>kalāśa</i> , with streamers. The ornament on the top of the vase is obliterated by the piercing of the coin; above, two crescents and stars; legend, <i>indra Malladeva</i> ; date below, 816 x.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 5.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBTUSE.	REVERSE.
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JAYA RAJAJITA MALLA.

5	R 83.5 1.1	1722	Similar to No. 1. Three-lined legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Rajajita Malla Deva</i> ; below, date 842 s.s.	Similar to No. 1. (Pl. II, Fig. 4.)
6	R 84 1.05	1722	In central circle, shell, lotus, and <i>cakra</i> ; on margin to r. a bow, to l. five arrows; floral ornaments round; legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Rapa-</i> .	In centre a triangular <i>bāṇa</i> (conventional bow and arrow); within it a (<i>pāśa</i>) noose and (<i>aṅkuśa</i>) elephant goad; around it, to r. a <i>chāmara</i> (yak's tail fly-whisk), to l. a lotus; flower ornaments. Legend, <i>Jita Malla Deva</i> . Date below, 842 s.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 8.) <i>Note</i> .— This coin is a copy of Jaya Cakravartindra's coin No. 15.
7	R 41.5 .92	1722	(Half mohar.) Continuous-lined figure forming five triangles on the sides of a pentagon; in pentagon, sword and wreath, two suns and legend <i>Śrī Śrī</i> ; in triangles, <i>Jaya Rapa Ji-</i> ; in spaces round, <i>-ta Malla Deva</i> .	In <i>bāṇa</i> triangle, vase of holy water, <i>kalāśa</i> , with streamers and two crescents and dots. Round, date <i>Vaiśākha 15 Samvat</i> . 842. (Pl. II, Fig. 7.) <i>Note</i> .— The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate.
8	R (pierced coin) 21 .67	1722	(Quarter mohar.) Similar to No. 4. Quarter mohar of Bhūpatindra. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Rapa-</i> .	Similar to No. 4. Legend, <i>Jita Malla Deva</i> ; date, 842 s.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 6.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
9	R (-) ·56	No date.	(Quarter.) Sword with- out wreath; two cres- cents and stars. Legend in three lines, <i>Śrī Śrī</i> <i>Jaya Rāja-</i> .	Legend in three lines, (1) <i>Jita</i> , (2) <i>Malla</i> <i>De</i> , (3) <i>ca</i> . No date. British Museum. (Not figured.)

Kingdom of Kāthmāṇḍū.

LAKṢMĪNARA SĪMHA.

10	R 70·5 1·05	No date.	Similar to reverse of No. 1, but with legend <i>Śrī</i> in place of sword and wreath. No date. (Pl. II, Fig. 9.)	In square a shell and two-lined legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Lakṣmī Nara Sim</i> . Characters round the square similar to the obverse of No. 1. <i>Note.</i> —The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate for con- tinuity with coins Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.
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PRATĀPA MALLA.

11	R 77 1·03	1641	Similar to the preceding coin of Lakṣmīnara Sīmha. Legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Pratāpa Malla</i> . Date, 761 s.s.	Similar to the pre- ceding coin of Lakṣmī- nara Sīmha. (Pl. II, Fig. 10.) <i>Note.</i> — The obverse and re- verse are transposed on the Plate, as in the preceding coin.
12	R 87 1·02	1656	Imitation Persian charac- ters in two lines, in- tended for ' <i>San Ilahi</i> '; in centre, trident; the ground covered with flowers. Legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Śrī Kacindra Jaya</i> .	Imitation Persian* char- acters in two lines, <i>Jahangir Shah</i> ; ground covered with flowers. Legend, <i>Pratāpa</i> <i>Malla</i> . Date, 776 s.s. (Pl. II, Fig. 12.)





No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
13	R 171 1·05	1661	(Double mohar.) A square coin; in ornamental square surrounded by floral margin. Trident with legend, <i>Śrī 2. Rāja Rājendra Jaya.</i>	In ornamental square surrounded by floral margin; sword and legend, <i>Pratāpa Malla Deva.</i> Date, 781 <i>s.s.</i> (Pl. II, Fig. 14.) This coin, which is unique, belongs to Dr. Hoernle. It is perhaps a <i>nigār</i> .

RŪPAMATĪ DEVĪ.

14	R 21·5 ·72	1649	(Quarter mohar.) Trident; two crescents and stars. Legend, <i>Śrī Rūpamatī.</i>	Imitation Persian characters in two lines on floral ground; two crescents and stars. Legend, <i>Devī.</i> Date, 769 <i>s.s.</i> British Museum. (Pl. II, Fig. 11.)
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JAYA CAKRAVARTĪNDRA MALLA.

15	R 82 1·02	1669	In central circle, shell, lotus, and <i>cakra</i> ; on margin, to r. a bow, to l. five arrows; floral ornaments round. Legend, <i>Śrī 2 Jaya Cakra Va.</i>	In triangular <i>bāṇāstra</i> (conventional bow and arrow) a noose and elephant goad; around it, to r. <i>chāmara</i> (yak's tail fly-whisk), to l. lotus; and, on floral ground, legend <i>rtīndra Malla.</i> Date, 789 <i>s.s.</i> (Pl. II, Fig. 13.)
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JAYA NṚPENDRA MALLA.

16	R 80 1·0	1675	Imitation Persian characters in two lines; in centre, trident; above, sun; flowered field. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Nṛpendra.</i>	Imitation Persian characters in two lines; in centre, sword and wreath; above, crescent; flowered field. Legend, <i>Malla Deva.</i> Date, 795 <i>s.s.</i> (Pl. III, Fig. 1.)
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NO.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
JAYA PĀRTHIVENDRA MALLA. (QUEEN RĀJYA LAKSMĪ DEVI.)				
17	R 87 1.05	1682	Two intersecting squares. In central octagon, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra Malla Deva</i> . In the triangles round, legend <i>Ma-hā-rā-ja-Na-pā-Jendra</i> . In the angles outside the figure, the <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> (eight emblems of the Buddhist religion).	Two intersecting squares. In centre, vase of holy water, <i>kalāśa</i> , and wreath on lotus. Legend, <i>Rājya Laksmī Devi</i> . Date, 802 <small>x.s.</small> In the eight triangles, legend <i>Mahārāṇī Jagatmātā</i> . Around, in each of the outer angles, a flower. (Pl. III, Fig. 2.)
18	R 84 1.0	1680	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; to l., shell; to r., <i>kalāśa</i> ; above, sun. Legend on flowered field, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra</i> .	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, shell to l.; two crossed yak's tail fly-whisks; to r., the symbol of the two golden fishes. Legend on flowered field, <i>Malla Deva</i> . Below, date 800 <small>x.s.</small> British Museum. (Pl. III, Fig. 3.)
19	R (-) -70	No date.	(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident and two crescents and stars. Legend in five lines: (1) <i>Śrī</i> , (2) <i>Jaya</i> , (3) <i>Pārthī</i> , (4) <i>vendra</i> , (5) <i>Malla</i> .	Offering vase and wreath. Legend in four lines: (1) <i>Śrī</i> , (2) <i>Rājya</i> , (3) <i>Laksmī</i> , (4) <i>Devi</i> . (Not figured.)
JAYA BHŪPĀLENDRA MALLA.				
20	R 87.5 1.07	1692	Within circle, trident and two crescents and stars. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Bhūpāleendra Malla</i> . Round circle, in eight lotus petals, the <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> .	Within scalloped octagon, sword and wreath, and legend <i>Malla Deva</i> . Date, 812 <small>x.s.</small> Round the figure, in eight leaves, legend <i>Nepāleśvara Rājendra</i> . (Pl. III, Fig. 4.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE, A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
21	R 87 1·07	1700	Design similar to preceding. Legend in circle, <i>Śrī 2, Vīra Bhūpāendra</i> . Round circle, in eight lotus petals, <i>Girindra Rāja Rājendra</i> .	Design similar to preceding. In circle, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Kavi-</i> ; in leaves round <i>ndra</i> , <i>Chudāmani Samrat</i> . Date, 812 s.s. (Not figured.)

JAYA BHĀSKARA MALLA.

22	R 85 1·07	1701	Similar to coin (No. 20) of Bhūpāendra. In circle, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhāskara</i> .	In circle, imitation Persian characters in two lines; in centre, sword and wreath. In circle, legend <i>Malla Deva</i> . Date, 821 s.s. In eight trefoil leaves round, <i>Nepālekvara Girindra</i> . (Pl. III, Fig. 5.)
23	R 21 (pierced coin) ·70	1698	(Quarter mohar.) Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, crescent. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Bhāskara</i> .	Persian characters in two lines. In centre, shell. Legend, <i>Malla Deva</i> . Date, 818 s.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 6.)

JAYA VĪRA MAHĪNDRA MALLA.

24	R 85 1·02	1709	In circle, trident and legend <i>Śrī Śrī</i> , and date 829 s.s. Around, in six scalloped petals, legend <i>Jaya Vīra Mahindra Malla</i> .	In circle, sword and wreath, sun and moon. Around, in six scalloped petals, <i>Śrī Śrī Lokanāthanaṃ</i> (worship to Loknath). (Pl. III, Fig. 7.)
25	R 86·5 1·05	1717	In circle, trident and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahindra</i> . Around, in leaves, <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> .	In circle, sword and wreath, and legend <i>Simha Deva</i> . Date, 837 s.s. Around, in eight leaves, <i>Śrī Śrī Kalunāmaya</i> . (Pl. III, Fig. 8.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	ONVERSE.	REVERSE.
26	AR 82 1·05	1716	In circle, trident and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahindra</i> . Around, in petals, <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> .	In circle, sword and wreath, and Arabic characters. Legend, <i>Siṃha Deva</i> . Date, 836 s.s. Around, in eight petals, <i>Nepāleśvara Girindra</i> . (Pl. III, Fig. 9.)
27	AR 20·5 ·66	1718	(Quarter mohar.) Trident, and two crescents and stars. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Mahindra Siṃha Deva</i> .	Offering vase and wreath. Legend, <i>Śrī Mahindra Lakṣmī</i> . Date, 838 s.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 10.)

JAYA JAGAJJAYA, *alias* MAHĪPATENDRA SĪMHA.

(QUEEN KUMUDINĪ DEVĪ.)

28	AR 85 1·1	1732	In circle, trident; around, <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> . Similar to Nos. 20, 22, 25, and 26. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Jagajjaya</i> .	Similar to No. 26. In circle, legend <i>Malla Deva</i> . Around, in eight leaves, <i>Nepāleśvara Rajendra</i> . Date, 852 s.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 11.)
29	AR 80 1·1	1738	Design similar to the preceding. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jagajjaya Malla</i> .	In octagon, sword and wreath. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Mahipatindra Malla</i> . Date, 858 s.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 12.)
30	AR 19·5 ·67	1732	(Quarter mohar.) Trident, and two crescents and stars and crescent above. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Jagajjaya Malla</i> .	Offering vase and wreath. Legend, <i>Śrī Kumudinī Devī</i> . Date, 852 s.s. (Pl. III, Fig. 13.)
31	AR (-) 1·0	No date.	Within lozenge, trident; around, in four compartments and on field, legend <i>Śrī Jaya Mahipa</i> .	Sword and wreath; two crescents and stars, on flowered field. Legend in three lines, <i>-tindra Malla Deva</i> . No date. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 1.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
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JAYA PRAKĀSA MALLA.

(QUEEN DOWAGER(?), KUMUDINĪ DEVĪ.)

32	R 82.5 1.07	1756	Design similar to Nos. 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 29. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla.</i>	Design similar to No. 29. In centre, legend <i>Śrī 2, Mahipatindra Malla.</i> Date, 876 s.s. (Pl. IV, Fig. 2.) The form of the figure 7, ७, on this coin and on coins Nos. 37 and 39, is unusual on the Malla coins, and on other coins of Jaya Prakāśa, viz. coins Nos. 38, 40, and 45, it is in the usual form, १.
33	R 63.5 1.10	—	Barbarous imitation of the preceding.	Barbarous imitation of the preceding. Base metal. Marsden, mex. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 3.)
34	R 70 1.10	—	Barbarous imitation of No. 31.	Barbarous imitation of No. 31. Marsden, mexi. Very base metal. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 4.)
35	R 82.5 1.10	1753	In scalloped octagon, a trident, beneath it a crouching lion. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla</i> ; around, in petals, <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> .	Within a circle a triangular <i>bāṇāstra</i> ; round it, within circle, sword and wreath, sun and moon, and date 873 s.s.; around, in petals, <i>Śrī 2, Mahipatindra Malla.</i> (Pl. IV, Fig. 5.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
36	R 83 1·12	1753	Within pointed octagon, trident and legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla</i> . Around, in petals, <i>aṣṭa-maṅgala</i> ; between petals, legend <i>Nepāleśvara</i> and date 873 s.s.	Within scalloped circle, triangle in centre, and round it legend <i>Śrī 3 Taleja Māja</i> . Around, in petals, <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Kumārī</i> ; outside these, legend <i>Śrī Mahipatindra Malla</i> . (Pl. IV, Fig. 6.)
37	R 21·6 ·67	1755	(Half mohar.) Within circle, trident and two crescents and stars. Around, in four trefoils, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Pra-</i>	Two lines intended for Arabic characters. In centre, sword and wreath. Legend, <i>kāśa Malla Deva</i> . Date, 875. Marsden, <i>mexiii</i> . British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 7.)
38	R 42·2 ·90	1753	(Half mohar.) Within, scalloped lozenge, a trident, with two flowers growing from its shaft. Around, four petals; within, petals; and on intervening spaces, legend <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla</i> .	Within circle, sword and wreath. Around, in four petals, legend <i>Deva</i> , and date 873 s.s. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 8.)
39	R	1756	(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident. Legend, <i>Śrī Jananī Ku-</i>	In centre, <i>cakra</i> on pedestal. Legend, <i>-mudinī Devī</i> . Date, 876 s.s. Marsden, <i>mexiv</i> . British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 9.)
40	R 18·6 ·70	1753	(Quarter mohar.) In centre, trident, above to l., figure of hand-drum (<i>ḍamaru</i>). Legend, <i>Śrī 3, Paśupati</i> .	In centre, sword and wreath. Legend, <i>Śrī 3, Gujhesvarī</i> . Date, 873 s.s. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 10.)
41	R 21 ·72	1753	(Quarter mohar.) Trident only. Legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Prakāśa Malla</i> .	Similar to preceding. (Pl. IV, Fig. 11.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
42	R 5.75 45	No date.	(Sixteenth of a mohar.) Sword and wreath, on a pedestal. Legend, <i>Śrī Jaya Prakāśa</i> .	Small crouching lion with tail raised for- ward over body; above, legend <i>śa</i> <i>Malla</i> . British Mu- seum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 13.)
43	R 2.75 35	No date.	(Thirty-secondth of a mohar.) Sword. Le- gend, <i>Śrī Jaya Pra-</i>	The coin a thin leaf of silver, and is only stamped on the ob- verse. (Pl. IV, Fig. 14.)

Gold Coinage.

44	N 84.5 1.15	No date.	(Ashrafi.) An exact copy in gold of coin No. 36.	An exact copy of coin No. 36. (Cf. Pl. IV, Fig. 6.) British Museum.
45	N 21 67	No date.	(Quarter ashrafi.) Tri- dent. Legend, <i>Jaya</i> <i>Prakāśa Malla</i> .	Sword and wreath. Legend, <i>Śrī Gujha-</i> <i>varī</i> ; date, 873 s.s. British Museum. (Pl. IV, Fig. 12.)
46	N 5.0 47	No date.	Same as silver coin No. 42.	Same as No. 42.
47	N 2.0 45	No date.	Similar to the preceding.	Nothing stamped. Thin gold leaf; the obverse stamping shows through.
48	N	No date.	Same as silver coin No. 43.	Same as No. 43.

JYOTI PRAKĀŚA MALLA.

(Coin struck during a rebellion.)

49	R 98 1.1	1746	Similar to No. 32 of <i>Jaya Prakāśa</i> . Legend, <i>Śrī Jyoti Prakāśa</i> <i>Malla</i> .	Similar to No. 32. Legend in octagon, <i>Śrī Śrī Mahipatindra</i> <i>Malla</i> . Date, 866 s.s. (Pl. IV, Fig. 15.)
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No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<p>(JANANĪ) JAYA LAKṢMĪ DEVI. (QUEEN MOTHER OF JYOTI PRAKĀśA MALLA.) (Coin struck in a rebellion.)</p>				
50	R 18 ·65	1746	(Quarter mohar.) Tri- dent with flower above, and two crescents and dots. Legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Jananī</i> .	Offering vase with covering in form of <i>śūpa</i> , and wreath, with crescent above. Legend, <i>Jaya Lakṣmī</i> <i>Devī</i> . Date, 866 x.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 12.) <i>Note</i> .—This coin was, by oversight, omitted from Pl. IV. It is shown on the last plate of Malla coins. The obverse is figured below the reverse.

KINGDOM OF PĀTAN OR LALITAPUR.

SIDDHI NARASIMHA.

51	R 85·5 1·1	1631	Within central circle, sword and crescent. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Siddhi</i> . Around, imitation Arabic characters upside down, as on the obverse of coins No. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, and 10, but with a flower above in place of the sword and wreath.	Within central circle, a lion to r. Around, imitation Arabic characters upside down, similar to those on the obverse of coins Nos. 1, etc., but with a flower to l., and above two crescents and dots, and legend <i>Nara</i> , making with the lion in the centre <i>Nara</i> - <i>'sīmha</i> . Below, date 751 x.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 1.)
52	R 20·5 ·7	1654	(Quartermohar.) Sword, flower, and two cres- cents and dots. Le- gend, <i>Śrī Śrī Siddhi</i> .	Lion to r.; above legend, <i>Nara</i> , making with lion <i>Nara</i> - <i>'sīmha</i> . Date, 774. (Pl. V, Fig. 2.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
JAYA ŚRINIVĀSA MALLA.				
53	R 81 ·96	1661	Characters as in No. 49, etc. In central circle, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya</i> .	Characters with flower to right as in No. 49. Legend above, <i>Śrī Ni-</i> , within circle <i>vāsa Malla</i> . Below, date 781 s.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 3.)
54	R 86 1·03	1666	Two intersecting triangles. In centre, sword and wreath, flower, and two crescents and dots. Legend, in centre, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya</i> ; round in the six triangles, <i>Śrīnivāsa Malla</i> .	In central circle two <i>kalāṣas</i> with streamers, with staff between and two small indistinct symbols. Round it a square figure with projections from the sides. In the four corners of the figure two royal banners, a <i>cakra</i> , and a flower. Legend, <i>Nepāleśvara</i> . Date within circle, 786 s.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 4.)
YOGA NARENDRA MALLA.				
55	R 83 ·98	1688	Figure formed of two interlaced <i>svastikas</i> . In the central square thus formed, sword; in the top and central squares, legend <i>Śrī 3. Lokanātha</i> . Legend commencing from top left corner and reading horizontally across <i>Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . Outside the figure, legend <i>Sanḡitārṇava-pārāya</i> , "Skilled in the flood of concerted music." <i>Note</i> .—This legend is misread in the recent Catalogue of the Coins in the India Museum, Calcutta, as <i>Sanḡi</i> (which has no meaning) <i>tāṇḍara pārāya</i> , "Skilled in the <i>tāṇḍara</i> (dance or mantra)."	Two intersecting quadrilaterals with concave sides. In central octagon so formed, circle surrounded by eight petals. Inside circle, vase of offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> , and wreath. In the eight triangles, legend <i>Śrī Yoga Lakṣmī Devī</i> . In the spaces outside the figure, legend <i>Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī</i> . In bottom triangle, date 808 s.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 5.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
56	R ·85 1·02	1686	Similar to the preceding.	A rhomboid intersected by two equilateral triangles. In central rhomboid so formed, on pedestal, a vase for offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> and wreath; to l. shell, to r. mace. Within the larger rhomboid, legend <i>Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī</i> . Outside the figure and in the bottom triangle, legend <i>Śrī Pratāpa Lakṣmī Devī</i> . At bottom, date 806 N.S. (Pl. V, Fig. 6.)
57	R 81·5 1·02	1685	Similar to the two preceding coins.	A smaller square, inscribed within another. Within, smaller square, vase of holy water, <i>kalāśa</i> , resting on a lotus; to l. shell, to r. standard; below these, to l. mace, to r. lotus. In triangles, to l. vase for offerings, to r. standard. Legend, <i>Yoga Lakṣmī Devī</i> . Date, 805 N.S. British Museum. (Pl. V, Fig. 7.)
58	R 81 1·1	1686	Small square inscribed within a larger. Round these, two intersecting squares. In the central square, sword. In the two central squares, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> . Within the figure of the intersecting squares, crescent and sun, and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . Outside the figure, legend <i>Samgītārṇava-pāraṇa</i> . (See coin No. 55.)	Light pointed figure. In central octagon, vase for offerings and wreath, crescent and sun, shell and mace. Around, within the triangles, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Narendra Lakṣmī Devī</i> . Outside the figure, legend <i>Nepāla Chudāmaṇi</i> . Date, 806 N.S. (Pl. V, Fig. 8.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
59	R 82 1·0	1700	In centre, on pedestal, sword with wreath; above, flower, crescent, and sun. Legend in five lines, in two inner columns of characters, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla</i> . Legend in four lines in outer two columns, <i>Samgī-tarṇṇava-pāraka</i> . (See coin No. 55.)	In centre, trident resting on lotus. Legend in five lines of the two inner columns of characters, <i>Śrī Śrī Vira Yoga Narendra Malla</i> . Legend in four lines forming outer columns, <i>Nepāleśvara Chudāmani</i> . Date, 820 s.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 9.)
60	R 21 ·75	1687	(Quarter mohar.) A square with four trefoiled petals round. In square, staff, and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Yoga</i> , and date 807 s.s. Legend formed by the central characters of the top and lateral trefoils, <i>Narendra</i> (in lower trefoil) <i>Malla</i> ; outer characters of top and lateral trefoils, <i>Dayā kara</i> , "Have pity," and letters <i>pa-pa</i> (or possibly <i>ya-ya</i>) in the lateral trefoils, and <i>ga</i> in the bottom trefoil, the meaning of which is not clear.	Five-pointed figure formed of a continuous line. In top three triangles and centre, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> ; around and in two lower triangles, legend <i>Taleju Sahaya</i> , "Taleju's aid." (Pl. V, Fig. 10.)
JAYA INDRA MALLA.				
61	R 83 1·02	1706	In square, sword and wreath, with small <i>kalasa</i> above, and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> ; outside, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Indra Malla</i> .	In square, figure with circularly projecting sides, trident resting on lotus; to l. <i>akra</i> on pedestal; to r. vase for offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> . Legend, <i>Śrī Bhāgavat Devī</i> , and date 826 s.s. (Pl. V, Fig. 11.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
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YOGAMATĪ, (?) Widow of Yoga Narendra, with her son,
LOKA PRAKĀŚA MALLA.

(Coin taken from the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.)

62	R 82.5 1.02	1707	"Square, with smaller square inscribed diagonally, and, in centre, a third square containing sword with wreath. Outer legend, <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Lokaprakāśa Malla Deva</i> ; inner legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Kalanā-maya</i> ."	"Two interlaced equilateral triangles, with central scalloped compartment, containing trident. Legend, <i>Śrī, Śrī Yogamatī Devī</i> ; date below, 827 s.s. (= 1707 A.D.)." C.C.I.M.C., 1906, vol. i, p. 288.
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YOGAMATĪ, (?) Widow of Yoga Narendra, with her son,
VĪRA NARASIMHA MALLA.

63	R 83 1.02	1709	Square, with semi-elliptical figure on each side. In square, dagger and wreath, crescent and sun, and legend <i>Śrī 2, Lokanātha</i> ; outside and in the semi-elliptical figures, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Vīra Narasimha Malla Deva</i> .	An equilateral triangle inscribed within another; in lateral triangles, in l. <i>cakra</i> on pedestal, in r. vase of offerings; outside and in top triangle, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Yogamatī Devī</i> , and date 829 s.s. British Museum. (Pl. V, Fig. 12.)
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HRDĪ NARASIMHA MALLA.

64	R 85 1.1	1716	In centre, circle surrounded by six trefoiled petals; outside this, quadrangular figure with projections from the sides. In circle, lion to l. with paw raised. Legend, in petals, <i>Śrī Śrī Hrdī Nara</i> ; in centre, lion = 'Simha'; in corners of figure, <i>Mula Deva</i> .	Two intersecting equilateral triangles. In central figure, sword and wreath, crescent and sun, and <i>pādukā</i> . In petals and triangles of the figure, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Kṛpāmaya</i> . Date, 836 s.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 1.)
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No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
65	R 83.5 1.09	1716	Circle surrounded by six trefoiled petals, these again surrounded by six bifolied petals. In circle, lion to l. with flower and stalk in front. Legend (in both series of petals together), <i>Śrī Śrī Vira Hr̥ḍi Nara</i> (lion in centre=) <i>Siṃha, Mala</i> (misspelt) <i>Deva</i> .	Circle surrounded by six unifoiled petals, these again surrounded by six trefoiled petals. Legend (in both series of petals together), <i>Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya Nama</i> and date 836 x.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 2.)

JAYA YOGA PRAKĀŚA MALLA.

66	R 83.5 1.1	1712	Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, trident and imitation Persian characters in two lines. Legend, (in circle) <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Yo-</i> , (in petals) <i>-ga Prakāśa Malla Deva</i> . Date, 832 x.s. (Pl. VI, Fig. 3.)	Octagon with concave sides. In centre, resting on lotus, sword and wreath, crescent and sun, and flower on either side. Around, in eight lotus leaves, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya</i> (misspelt <i>n</i> for <i>y</i>). (Pl. VI, Fig. 3.)
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JAYA VIṢṆU MALLA.

67	R 83 1.07	1741	On reticulated surface; in centre, trident, imitation Persian characters in two lines, crescent and sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Viṣṇu Malla Deva</i> . Date, 861 x.s.	Scalloped circle. Within circle, sword and wreath on pedestal, and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> . Outside the figure, reading across from side to side, legend <i>Śrī Jaya Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 4.)
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NO.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
68	R 82.5 1.05	1739	Circle surrounded by four petals. In circle, trident; in petals, umbrella, mace, flower, and <i>chakra</i> . Legend, (in circle) <i>Śrī Śrī</i> , (in petals) <i>Jaya Vīra Malla Deva</i> . Date, 859 <i>s.s.</i>	In centre, sword and wreath, imitation Persian characters in two lines, two crescents and dots, and trailing flowers. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Kṛṣṇāmaya</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 5.)

JAYA RĀJYA PRAKĀŚA MALLA.

69	R 82 1.1	1736	In centre, trident, imitation Persian characters in two lines, crescent and sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Rājya Prakāśa Deva</i> . Date, 856 <i>s.s.</i>	Design as in No. 67 of <i>Jaya Vīra Malla</i> . Legend, in scalloped circle, <i>Śrī Śrī , rī Lokanātha</i> ; outside, <i>Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . (A very debased coin.) (Pl. VI, Fig. 6.)
70	R 82.5 1.05	1736	Circle in centre, round it a square with projections of double-key pattern. In circle, trident and sun. Legend, (in circle) <i>Śrī 2, Jaya Rājya</i> , (in outer figure) <i>Prakāśa Malla Deva</i> . Date, 856 <i>s.s.</i>	Design similar to preceding. Legend, (within scalloped circle) <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> , (outside) <i>Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 7.)
71	R 82.5 1.08	1736	Two intersecting quadrilateral figures with concave sides. In centre, trident, crescent, and sun; outside, in the angles of the figure, the <i>Aṣṭa Mangala</i> . Legend, (in centre) <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Rā-</i> , (round, in triangles) <i>jya Prakāśa Malla Deva</i> . Date, 856 <i>s.s.</i>	Design same as Nos. 67, 69, and 70. Legend, (within scalloped circle) <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> , (outside) <i>Śrī Jaya Vīra Yoga Narendra Malla Deva</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 8.)

No.	METAL- WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
72	R 84 1·2	1736	Octagon surrounded by eight petals. In octagon, trident with crescent on the shaft. Legend, (in octagon) <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Hara Siddhi</i> , "The success of Hara," (in petals) <i>Śrī 2, Rājya Prākāśa Malla</i> . Date, 869 s.s.	Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, sword and sword on pedestal. Legend, (in circle) <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> , (in petals) <i>Śrī 2, Yoga Narendra Malla</i> . British Museum. (Pl. VI, Fig. 9.)

JAYA VIŚVAJITA MALLA.

73	R 82·5 1·08	1758	Circle surrounded by six petals, which are again surrounded by six scalloped petals. In circle, trident, crescent, and sun, and legend <i>Śrī Hara Siddhi</i> ; in petals, <i>Śrī Śrī Jaya Viśvajita Malla Deva</i> . Date, 878 s.s.	Circle surrounded by eight lotus petals. In circle, sword and wreath on pedestal, and legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> ; in petals, <i>Śrī 2, Yoga Narendra Malla</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 10.)
74	R 21 ·70	1752	(Quarter mohar.) Circle surrounded by six petals, in circle. Legend, (in circle) <i>Śrī</i> , (in petals) <i>Viśvajita Malla Deva</i> . Date (in circle), 872 s.s.	Circle surrounded by six petals. In circle, sword and wreath, two crescents and dots, and two lotus buds; in petals, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Lokanātha</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 11.)

DALA MARDANA SĀHA.

75	R 85 1·12	1678	Small circle in centre; round it a square divided by a svastika; in circle, trident and two dots; outside the square, above, crescent and sun, to l. flowers, to r. shell and mace. In square, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Dala Mardana Sāha Deva</i> . Below, date 888 s.s.	Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, sword and wreath on pedestal, crescent and sun, and two flowers; in petals, legend <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Karuṇāmaya</i> . (Pl. VI, Fig. 13.)
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LIST OF GHORKĀ COINS.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE, A.D.	OVERSE.	REVERSE.
PRTHVĪ NĀRĀYAṆA ŚĀHA.				
(After seizure of territory at Noakot.)				
1	R 86·5 1·15	1754	(Mohar.) Square, with openings in the middle of the sides, and with small circle in the centre, and divided into four compartments by the four arms of a <i>SVASTIKA</i> . In central circle, a trident. Around the square; above, sun, moon, and star; to l., <i>cakra</i> (discus) and lotus; to r., shell and mace. In square, legend <i>ŚRĪ ŚRĪ PRTHVĪ NĀRĀYAṆA ŚĀHA DEVĀ</i> . Below, date 1676 (Śāka era = 1754 A.D.).	Similar to the reverse of the Malla coins of Jaya Bhāskara (No. 22; Pl. III, Fig. 5), Vīra Mahendra (No. 26; Pl. III, Fig. 9), Jaya Jagajaya (No. 28; Pl. III, Fig. 11), kings of Kāthmāṇḍū; and the obverse of coin of Yoga Prakāśa of Pātan (No. 66; Pl. VI, Fig. 3). Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, two straight lines, which represent the imitation Persian characters on the above noted Malla coins, sword and wreath. Legend, in circle, <i>ŚRĪ ŚRĪ BHARĀṆĪ</i> ; in petals, <i>ŚRĪ ŚRĪ GORAKHĀNATHA</i> . (Pl. VII, Fig. 1.) <i>Note.</i> —From the date this coin was struck by <i>PRTHVĪ NĀRĀYAṆA</i> after his first seizure of Nepal territories at Noakot, and before he conquered the country and took the capitals in 1786 A.D.
2	R 83 1·10	1769	(As King of Nepal.) (Mohar.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1695 Ś.	Similar to the preceding.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
3	R 85 (-)	1773	(Mohar.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1695 Ś.	Similar to the preceding. But legend in circle, ŚRI ŚRI LOKANĀTHA; in petals, ŚRI ŚRI GORAKHANĀTHA. (Marsden, MCCCXV.)
4	R 41·5 ·77	1771	(Half mohar, or suka.) Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; legend, ŚRI 3 PETHVI SĀRĀPAṆA.	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, sword and wreath, sun and moon. Legend, SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1693 Ś. (Pl. VII, Fig. 2.) <i>Note</i> .—The design and symbols of this coin are similar to the mohar of JAYA NEPENDRA MALLA (No. 16; Pl. III, Fig. 1); and with the exception of the symbol on the reverse, to the quarter mohar of JAYA BHĀSKARA MALLA (No. 23; Pl. III, Fig. 6).
5	R 171 (-)	1771	(Double mohar.) Similar to the mohar No. 1. Date, 1693 Ś.	Similar to the mohar No. 1 (Marsden, MCCCXI). <i>Note</i> .—This is the first example of a double mohar.
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
6	N 85 (-)	1768	(Gold mohar or patlā.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 1. Date, 1690 Ś.	Similar to the silver mohar No. 1 (Marsden, MCCCXVII).
7	N 41·5 (-)	—	(Gold half mohar or sonko-sukā.) Similar to the silver half mohar No. 3.	Similar to the silver half mohar No. 3 (Marsden, MCCCXVIII).

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
8	N 10 (-)	No date.	(Gold eighth of mohar or son-ko-ānī.) Similar to the preceding. No date.	Similar to preceding (Marsden, MCXXVIX).
9	N 3 (-)		(Gold dām = $\frac{1}{16}$ mohar.)	(Marsden, MCXXX.)
10	N 356 1·25	1771	(Duitole asarfi.) Large gold piece. Similar to mohar No. 1. Date, 1693 Ś.	Circle surrounded by eight - pointed star. Around, ornamental design between each point of the star. In circle, sword and dag- ger. Legend, in circle, ŚRI 3, BHAVĀNĪ; in points of star, ŚRI ŚRI ŚRI GORAKHANĀTHA. (Pl. VII, Fig. 4.)
(QUEEN NARINDRA LAKSMĪ DEVI.)				
11	N 22·2 ·63	1771	(Gold sukā.) Offering vase with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> , sur- mounted by umbrella. Legend, ŚRI ŚRI NARIN- DRA LAKSMĪ DEVI.	Imitation Persian cha- racters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, sun and moon. Legend, ŚRI ŚRI NARIN- DRA LAKSMĪ DEVI. Date, 1693 Ś. Marsden, MCXXXIII. (Pl. VII, Fig. 3.)
PRATĀPA SĪMHA SĀHA (1774-1777 A.D.).				
12	83 1·15	1774	Device as on mohar of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Sāha, No. 1. Legend, ŚRI ŚRI ŚRI PRATĀPA SĪMHA SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1696 Ś.	Device as on No. 1. Legend, in circle, ŚRI ŚRI GURUŚĀRĪ; in petals, ŚRI ŚRI ŚRI GORAKHANĀTHA, as on No. 1.
13	R 42 ·80	1775	(Sukā.) Device as on No. 4, but with crouch- ing lion to l., below. Legend, ŚRI 2, PRATĀPA (lion =) Sīmha.	Device as on No. 4, but with umbrella above. Legend, SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1697 Ś. This coin is similar to No. 17. (See Pl. VII, Fig. 5.)

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
14	R 10.5 53	No date.	(Sukī.) None. (Ant.) Sword, without wreath. Legend, <i>ŚRĪ</i> <i>PRATĀPA</i> .	Lion to l., with paw raised and tail curled over the back, and flower buds in front. Legend, <i>SĀHA</i> . Mars- den, MCXXXVIII. (Pl. VII, Fig. 8.)
15	R 5.5 35	No date.	(Adhānī.) Sword, and legend, <i>ŚRĪ PRATĀPA</i> .	Nothing stamped on reverse. Design simi- lar to Malla coin No. 43, of <i>JAYA PRAKĀŚA</i> <i>MALLA</i> . (Pl. IV, Fig. 14.)

Gold Coinage.

16	N		(Gold mohar or patlā.) Exactly similar to silver mohar No. 12.	Exactly similar to No. 12.
17	N 41.5 77	1775	(Gold sukā.) Exactly similar to silver sukā No. 13.	Exactly similar to silver sukā No. 13. Date, 1697 S. Marsden, MCXXXVI. (Pl. VII, Fig. 5.)
18	N 11.0	No date.	(Gold sukī.) None. (Gold ānī.) Exactly similar to silver ānī No. 14.	Exactly similar to silver ānī No. 14. Marsden, MCXXXVIII.
19	N 5.5 (-)	No date.	(Gold adhānī.) Same as silver sixteenth of mohar.	Same as silver six- teenth.
20	N 356 1.25	1776	(Duitole asarfi.) Device as on No. 10. Legend, <i>ŚRĪ ŚRĪ PRATĀPA SĪMHA</i> <i>SĀHA DEVA</i> . Date, 1698 S.	Similar to the duitole asarfi of Pṛthvī Nārā- yana, No. 10.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
RĀJENDRA LAKṢMĪ DEVĪ (as Queen Consort).				
21	R 21·5 ·68	1776	(Sukī.) Vaso for offerings with cover in form of <i>atapa</i> . Sun and moon. Legend, <i>śrī śrī RĀJENDRALAKṢMĪDEVĪ</i> .	Device as on No. 10 of Narindra Lakṣmī Devī. Date, 1698 Ś.
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
22	N 21·0 ·68	1775	(Gold sukī.) Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. Date, 1697 Ś. Marsden, MCXL.
RĀṆA BAHĀDUR SĀHA (1776-1799 A.D.).				
23	R 84 * 1·12	1783	(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1. Legend, <i>śrī śrī RĀṆA BAHĀDUR SĀHA DEVĀ</i> . Date, 1705 Ś.	Similar to No. 1.
24	R 169 ·97	—	(Doublemohar.) Similar to the preceding. (Date not noted.)	Similar to the preceding (a small thick coin).
25	R 41 ·86	1790	(Sukā.) Device as on No. 4. Legend, <i>śrī śrī RĀṆA BAHĀDUR</i> .	Device as on No. 4. Legend, <i>SĀHA DEVĀ</i> . Date, 1712 Ś.
26	R 19 ·76	1783	(Sukī.) Sword and wreath, two suns, crescents, and stars. Legend, <i>śrī RĀṆA BAHĀDUR SĀHA DEVĀ</i> .	Device as on No. 11. Legend, <i>śrī śrī BAHĀRĀNI</i> . Date, 1705 Ś.
27	R 11 (-)	No date.	(Ānt.)	Marsden, MCXLII-MCXLIV
28	R 5·5 (-)	No date.	(Adhānī.)	Marsden, MCXLII-MCXLIV
29	R ·6	No date.	(Dām.) Minute coins of thin silver.	Marsden, MCXLII-MCXLIV

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
30	N 358 1·25	1796	(Duitole asarfi.) Square surrounded by four petals at the corners and four outer petals at the sides. In outer petals: top, sword and wreath, crescent and sun; to l., <i>cakra</i> and lotus; to r., shell and mace. In corner petals, floral device. In square, legend, <i>śrī śrī śrī RAJA RAHĀDUR SĀHA DEVA</i> . Below, date 1718 Ś.	Similar to No. 10. (Pl. VII, Fig. 7.)
31	N 85·5 (-)	1778	(Gold mohar or patla.) Exactly similar to silver mohar No. 23. Date, 1700 Ś.	Exactly similar to silver mohar No. 23. Marsden, MXXLI-MXXLIV.
32	N 41 (-)	1778	(Gold sukā.) Exactly similar to silver half mohar No. 25. Date, 1700 Ś. (Gold sukī.) None. (Gold ānl.) None.	Exactly similar to silver half mohar No. 25.
33	N	—	(Gold dām.) Minute pieces of thin gold leaf, weighing less than a grain.	Marsden, MXXLI-MXXLIV

RĀJENDRA LAKŚMĪ DEVĪ.

(As Queen Regent for her minor son Rana Bahādur Sāha.)

34	R 22 ·67	1778	(Quarter mohar.) <i>Cakra</i> on pedestal. Legend, <i>śrī śrī RĀJENDRA LAKŚMĪ DEVĪ</i> .	Imitation Persian characters in two lines, trident, and two crescents and stars. Legend, <i>śrī śrī RAJĀVĀSĪ</i> . Date, 1700 Ś. Pl. VII, Fig. 8. Marsden, MXXLI (a).
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No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
RĀJA RĀJĒŚVARĪ DEVI.				
(? Slave-girl married by Rāṇa Bahādur.)				
35	R 21 ·80	1789	(Sukl.) Device as on No. 11, without the umbrella above. Legend, ŚRI 2, RĀJA RĀJĒŚVARĪ DEVI.	Similar to No. 11. Date, 1711 Ś. <i>Note.</i> —There is a similar coin of date 1712. Marsden MCLV is a similar coin of date 1716 Ś. = 1794 A.D.
GĪRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1799–1816 A.D.).				
36	R 83·5 1·06	1806	(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1 except legend in place of crescent and sun. Legend: above square, ŚRI ŚRI ŚRI; within square, GĪRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA DEVA. Date, 1728 Ś.	Similar to No. 1. But legend in circle, ŚRI 3, BHAVĀNĪ.
37	R		(Double mohar.)	
38	R 255 1·25		(Large silver coin similar to the duitole asarfi.) Device similar to No. 10, but no <i>svastika</i> within the square. Date, 1725 Ś.	Similar to No. 10.
39	R		(Half mohar.)	
40	R		(Quarter mohar.)	
41	R		(Eighth of mohar.)	
42	R		(Sixteenth of mohar.)	
43	R Square. 34·4 ·6	No date.	" <i>Svastika</i> with central circle enclosing trident. Legend, GĪRVĀṆA YUDDHA VIKRAMA SĀHA DEVA. No date." <i>Note.</i> —The obverse of this coin is the same as the device forming the square on the mohar, and of the same size.	"Circle enclosing dagger (= sword) with wreath, and legend ŚRI BHAVĀNĪ; outside circle ŚRI in each corner (pl. xxviii, 11)." — Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (1906), vol. i, p. 291.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
44	N 85.5 (-)	1799	(Gold mohar.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Date, 1721 Ś.	Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Marsden, MCXLVII.
45	N 356 1.25	—	(Daitole asarfi.) Device as on No. 10.	Similar to No. 10.
46	N 170 .94	1799	(Gold double mohar or bakla.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Date, 1721 Ś.	Similar to the silver mohar No. 36. Marsden, MCXLVI.
47	N 42 .75	—	(Gold sukā.) Circle surrounded by eight petals. In circle, sword and wreath. In petals, legend ŚRĪ ŚRĪ ŚRĪ GĪEVĀṆA YUBHA.	Small square, inscribed diagonally within large one. In centre square, trident; above outer square, crescent and sun. Legend, above square, VI; within square, KRAMA SĀHA. Date, 1732 Ś. (Pl. VII, Fig. 10.)
48	N		(Gold sukī.)	
49	N		(Gold āni.)	
(QUEEN) SIDDHI LAKṢMĪ DEVĪ (1810-1814 A.D.).				
50	N 158 .70		(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)	
51	N		(Gold sukī.)	
RĀJENDRA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1815-1847 A.D.).				
52	R 82.8 1.07	1816	(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1. But with legend ŚRĪ above the square. Legend within square, ŚRĪ ŚRĪ Rājendra Vikram Sāha Deva. Date, 1738 Ś.	Similar to No. 1.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE, A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
53	R		(Double mohar.)	
54	R 42 82	1824	(Sukā.) Device as on No. 17. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Rājendra Vī.</i>	Device as on No. 17. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva.</i> Date, 1746.
55	R		(Quarter mohar.)	
56	R 6 52	No date.	(Ānī.) Sword, crescent, and sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Rājendra Vī.</i>	Mace. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva.</i> No date.
57	R		(Ādhānī.)	
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
58	N		(Gold mohar.)	
59	N		(Duitole asarfī.) Of same denomination as No. 10.	
60	N		(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)	
61	N		(Gold sukā.)	
62	N		(Gold sukī.)	
63	N		(Gold ānī.)	

(QUEENS) LAKṢMĪ DEVĪ AND SUNDARĪ DEVĪ (1816-1832 A.D.).

64	R		(Sukī.)	
65	R		(Ānī.)	
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
66	N		(Baklā, or gold double mohar.)	
67	N		(Gold sukī.)	
68	N		(Gold ānī.)	

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
QUEEN (SAMRĀJYA) LAKSMI DEVI.				
69	R 20·6 ·76	1824	(Sukī.) Vase for offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> , with flowers on either side. Legend, <i>Śrī Samrājya Lakṣmī Devī</i> .	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, trident; above, crescent and sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Bhavānī</i> . Date, 1746 Ś. Note.—This coin is wrongly described in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as "Humped bull r." (C.C.I.M.C., vol. i, p. 291, and pl. xxviii, fig. 12). From the plate it appears that a lump of metal has stuck on to the coin, partly concealing the trident, and this has been taken for a "humped bull."
SURENDRA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1847–1881 A.D.).				
70	R 85·2 1·1	1849	(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1, but with legend <i>Śrī</i> above the square, in place of crescent and sun. Legend within the square, <i>Śrī Śrī Surendra Vikrama Sāha Deva</i> . Date, 1771 Ś.	Similar to No. 1.
71	R		(Double mohar.)	
72	R 42 ·8	No date.	(Sukā.) Imitation Persian character in two lines. In centre, trident. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Surendra Vi</i> .	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva</i> .
73	R	No date.	(Sukī.)	

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
74	R 10·7 ·6	No date.	(Āñi.) In centre, sword; above, crescent and sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Surendra Vī.</i>	In centre, mace; above, two pellets. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva.</i>
75	R 5·2 ·5	No date.	(Ādhāñi.) Similar to preceding.	Similar to preceding.
76	R 2·1 ·4	No date.	(Paisā.) Similar to pre- ceding.	Nothing on the reverse; these coins are so thin that the die of the ob- verse shows through.
77	R ·35 ·30 to ·35	No date.	(Phokā dām or cūñ dām = $\frac{1}{16}$ of a mohar.) Minute coins on silver leaf. Similar to pre- ceding.	Similar to the pre- ceding.

Gold Coinage.

78	N 85·3 1·04	1816	(Gold mohar.) Similar to the silver mohar No. 70. Date, 1738 S.	Similar to the silver mohar No. 70.
79	N 356 1·23	1847	(Large gold coin.) Circle surrounded by triple lines, forming an eight-pointed star. In circle, sword and wreath; in the points of the star, pellets; in the outer angles, above, crescent and sun; to l., <i>cakra</i> and lotus; to r., shell and mace. Legend, in circle, <i>Śrī Śrī Surendra Vikrama Sāha Deva.</i> Date below, 1769 S.	Similar to No. 10. (Pl. VII, Fig. 9.)
80	N —	—	(Baklā, gold double mohar.)	

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
81	N 42 ·8	No date.	(Gold sukā.) Similar to silver sukā No. 72.	Similar to silver sukā No. 72.
82		No date.	(Gold suki.)	
83			(Gold ānī.) Similar to silver ānī No. 74.	Similar to silver ānī No. 74.
84			(Gold ādhānī.) Similar to silver No. 75.	Similar to silver No. 75.
85			(Gold pai, one thirty- secondth of a mohar.)	
86			(Phokā dām oreūy dām.) Minute gold coins similar to No. 77.	

(QUEEN) TRAILOKYARAJA LAKSMĪ DEVĪ.

87	R 20·5 ·75	1847	(Sukī.) Device as on No. 11. Legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Trailokya Lakṣmī Devī</i> .	Device as on No. 11, but with two crescents and dots. Legend, <i>Śrī</i> <i>Śrī Bhārānī</i> . Date, 1769 S.
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Gold Coinage.

88	N	1849	(Gold mohar.) Date, 1771 S.	
89	N	—	(Gold suki.) Similar to silver No. 87.	Similar to silver No. 87.

(QUEEN) SURA RĀJA LAKSMĪ DEVĪ.

90	N 21·2 ·74		(Gold suki.) Indian Museum. Calcutta. "Temple" (should be, vase for offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i>) "between flowers in centre; in field, legend <i>Śrī Sura Rāja Lakṣmī</i> <i>Devī</i> ."	"Central circle enclos- ing trident. Legend, in field, <i>Śrī Śrī</i> <i>Bhāvāntī</i> , 1790. In mint condition. (Pl. xxviii, 13.)" C.C.I.M.C., p. 292.
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No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<i>Copper Coinage.</i>				
91	Æ 153 1·1	1876	(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) In centre, plain square. Ornamental design in upper and lateral marginal spaces. Legend in square, <i>Śrī Śrī Surendra Vikrama Sāha Deva</i> . Date below, 1798 Ś.	In centre, plain square, ornamental design in surrounding spaces. Legend in square, <i>Śrī Śrī Śrī Nepāl Sarkār</i> , "Government of Nepal." (Device similar to No. 88, vide Pl. VII, Fig. 11.)
92	Æ 73 ·9	1873	(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Similar to the preceding. Date, 1795 Ś.	Similar to the preceding. (Pl. VII, Fig. 11.)
93	Æ 17·5 to 20 ·52	1871	(Copperdām.) No device. Legend, <i>Śrī Nepāl</i> .	No device. Legend, <i>Sarkār</i> . Date, 93 Ś.

PRTHVĪ VĪRA VIKRAMA SĀHA (1881 A.D.). The present king.

94	Æ 82·5 1·02	1883	(Mohar.) Device as on No. 1, but with legend <i>Śrī Śrī</i> above in place of crescent and sun. Legend, in square, <i>Śrī Prthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva</i> . Date below, 1805 Ś. <i>Note.</i> —This is a smaller coin than his subsequent mohars. The side of the square is only ·52 inch, and the legend is in smaller letters.	Similar to No. 1.
95	Æ 85·2 1	1899	Similar to the preceding, but larger square, and legend in larger letters. Date, 1821 Ś.	Similar to the preceding.
96	Æ 340 1·11	1895	(Four mohar.) Similar to the mohar No. 94. Date, 1817 Ś.	Similar to the mohar No. 94. <i>Note.</i> —This coin is ·12 inch in thickness.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
97	R 170·5 1·08		(Double mohar.) Similar to mohar No. 94. Date, 1811 Ś.	
98	R 42·4 ·85	1895	(Sukā.) Trident in small central circle. On either side: above, crescent and sun; below, two flowers. Legend, <i>Śrī Śrī Pṛthvī Vīra Vīkrama Sāha Deva</i> .	Imitation Persian characters in two lines. In centre, sword and wreath. Ornamented with two groups of three pellets above and also below, and two of four pellets in centre. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva</i> . 1817 Ś.
99	R 21·2 ·73		(Sukī.) Vase for offerings with cover in form of <i>stūpa</i> . Legend, <i>Śrī Pṛthvī Vīra Vīkrama Sāha Deva</i> .	Trident in small central circle. Above, on either side, crescent and sun. Legend in field, <i>Śrī Śrī Bhadrāt</i> .
100	R 11·5 ·50	No date.	(Ānī.) In centre, sword; above, to l. crescent, to r. dot for sun. Legend, <i>Śrī Pṛthvī Vīra Vī</i> .	In centre, mace. Legend, <i>krama Sāha Deva</i> .
101	R 5·2 ·45		(Ādhānī.) Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding.
102	R 2·1 ·4		(Paisā mohar.) In centre, sword. Legend, <i>Śrī Pṛthvī Vīra</i> .	No device. The coin is so thin that the die of the obverse shows through.
103	R ·35 ·35		(Phokā dām, or cup dām.) Minute silver coin, similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding. <i>Note</i> .—This coin is of same denomination as No. 77 of Surendra Vikrama Sāha.

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
<i>Gold Coinage.</i>				
104	A		(Gold mohar.) Similar to silver mohar No. 95.	
105	A		(Duitole asarfi.) Large gold coin of same type as No. 10.	
106	A		(Gold sukā.)	
107	A		(Gold sukī.)	
108	A		(Gold ānī.)	
109	A		(Gold ādhānī.)	
110	A		(Gold paī.)	
111	A		(Minute pieces of gold leaf.)	
<i>Copper Coinage.</i>				
112	Æ		(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) Similar to paisā No. 113.	Similar to paisā No. 113.
113	Æ 76·5 ·87	1894	(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Device similar to dāk and paisā of Surendra Vikrama Śāha (Pl. VII, Fig. 11), but with crescent and sun and legend Śrī in place of ornament. Legend, as noted above, Śrī; in square, Ś, <i>Pytharī Pira Vikrama Śāha Deva</i> . Date below, 1951 (Śaṁvat).	Plain square. In margin: above, crescent and sun; on sides and below, ornamental design. Legend: above, Śrī; in square, <i>Paśupati Natha Nepal</i> ("Paśupati, Lord of Nepal").
114	Æ		(Dāk = sixteenth of mohar.) Device and legend similar to paisā No. 115.	Similar to paisā No. 115 (<i>vide</i> Pl. VII, Fig. 13).

No.	METAL. WEIGHT. SIZE.	DATE. A.D.	OBSERVE.	REVERSE.
115	Æ 82·3 ·9	1893	(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Circle, surrounded by eight-pointed star, within a scalloped border, containing crescent between each point of the star. Within circle two <i>kukhris</i> (Gorkhā knives) crossed, above them <i>pāduka</i> (footprints of Viṣṇu), and around, legend <i>Śrī 5, Pṛthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva</i> .	Within circle, surrounded by eight-pointed star and ornamental border, as on the obverse, small central circle, containing trident. Legend around central circle, <i>Śrī 5, Bhavānī</i> (date, 1950 Sāmvat), <i>Gorkhā Sarkār</i> . (Pl. VII, Fig. 13.)
116			(Paisā = thirty-secondth of mohar.) Within a rudely-formed wreath, legend <i>Śrī 5, Pṛthvī Vīra Vikrama Sāha Deva</i> .	Within rude wreath, legend <i>Śrī 5 Bhavānī Nepāl Sarkār</i> . Date, 1953 Sāmvat. (Pl. VII, Fig. 12.) <i>Note.</i> — The obverse and reverse of this coin are transposed on the Plate.

TABLE I.—CONTEMPORARY LIST OF THE KINGS OF BHĀTGAON, KĀTHMĀNDŪ, AND PĀTAN, FROM THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM ON THE DEATH OF YAKSHA MALLA (*circa* 1469 A.D.) TO THE GORKHA CONQUEST.

KINGDOM OF BHĀTGAON.			KINGDOM OF KĀTHMĀNDŪ.			KINGDOM OF PĀTAN.		
No.	DATE. A.D.	NAME OF KING.	No.	DATE. A.D.	NAME OF KING.	No.	DATE. A.D.	NAME OF KING.
1	1496	Rāya-malla.	1		Ratna.	1	—	Jayarāja-malla.
2	—	Bhavana-malla.	2		Amara.			
3	1524-33	(Jita-malla and Prāpa-malla (joint regency)).	3		Sūrya.			
4	—	Prāpa-malla (sole king).	4	1551	Narendra.			
5	—	Viśva-malla.	5	1566	Jaya-Mahendra.			
6	1572-86	Trailokya-malla.	6	1575-6	Sadāśiva.			
7	1617-33	Jagajjyotiṛ-malla.	7	1690	Śivadeva or Śivasimha.			
8	—	Narendra.	8		Harharasimha.	1		Harharasimha.
9	1642	Jagatprakāśa Malla.	9		Lakṣmīnara Simha.	2	1631	Siddhi Narasimha.
			10	1649	Pratāpa Malla (Queen Rupa- mati Devī).	3	1655	Śrīnivāsa.

KINGDOM OF PĀTAN *or* LALITAPUR.

10	1663	Jitendra Malla.	11	1669	(Cakravartindra or Jaya Cakra Mahendra.	4	1686	Yoga Narendra or Yogendra.
			12	1674	Nripendra or Jaya Nripendra.			
			13		Mahipendra.			
			14	1682	Parthivendra.			
			15	1682	Jaya Bhupatendra.			
			16	1697	Jaya Bhaskara.			
11	1665	Bhupatindra.	17	1709	Jaya Viru Mahendra or Mahendra Sittha Deva.	5	1705	Jaya Loka Prakasa (Queen dowager Yoginatti).
						6	1706	Jaya Indra.
						7	—	Jaya Viru Mahendra or Mahendra Sittha Deva.
						8	1716	Heb Narasimha.
			18	1722	Jaya Jagadajaya (styled Maha- patindra).	9	1722	Jaya Yoga Prakasa.
12	1721	Jaya Ranajita.	19	1736	Jaya Prakasa (later also at Patan).	10	1729	Jaya Visva.
			20	1749	[Jyoti Prakasa.] Coin struck apparently in a rebellion; see Wright, p. 224.	11	1742	Raja Prakasa.
						12	1752	Vijayajita.
						13	1768	Dala Mardana Saha.
						14	—	Tejanarasimha.


TABLE II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES: MALLA AND GORKHĀ COINS.

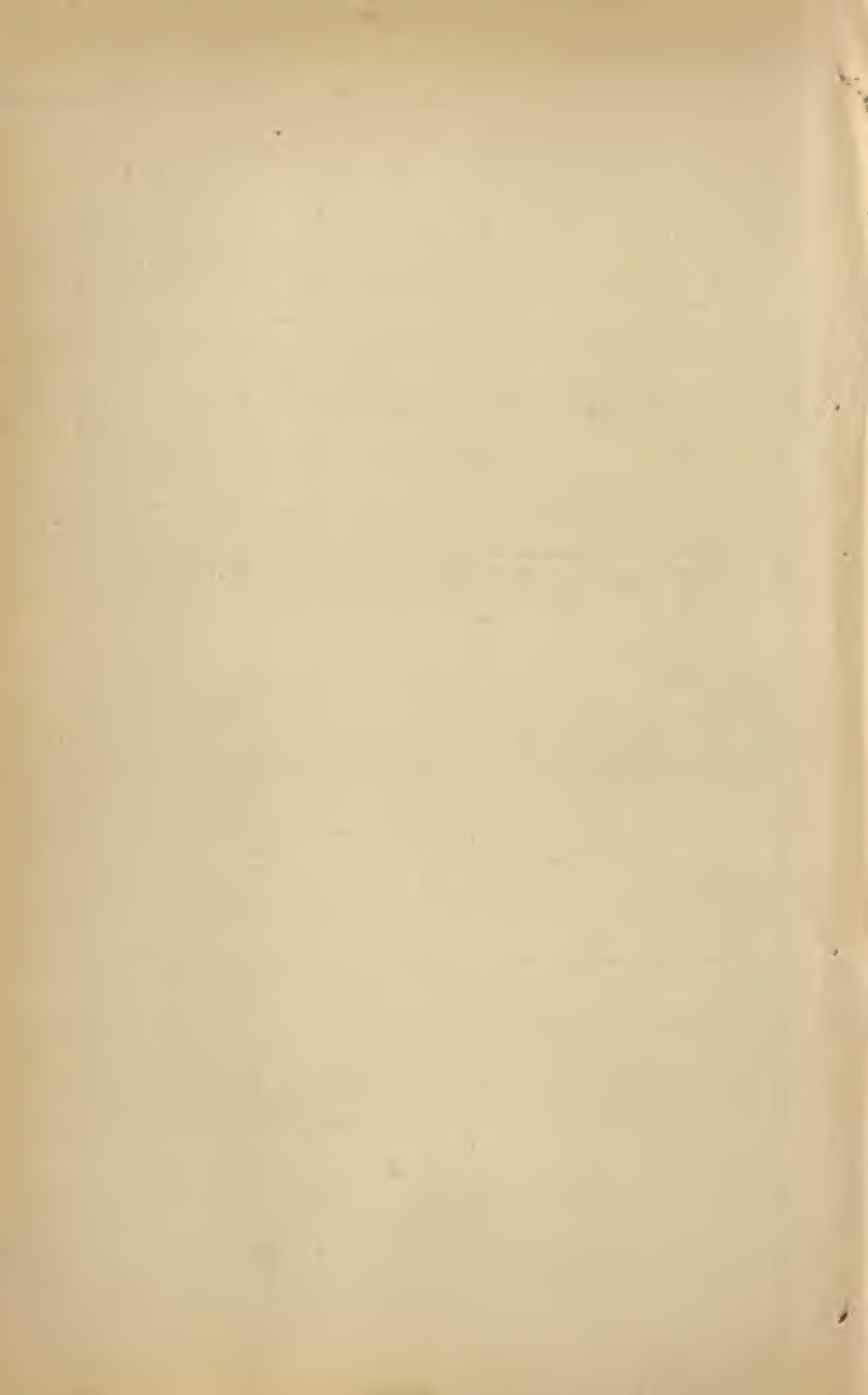
PLATE II.			PLATE III.			PLATE IV.		
Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.	MALLA.	Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.		Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.	
BHĀTQĀON.								
1	1	Jagatprakāśa 1632	1	16	Narendra 1675	1	31	Jagajīyā (<i>adina</i> Mahā- patindra)
2	2	Jitāmītra 1633	2	17	Parthivendra 1682	2	32	Jayā Prakāśa 1756
3	3	Bhōpatindra 1696	3	18	" 1680	3	33	" (barbarous imitation)
4	3	Baṇājita 1722	4	20	Bhūpatendra 1693	4	34	" (barbarous imitation)
5	4	Bhūpatindra ... (4) 1690	5	22	Bhāskara 1701	5	35	" (barbarous imitation)
6	8	Baṇājita (4) 1722	6	23	" (4) 1698	6	36	" 1753
7	7	" (4) 1722	7	24	Jayā Vīra Mahendra 1706	7	37	" (4) 1753
8	6	" 1722	8	25	" 1717	8	38	" (4) 1753
KĀTHMĀNḌU.			9	26	" 1716	9	39	(Kumudini) (4) 1756
9	10	Lakṣmīnara Sindhā —	10	27	" (4) 1718	10	40	(Paśupati) (4) 1753
10	11	Pratāpa 1641	11	28	Jagajīyā (<i>adina</i> Mahā- patindra) 1752	11	41	Jayā Prakāśa (Gajbhesvati) (4) 1753
11	14	(Bāpamati) 1649	12	29	" 1758	12	45	" (gold) (4) —
12	12	Pentāpa 1656	13	30	" (4) 1752	13	42	" (4) —
13	15	Cakravartindra 1669	14			14	43	" (4) —
14	13	Pratāpa 1661				15	49	Jyoti Prakāśa 1746

PLATE V.

PLATE VI.

PLATE VII.

PLATE V.			PLATE VI.			PLATE VII.		
Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.		Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.		Figure.	Serial No. of Coin.	
1	51	Siddhi Narasinha ... 1631	1	64	Haji Narasinha ... 1716	1	1	Pethi Narayan ... 1764
2	52	" ... (1) 1654	2	65	" ... 1716	2	4	" ... (3) 1771
3	53	Srinivasa ... 1661	3	66	Yoga Pradisa ... 1712	3	11	(Narendra Lakami Dev) ... (gold) 1771
4	54	" ... 1660	4	67	Jaya Visva (Vira Yoga Narendra) ... 1741	4	10	Pethi Narayan (gold) 1771
5	55	Yoga Narendra ... 1688	5	68	" ... 1739	5	13 & 17	Pratap Sinha ... (4) 1775
6	56	" ... 1680	6	69	Rajya Pradisa ... 1736	6	14	" ... (3) —
7	57	" ... 1685	7	70	" ... 1736	7	20	Raja Bahadur (gold) 1760
8	58	" ... 1686	8	71	(Yoga Narendra) ... 1736	8	34	(Rajendra Lakami Dev) ... (4) 1778
9	59	" ... 1700	9	72	" ... 1736	9	70	Surendra Vikrama (gold) 1847
10	60	" ... (1) 1687	10	73	Vishajita ... 1758	10	47	Girvana Yuddha Vikrama ... (3) 1812
11	61	Jaya Indya  ... 1760	11	74	" ... (1) 1752	11	92	Surendra Vikrama (copper) 1873
12	63	(Vira Narasinha) (Yogananti) ... 1709	12	50	(Sri Jaya Janaki) (Lakshmi Devi) ... 1757	12	116	Pethi Vira Vikrama (copper) 1893
			13	75	Dala Mardana ... 1768	13	115	" (copper) 1893



XVIII.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA LXXI (Sp. LXX), 1-38,
FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TREATED.*

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

FRASŠOŠTAR, the holy, asked of *Zartūšt*, the saint: give me the answer, (O thou) foremost¹ *Zartūšt* (most pre-eminent in authority and initiative), [that is to say, before² this *Dēn*, O *Zartūšt*, thou didst come]:—

(2) Which is the full³ recital of the liturgies? which is the summarised-celebration⁴ of the *Gāthas*? (3) Thereupon said *Zartūšt*: to *Aūharmazd*, the Holy Chief of *A(r)ša* (as the Ritual), do I sacrifice.⁵

(4) And I sacrifice to *Zartūšt*, the Holy Chief of *A(r)ša* (not 'gloss'; here we might of course suppose that a pause or interval is to be accepted. The sentence looks like an interpolation. This extraordinary mention of *Z.* is

* The text upon which this translation has been made has been carefully prepared with the collation of all the MSS., and will appear in due course. Only the early, and necessarily uncritical, translations into Parsi-Persian and Gujarati have preceded this as in a continuous treatment.

¹ Hardly here in the text meaning simply 'beforehand.'

² In the gloss, however, the idea of temporal priority seems present. The Persian MS. with B. gives us '*paš az dēn lak mat' havēh*,' which is far better than '*peš adin lak matā*.' *Zaradūštra* 'came before the *Dēn*' as being its author. He was also at the 'summit of humanity,' as being a sort of 'second Adam.' See also (4), where sacrifice is offered him next after that to Ahura. See his *Frava(r)š*, the object of sacrifice at 5, and mentioned before the *Ameša Spenta*. He is semi-deified, almost 'a Lord from Heaven.'

³ The Persian MS. and B. insert *frāš*, 'the forth-recital,' with the idea of an uninterrupted delivery of it.

⁴ *Hankartīgih* is the noun-form of *hankartayimi* in Y. I., and can hardly mean 'a summing-up' in the ordinary restricted sense; it was 'the summing-up' in the act of 'celebration.' The Persian MS. has *tamām*.

⁵ This was indeed a worthy answer, for it implied everything.

an apt illustration of the fact that he, Z., had been long among the dead. The conceptions as regards his person are here altogether changed).

(5) Yea, I sacrifice to the *Frava(r)ši* of *Zartūš*, (the leading) saint, (6) and to the Holy *Ame(r)šaspentas*, (7) and to the holy, and good, and heroic (or 'effective'), and august *Frava(r)šis*¹ of all the saints, (8) of those of the world (whose sphere is below), and of those of Heaven; (9) and I sacrifice to the Chief most eminent² (*avartūm* = *apanōtemem*), who of the³ *Yazats* has the most closely approached us (in his course),⁴ who is the most deserving (of our worship) of the⁵ chiefs of *A(r)ša*, the most surpassing (*avarmatartūm* = *aivinasāstemem*) in his course,⁶ the holy one, with the ritual enunciation of a chief of *a(r)ša*. (10) And I sacrifice to *Aūharmazd*, the holy [with an enunciation] of (i.e. fitted for) this ritual Chief; (11) and I sacrifice to the entire body⁷ of *Aūharmazd*, (12) and to all the *Ame(r)šaspentas*. (13) And I sacrifice to every one⁸ who is a chief of *A(r)ša*, (14) and to the entire *Dēn* of the *Mazda-worshippers* (with all its commandments, its ritual, and its doctrine); (15) and to all the measures (or 'metres' also of the sacred *Gāthic* verse); (16) and to all the august⁹ Lore of the *Mazdayasnians* (the Holy *Māθra-spenta*), (17) and to all the *Law-against-the-Demons* (the *Vidaēva*¹⁰ - *dātā*, the

¹ The *Penates*.

² Or 'the most ascendant.

³ 'More closely than the other *Yazats*'; hardly 'most closely approaching us from them,' though the word is *min*.

⁴ See note 5.

⁵ Again *min*.

⁶ *Raschnih*.

⁷ 'To all the body,' a somewhat curious expression. One cannot say that the Zoroastrians of the time of this later edited commentary would have objected to a 'body' for Ahura any more than the early Israelites objected to the corporeal manifestations of Yahveh. They simply could only think of the 'Heavens' as His 'clothing.' Or, are the *Ame(r)šaspentas* here dimly alluded to as 'His body'? See Y. 1, 2, *hukereptema*.

⁸ Lit. 'to all even.'

⁹ Or 'holy.'

¹⁰ The *ō* of *vidōyām* is conspicuously false for the Av.-Pahl. sign for 'v' of the transitional period.

Vendīdād) do I sacrifice, (18) and to all the long over-course ('the traditional pre-eminence' of it), (19) and to all the holy *Yasats* who are spiritual (or 'of the Heavens'), and to those also who are of earth, (20) and (even again) to all the holy, good, heroic (effective), and august ¹ *frava(r)šis* of the saints, and to all the creatures made by Mazda, the holy, (21) who were (therefore) endowed with *A(r)ša* (that is 'sacred and clean'), and (originally) so created through *A(r)ša*. (22) And I sacrifice also therewith to the priestly statutory-enactments ² constructed with (or 'corroborated by') *A(r)ša*; (23) and to the sacred (religious) authority, (as) the continuous (or 'forth-uttered *frūš*') sacrificial liturgy (*frāyašt*),³ with *A(r)ša* (perhaps the *Vendīdād Sade* was here meant; it was continuous, 'without commentary'), even to that which was holy (24) within (or 'among') the holy praise-lore, (made widely known)⁴ through the celebrations of the ritual *A(r)ša*.

(25) And to all the Five holy *Gāθas* also do I sacrifice, (26) and to all the direct intoning⁵ (*fravāmešn'*) of the sacrifice, and to its responsive⁶ parts (*patīrak rōvešnīh*), and to its taking up (sic, *avar vaχdūnešn'*)⁷ (again after the response); (27) and to all the *Stōt'-Yasna* (these *Yasna-Yašts*), and to all the words (spoken forth) of *Aharmazd* (contained in the inspired documents), (28) which are the smiters against⁸ evil thought, (29) against evil speech, (30) and evil deeds, (31) which are the cutters-down⁹ of the evil thought, (32) and evil word, (33) and

¹ Or 'holy.'

² The public statutes.

³ *Yazeshnīh*.

⁴ The Persian has *maithar* (sic), as if celebration or 'announcement' in a public service were held in view.

⁵ 'The forth-going,' *frāitīnā*.

⁶ 'Its meeting flow,' *patīttimā*.

⁷ Here we have a *far* again persistently recognised in the sense of 'take,' *jaretīnā*; so the Persian MS. *giriftan*; even Spiegel's form might be deciphered *avar-gīredānīh*, and not *avar sarešnīh*. Should we accede here to 'tradition'?

⁸ See *mē'im* and the acc. of the original.

⁹ 'Cutters-on' (sic); here we have the gen. of the original.

evil deed, (34) who are the most the cutters-down¹ of every evil thought, (35) and word, and most annihilating² (36) of every evil deed. (37, 38) It is like as when the Fire cuts dry wood, purified, and well sought out (that is, 'selected') for the burning [that is (it is as) when the Fire has cut it, and has put it on (so the *barā hanxētānt*) for the burning of the *hāvas* offering (this for *hāvayēti*), and as when (*aēy*) it burns it (*dazaiti*)].²

¹ As regards the form *aiwi-kar(e)ta* (A. *karēta* (?)), I now abandon my former adhesion to the hint of *nigritū*; see below, preferring my alternative in the note. See S.B.E. xxi at the place. Notice that the word (or 'words') are the 'cutting sword.'

² The Persian text and that of B. alone here afford us a correct text throughout, the Pers. confirming B. (D., Pt. 4).

A. (Dj., J², Oxford C²) has in 31, *man' havend mē'im nigritār* (i) * *dāmat*; in 32, *man' havend mē'im nigritār* (i) * *dākhā-ūxt'* (sic, *dākhāxt'* ?); in 33, *man' havend mē'im karēntār* (a blot occurs as if a *m* had been first written) (i) * *dākhācarē* (? *dākhā*); in 34, *man' havend mē'im nigritārtām* (i) * *harvāp' dāmat* (?); in 35, *man' havend mē'im nigritārtār* (notice the *m*, as if the first intention had been to write *nigrit*, while this A. has again *nigritār* (or *okarēnd*) in 38) (i) * *harvāp* seems inserted in the MS.) *dākhāxt'* (? *dākhā*); in 36, *man' havend mē'im karēntārtām* (i) * *harvāp' dākhācarē* (? *dākhā*).

The text of B. is everywhere *karēn*, never *nigrit*, except correctly as = *hupairtēn* at end of 37 (erroneously so placed in the MSS.; it should form the beginning of 38).

So the text of C., the Persian MS., as indicated by its translation; it has forms of *buridān* throughout. E. (Sp.) has *mē'im nigritār* in 31, *avar nigritār* in 32, *avar nigritār* in 33; (here D., the Munich copy of this K², Sp.'s original, does not follow Sp. in this 33; it has *avar karēntār*, while in 34 Sp. himself has *avar karēntārtām*). So Sp. continues with *avar karēntārtām* in 35, and *mē'im karēntārtām* in 36, with *karēnd* in 38. The curious error of *nigrit* evidently arose from the presence of the correct *nigritū* in 37 (or in the beginning of 38) = *hupairtēn*.

For *hāvayēti* A., D., E. have only the *hāvan*, for which B. has *barā hanxētānt* so freely; C. also translates *bih nihad*, apparently to represent *hāvayēti*. B., C. add a *sāzi* in the form of a gloss, after *aēy* and *kā*.

The text of B. here is *en xūp nigritāh* (280, or *nigritū va* (?)) *mē'im karēnt'* (C. *buridāh*) *parva ādāzēn' aēy ātaxā barā hanxētānt aēy sāzi*. The Persian translation has *en xūb nigritāh avar burad pah ā . . . iān* (?); † *kā ātaxā bih nihad, kā bih āzad*.

* *r* is here supplied.

† Probably meaning *ādāzēn*; see B. and the original.

XIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF KANAUI AND
OF KING YASOVARMAN.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

KANAUI, the most famous of Indian cities during the period extending from the early years of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, undoubtedly was founded in very ancient times, but when, how, or by whom it is impossible to ascertain. The city is mentioned not only in both the great epics, the existing texts of which date from many different ages, but also in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, which is known to have been written in or about 150 B.C. Its foundation, therefore, must be anterior to 200 B.C., but nothing more definite can be said on the subject.¹

¹ I am indebted to the late Professor Kielhorn and Dr. Grierson for the reference to Patañjali, who gives as examples of a certain grammatical rule, the forms *Ahichchhatra* and *Kānyakubja* in the sense of a woman born at Ahichchhatra and Kanauj respectively (*Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, vol. II, p. 233, l. 7). This use of the adjective formed from the name of the city or town is decisive proof that Kānyakubja was a well-known place in the second century B.C. Dr. Grierson has kindly examined for me the references in the epics. A list of *tirthas*, or holy places, given in *Mbh.*, iii, 8313, includes the words कान्यकुब्जोऽपिवत्सोममिन्द्रेण सहकौशिकः, "At Kānyakubja Kauśika (*sic*, Viśvamitra) drank soma with Indra." Bāhtlingk and Roth also cite *Mbh.*, i, 6651; iii, 11044; xiii, 216, for the form Kānyakubja as the name of a town or country.

In the Rāmāyana the name Kānyakubja (*s.l.* *Kanva*-) occurs in only one passage, namely i, 3, in Schlegel's edition. The passage is wanting in the Calcutta edition, and probably is an interpolation. But chapters 32 and 33 of Book i, in the Calcutta edition, give as part of the story of Viśvamitra's ancestors, a long account of the well-known legend of the crippled (*kubja*) maidens (*kanyā*), the daughters of Kuśanābha, and this indirect reference may be understood to imply the author's knowledge of the town of Kanyakubja. Concerning the variant spelling of the name see subsequent notes. The statement made by Kalliana (*Rājatar.*, Bk. i, v. 117) that Kanyakubja was included in the extensive conquests effected by Jambuka, the son of Aśoka, cannot be relied on as good evidence of the alleged fact.

Commentators ordinarily assume that the city of Kanauj is mentioned twice in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, written about 140 A.D., firstly, under the name of Kanagora, and secondly, under that of Kanogiza (Bk. vii, ch. 1, sec. 52; ch. 2, sec. 22; transl. McCrindle, *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 352, 380). But the assumption has been made somewhat rashly, and with little justification. The name Kanogiza, which bears some slight resemblance to Kanyakubja or Kanauj, occurs in a list of the inland towns and villages of Transgangetic India, and is placed in long. 143° , lat. 32° . Beyond the slight resemblance of name, no reason exists for identifying Kanogiza with Kanauj, and it is unlikely that Ptolemy should assign to Transgangetic India a town actually situated on the bank of the Ganges. Unfortunately, not one of the places named in the list which includes Kanogiza can be recognized, and the attempts to identify them are all utterly unconvincing.

Kanagora, long. 135° , lat. $30^{\circ} 40'$, is one of seven towns enumerated as belonging to Prasiakē, or the East. Three of these towns are Sambalaka, Adisdara, and Sagala, which probably represent respectively Sambhal in Rohilkhand, Ahichchhatra (Ādikōt, etc.), now Rāmnagar in the Barēli District of the same province, and Sākala, the modern Siālkōt in the Panjāb. It would be natural to find Kanauj in such company, and it is possible that Kanagora may be intended for that city, but there is nothing like proof of the supposed identity. It is obvious that if Kanagora of Prasiakē in long. 135° , lat. $30^{\circ} 40'$ be Kanauj, the Kanogiza of Transgangetic India, in long. 143° , lat. 32° , cannot also be identified with that city. Consequently, no adequate reason remains for the customary positive assumption that Kanauj is mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, although it is true that the town was then of sufficient importance to be mentioned, and its name may be concealed in the corrupt form of Kanagora.

Kanauj or Kanōj, the name still in use, is, like the town

itself, ancient, and can be proved to have been current fifteen hundred years ago.¹ The transliteration, *Ka-nao-yi* or *Ka-no-yi*, used by Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century, certainly represents, as Watters observes, the ordinary spoken name Kanauj or Kanōj. The fuller Sanskrit form Kanyākubja (also spelled Kānyakubja and Kanyakubja), which may be an artificial literary modification of the vernacular name, was preferred by Hiuen Tsang, who transliterated it as *Ka-no-kū-she*. Other Chinese authors choose to write *Kan-na-ku-po-she*.²

Hiuen Tsang also mentions that 'once upon a time' the city had been known as Kusumapura, or 'Flower-town.' It is remarkable that Pāṭaliputra, the earlier imperial capital, bore the same name or title.³

The authors of the *Rājatarāṅginī* and certain inscriptions frequently use the name Gādhīpura, or the synonymous Gādhinagara, instead of Kanyakubja.⁴ In

¹ Bühler wrote Kānoj (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 181, etc.), presumably following a Western spelling. In Northern India the first vowel undoubtedly is short. Muhammadan authors write Kanauj (قنوج). This name is frequently confounded with that of Kinnauj (قنوج), a dependency of Multān—an error resulting in much fictitious history, which vitiates many passages in vol. i of Elliot's *History*, namely pp. 14, 21, 22, 23, 33, 87, 90, 91, 147, 153, 207, 208, 210, 405, 406. Al Masūdi's detailed account (*ibid.*, pp. 21-3) is reproduced in *Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 518, as applying to Kanauj, whereas it is really concerned with Kinnauj. The proof is given by Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxi (1892), pp. 206-8, 254; *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 509, 566, 571). See *E. Hist. India*, 2nd ed., corrigenda.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, i, 341. Kanyākubja (grant of Madanapāla, etc., *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 18); Kānyakubja (Stein, transl. *Rājatar.*, Bk. iv, 237, and index); Kanyakubja (grants of Chandradeva, etc., *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 13, 133, etc.). The Chinese form written by Watters as *Ka-nao-yi* or *Kanoyi* is spelled by Giles as *Chai-jao-i*, by Rémusat (Laidlay) as *Ki-jao-i*, and by Beal as *Ki-jou-i*.

³ Hiuen Tsang records the name of Kusumapura for both cities:—Kanauj (*Beal*, i, 207; *Watters*, i, 341); Pāṭaliputra, or more accurately, an adjoining site (*Beal*, ii, 83, 85; *Watters*, ii, 87).

⁴ Gādhīpura (*Rājatar.*, Bk. iv, 133); Gādhinagara, Gwālior Sāsabahu inscription of Mahīpāla (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 35).

the inscriptions of the Parihār dynasty the name Mahodaya or Mahodayā is the favourite.¹ Grants of the later Gaharwār dynasty enumerate as the four great sacred places of pilgrimage, Kāśī (Benares), Kuśika, Uttarakośalā (Ayodhyā), and Indrasthāna (probably Indraprastha near Delhi). In this list the second name, Kuśika, is understood by Professor Kielhorn to be a synonym for Kanauj.²

Most of the Jain chroniclers of Gujarāt agree in affirming that the first Chaulukya ruler of that country was descended from Rāja, a son of King Bhuvanāditya, who ruled at Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇakaṭaka), the capital of Kanauj. The intention of this tradition seems to be to identify Kalyāṇa with Kanauj, and the Sanskrit word *kalyāṇa* being practically synonymous with *mahodaya*, meaning 'great prosperity,' the official name of the city in the ninth and tenth centuries, there is no difficulty in believing that Kalyāṇa was one of the many names in use for the city.³ The name Calinipaxa mentioned by Pliny is generally supposed, although not proved, to designate Kanauj. If it does, the first element in the name probably represents Kalyāṇa.⁴

An inscription dated 882 A.D. in the reign of the powerful Parihār sovereign, Mihira-Bhoja, records the grant of endowments to a temple of Viṣṇu at Bhojapura on the bank of the Ganges near Kanauj. Bhojapura must have been founded by King Bhoja, and presumably was a suburb of the imperial city.⁵

The earliest account of Kanauj with any details, which can be dated approximately, is the notice in the work

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, v, 298, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 8, note 46; xviii, 13.

³ Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, v, 181, 183). See also *ibid.*, iii, 41; iv, 46. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar agrees that Kalyāṇakaṭaka denotes Kanauj itself ('The Gurjars,' p. 15 of reprint from *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xxi).

⁴ *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 21.

⁵ Pehera (Pehoa) inscr., l. 9 (*Ep. Ind.*, i, 187).

of Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India between the years 399 and 414 A.D., during the reign of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, and visited the town at the beginning of the fifth century. His brief notice is as follows :—"Fā-hien stayed at the Dragon vihāra till after the summer retreat, and then, travelling to the south-east for seven yojanas, he arrived at the city of Kanyākubja, lying along the Ganges. There are two monasteries in it, the inmates of which are students of the hīnayāna. At a distance from the city of six or seven le, on the west, on the northern bank of the Ganges, is a place where Buddha preached the Law to his disciples. It has been handed down that his subjects of discourse were such as 'The bitterness and vanity (of life) as impermanent and uncertain,' and that 'The body is as a bubble or foam on the water.' At this spot a topē was erected, and still exists."¹

It is clear from this account that at the beginning of the fifth century, when the power of the Gupta dynasty was at its height, Kanauj, as regarded from the Buddhist point of view, was a place of small importance, containing only two monasteries, both belonging to the school of the Lesser Vehicle, and a single *stūpa* worthy of notice. No mention is made of any buildings devoted to Brahmanical worship. The inference justly derivable from the particulars given by Fa-hien that Kanauj was a comparatively unimportant town in the fifth century is borne out by the statistics of Gupta coins found there. Analysis in 1884 of the *provenance* of the Gupta gold coins proved that only five or six specimens could be traced to Kanauj, whereas about seven or eight hundred were known to have been obtained in the provinces to the east, and the fact was thus "established with mathematical certainty

¹ *Travels*, ch. xviii, in Legge's version. The renderings of Beal (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, p. xliii) and Giles agree substantially.

that Kanauj supplies only an infinitesimal proportion of the Gupta gold coins, the great bulk of which have been obtained far to the east of that city."¹ Subsequent investigations have fully confirmed that conclusion. No hoard of Gupta coins in any metal is recorded as having been found at Kanauj, and the silver and copper pieces obtained there are not numerous. Although Prinsep's designation of the Gupta gold coinage as the 'Kanauj series' is demonstrably erroneous, and the demonstration has been in print for many years, his mistake has not yet ceased to mislead writers on Indian archaeology, and the phrase "the Guptas of Kanauj" may still be found in many books. There is no reason to suppose that the Gupta kings had even a mint at Kanauj, much less that they considered that city to be their capital.² As a matter of fact, when Pātaliputra declined, and was found to be inconvenient as the headquarters of the empire, Ajodhyā appears to have become the capital, and to have enjoyed that honour during the reigns of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta, in the fourth and fifth centuries.³

The next definite mention of Kanauj known to me is found in the pages of the *Harsha-charita* of Bāṇa, who describes the events immediately preceding the accession

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. liii (1884), p. 156.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³ Gupta coins in all metals are frequently found at Ajodhyā. Out of fifteen specimens of the scarce copper coinage in Sir A. Cunningham's cabinet ten came from Ajodhyā, and the five copper coins in the late Mr. Hooper's collection all came from the same place. Tregear's example of Kumāragupta's copper issues, at one time considered unique, also was obtained at Ajodhyā. The few specimens of Kumāragupta's copper coinage discovered in recent years all come, I think, from Ahichhatra. The evidence indicates that Ajodhyā and Ahichhatra both possessed mints for copper in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 50). Paramārtha, a Buddhist author of the sixth century, describes Skandagupta as "king Vikramāditya of Ajodhya." Skandagupta assumed the title Vikramāditya on certain silver coins (*E. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 292).

of his hero, Harsha, in 606 A.D. Rājyaśrī, the younger sister of Harsha and his elder brother Rājyavardhana, had been married during the lifetime of their father Prabhākara-var dhana, or Pratāpaśila, king of Thānēsar or Śrīkanṭha, to Grahavarman, eldest son of Avantivarman, a Maukhari, or member of the house of Mukhara, which, we are assured, stood "at the head of all royal houses." Almost exactly at the same time as Prabhākaravardhana died, Grahavarman was attacked and slain by the king of Mālava, who put Rājyaśrī in fetters and imprisoned her at Kanauj (Kānyakubja). The Mālavan army was easily defeated by Rājyavardhana, the elder son of Prabhākaravardhana, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Thānēsar, and Rājyaśrī effected her escape from confinement. But the victor was not allowed to enjoy the fruits of his valour, being himself treacherously slain by Śaśānka, king of Bengal (Gauda, Karnasuvarna), who seized Kanauj. In due course, Harsha, having been called to occupy the throne left vacant by his murdered brother, recovered his sister, drove Śaśānka back into his eastern territories, and occupied Kanauj.

In the *Early History of India* (2nd ed., p. 311) I assumed that Grahavarman must have been king of Kanauj, where his widow was imprisoned. This assumption is a natural and legitimate inference from Bāṇa's narrative, but not a necessary one. The presumption certainly is that Grahavarman's young bride when captured was residing at her husband's capital; but, as a matter of fact, Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit is correct in the remark that "the *Harsha-charita* is silent as to where the family of Grahavarman were living or reigning,"¹ and it is possible that Kanauj may not have been either the residence of Rājyaśrī or the capital of her husband. All that Bāṇa actually says is that "his

¹ *The Guṇḍavaho*, ed. by Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit, Introd., p. cxxix, note (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1897).

majesty, Grahavarman, was by the wicked lord of Mālwa cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśrī, also, the princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja." We are further informed that "after his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta [i.e. Śaśāṅka], queen Rājyaśrī burst from her confinement, and with her train entered the Vindhya forest" (*Cowell and Thomas*, pp. 173, 224). These statements undoubtedly suggest the inference that Rājyaśrī was living at Kanauj when made prisoner, but do not expressly state that proposition as a fact; she may have resided elsewhere and been brought to Kanauj after her capture. The position of the Mālava country referred to is quite uncertain, and it may be that Kanauj had been included in the dominions of the defeated king of Mālava, which were occupied in succession by Rājyavardhana, Śaśāṅka, and Harsha. Śaśāṅka, apparently, had been in alliance with Rājyavardhana, otherwise the victim could not have been "allured by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda, and then weaponless, confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters" (*Cowell and Thomas*, p. 178). Shankar Paṇḍurang Paṇḍit definitely adopted the view that "up to the time that Rājyaśrī's husband was murdered, Kanauj was the capital of the Mālava kings," and he may be right.

The result of this discussion is that we are not in a position to affirm positively what kingdom Kanauj belonged to at the beginning of the seventh century. Nor are we able to locate precisely the kingdom governed by the Maukhari Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman. King (*paramēśvara*) Avantivarman is mentioned in the damaged Deo-Baraṇārī inscription of Jīvitagupta II (*Fleet, G.I.*, p. 215). That record comes from the

Shāhābād District of Bihār. Other Maukhari inscriptions also come from Bihār (Magadha). Seventeen coins of Avantivarman have been found recently in the Fyzabad District of southern Oudh associated with coins of Śīlāditya (Harsha), and his father Pratāpāsila (Prabhākaravardhana). The dates on some of them are supposed to be equivalent to 567, 569, and 570 A.D. (Burn, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 849). The subject of Maukhari history requires to be worked out afresh in the light of the new information afforded by the Fyzabad coins, but I cannot go into the question here.¹

The six years from 606 to 612 A.D. were spent by Harsha in the subjugation of all the princes and kingdoms of Northern India between the Sutlaj, the Narmadā, and Eastern Bengal. His power does not appear to have extended beyond the Sutlaj, and it is known that as late as 619 A.D. Śaśāṅka was still the overlord of a feudatory ruling on the eastern coast.² Even in 643, when his authority in Upper India had been established for fully thirty years, Harsha found it necessary to lead an expedition against the sturdy inhabitants of that remote coast. Kanauj, no doubt, passed under the sway of Harsha from the time that Śaśāṅka was obliged to retire, and thereupon it ceased to be the capital of a separate kingdom. After 612, from which date Harsha was the acknowledged paramount sovereign of Upper

¹ Dr. Mark Collins has contributed to the discussion of the Maukhari problem in his dissertation entitled "The Geographical Data of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Dasakumāracharita*," pp. 24, 49, and Table iii (Leipzig, G. Kreyssing, 1907). He holds that Grahavarman was king of Kanauj, that the original Maukhari territory probably was Aṅga, to the east of Magadha, and that the Mālava of Bāṇa probably was the district so called near Fatehpur (pp. 24, 25, 49-54). Compare Tārānāth's "Mālava in Prayāga" (*Schiefner*, p. 251). In *E. Hist. India*, 2nd ed., p. 311, note 1, the words "Perhaps it was Mo-la-po" should be cancelled.

² Ganjām plates dated 300 G.E. = 319-20 A.D., recording a grant by the *mahārāja mahāsimanta* Mādhavarāja II, feudatory of the *mahārāja-dhīrāja* Śaśāṅkarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, vi, 143).

India, he fixed upon Kanauj as the headquarters of his imperial government, and so raised it to the rank of premier city of India, enjoyed in the olden days by Pātaliputra. The glory of Kanauj dates from the period of thirty-six years, 612–48 A.D., during which Harsha wielded the imperial sceptre with vigour and success. We learn from Hsien Tsang, who paid his final visit to the city in 643, how great a change in its aspect had been wrought since Fa-hien was there at the beginning of the fifth century.

The summary translation of the later pilgrim's text by Watters (i. 340), which agrees substantially with the fuller versions of Beal and Julien, may be quoted textually:—"The capital," we are told, "which had the Ganges on its west side, was above twenty *li* in length by four or five *li* in breadth; it was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere; there were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water, and in it rarities from strange lands were collected. The inhabitants were well off, and there were families of great wealth; fruit and flowers were abundant, and sowing and reaping had their seasons. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire; they were given to learning and the arts, and were clear and suggestive in their discourse; they were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 Brethren who were students of both the 'Vehicles.' There were more than 200 Deva-Temples, and the non-Buddhists were several thousands in number."

The reader will observe that the two Hinayāna monasteries of Fa-hien's time had developed into more than a hundred monastic institutions occupied by more than 10,000 brethren belonging to both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools. The recorded facts appear to justify the conclusion that the wealthy and luxurious

city described by Hiuen Tsang was mainly the creation of Harsha, who as Lord Paramount of Northern India, was able to lavish vast sums upon the adornment of his chosen capital.

When Harsha died in 648 his empire fell to pieces, his minister usurping the throne. But the usurper was soon crushed by the combined forces of Tibet and Nepāl, which had been called in by the Chinese ambassador, and was deported to China. Darkness then falls upon the history of Kanauj, and nothing whatever is known concerning the fortunes of the city or the nature of its government for about eighty years.¹ I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India between 673 and 687 A.D., visited Kanauj, but has not recorded what he saw there.²

After Harsha's death the earliest king of Kanauj whose name has been preserved is Yaśovarman, who is recorded to have sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D. Presumably such a mission would have been dispatched not very long after the accession of the Indian prince. We may, therefore, assume that Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Kanauj between 725 and 731 A.D., in or about 728 A.D. At that time the Chinese government, under the guidance of the emperor Hiuen Tsang, was engaged in vigorous and partially successful efforts to establish its influence on the northern and north-western frontier of India with the purpose of checking the advance of the victorious

¹ The passages in the *Chach-namah* which Sir H. Elliot translated as referring to Kanauj in the time of Muḥammad bin Qāsim, early in the eighth century, really are concerned with Kinnauj (کینوج), a dependency of Multān (Elliot, *Hist.*, i, 153, 207, 208). Professor Dowson's note to p. 153 proves that he perceived the error, although he was not in a position to explain it. The territory of Kinnauj lay to the north-east of the kingdom of Sind, of which the capital was Alor (Baverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 509, 506, 571; "The Mihrān of Sind," *J.A.S.B.*, part i, vol. lxi (1892), pp. 207, 208, 254; *E. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., corrigenda). For the story of the usurpation by Harsha's minister see *E. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 326.

² *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, transl., Takakusu, pp. liii, lv.

armies of Islam, and curbing the arrogance of the Tibetans, who sometimes co-operated with the Arabs. Chandrāpīḍa, king of Kashmīr, received investiture as king from the emperor of China in 720, and thirteen years later his powerful brother and successor, Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya, was similarly honoured. Royal titles were conferred about the same time by the emperor on the chieftains of Udyāna (Suwāt), Chitrāl, Khottal (west of Badakshān), Yasin, Ghaznī, and Kapiśa (Kāfiristān). The Rājā of Kanauj necessarily must have been fully informed of the relations between China and the frontier powers, and it is not surprising that he should have sought to secure the favour of the great eastern potentate. The successes gained by the Chinese over the Western Turks in the years 640-8 had been sufficient inducement to Harsha, a greater monarch than Yaśovarman, to take similar diplomatic action and so to gain the support of the most important state in Asia, which controlled the military forces of Tibet and Nepāl.¹

Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, king of Kashmīr, who ascended the throne about 724 A.D., was, we are told, "eager for conquests, and passed his life chiefly on expeditions, moving round the earth like the sun." In addition to Kashmīr he was master of the kingdoms of Taxila, Simhapura, or the Salt Range, Uraśā or Hazāra, and the small hill-states of Punach and Rājapura or Rajauri. During the early years of his reign while still in alliance with Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, he withstood the

¹ Yaśovarman = *I-cho[sha]-fon* [? *fou*-] *ma*, king of Central India [*Madhyadeśa*], who sent his minister *Sany-po-ta* to the Chinese court in 731 (Panthier, quoted by Stein, transl., *Rajast.*, Bk. iv, v. 134 note). The *T'eh'a-fou-yuen-kwei*, ch. 994, p. 18r, states that "La vingt et unième année *K'ai-yuen* (733), le quatrième mois, on conféra par brevet au roi de *Kou-che-mi* (Cachemire), *Mou-to-pi* (Mouktāpīḍa), le titre de roi de ce pays." The historian proceeds to give a copy of the grant (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 200). See *Early Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., pp. 334, 335, 343, 349, and corrigenda.

Tibetans and blocked their "five great roads." Relying on the merit of these services he sent an embassy to the Chinese court, professing submission, and requesting the grant of investiture with the royal title.¹ His prayer was received with favour, and in the year 733 A.D. the emperor conferred the desired dignity, and honoured the ambassador, named U-li-to by the Chinese historian, with rich gifts and a banquet in the imperial palace.

Some years later, probably about 740-745 A.D., Lalitāditya's ambition led him to attack the kingdom of Kanauj or Gādhīpura. A prolonged struggle ended, according to the chronicles of Kashmir, in the submission of Yaśovarman and the conclusion of a treaty. But the heading of the document, which was superscribed as "the treaty of Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya," with the name of the southern monarch placed first, gave offence to Mitraśarman, the Kashmīri Foreign Secretary, who persuaded his master, contrary to the advice of the generals, to renew the war. Ultimately Lalitāditya prevailed, the unfortunate Yaśovarman being "uprooted entirely," and no doubt put to death. The victor, who is recorded to have reigned for thirty-six years seven months and eleven days, survived his opponent for some fifteen years, more or less.²

At an earlier date, apparently between 730 and 740 A.D., Yaśovarman had himself indulged his ambition and led victorious armies to distant conquests. The record of his

¹ "Moi-même et le roi de l'Inde du centre, nous avons obstrué les cinq grands chemins des *T'ou-po* (Tibétains) et nous avons empêché leurs allées et venues; nous avons livré bataille et avons été aussitôt victorieux" (*T'ang-chou*, ch. cexxi, in Chavannes, *Turcs Occid.*, p. 167). The king of Central India (Madhyadesa) referred to by the Chinese historian must have been Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who is called by the same title in another Chinese work (*note*, p. 776, *note*).

² Stein, transl. *Rājatar.*, Bk. iv, vv. 131-46, 306. The story of Lalitāditya, as told by Kalhana, is a strange mixture of fact and romance. We do not know the Kanauj version, which might have differed materially from that of Kalhana.

exploits is chiefly preserved in a vague and unsatisfactory form in a Prākṛit work entitled *Gaṇḍavaho*, "The slaying of the king of Gaṇḍa," composed by a poet named Vākpatirāja, who after the war transferred his allegiance from the conquered to the conquering king. The poem as it now exists appears to be only the prelude to a missing work designed to narrate in detail the exploits of Yaśovarman in the Bengal campaign, and the actual references to the nominal subject of the poem, the slaying of the king of Gaṇḍa, are few and indistinct. But the poet's composition, being that of a contemporary, still has considerable historical value, and may be taken as sufficient authority for believing that the king of Kanauj effected the temporary subjugation of Bengal. We learn that Yaśovarman started on his campaign, in the approved Indian fashion, after the close of the rains, in October, and marching in a south-easterly direction, reached the valley of the Sōn. The only indication given of the line of march is that he visited the temple of Vindhya-vāsini, the bloodthirsty goddess whose shrine stands in the southern part of the Mirzāpur district. It is interesting to be informed that as late as the eighth century human sacrifices continued to be offered *daily* to the goddess with every circumstance of horror. The natural route to the shrine would lie through Prayāga (Allāhābād), and Yaśovarman may be assumed to have followed that road. His approach frightened the king of Gaṇḍa (Bengal) and Magadha (Bihār), who is not named but who is described as "lord of Magadha" (*Magadhādīpa*). He fled, avoiding his enemy. Yaśovarman kept the field—where we are not told—and the rainy season came on. When the time for campaigning again arrived, a year after Yaśovarman's departure from his capital, the nobles of Gaṇḍa succeeded in bringing up their timid sovereign to face the invader. A great battle resulted in the defeat and death of the king of Gaṇḍa and Magadha. Yaśovarman then advanced

eastwards, and subdued the land of Vanga, or Eastern Bengal, even to the sea-shore.

The poet represents him as next turning to the south and conquering a king, whose name or locality is not indicated. The Pārasikas, supposed to be a western nation of foreign origin, were defeated in a hard-fought battle, and Yaśovarman reached the Narmadā and the Western Ghāts. After some stay on the banks of the Narmadā he moved northwards, and crossing Rājputāna (Marudeśa), arrived at Thānēsar (Śrīkaṇṭha). He is alleged to have marched then to the site of Ayodhyā, the city of Hariśchandra, which had disappeared from earth and been removed to heaven, to have visited the Mandara and Himalayan mountains, and ultimately to have returned to Kanauj.¹

I see no reason to doubt the substantial truth of this contemporary testimony. There is nothing incredible in the assertion that a powerful king, occupying at Kanauj a good central position, should have carried his arms eastwards across Bengal, southwards to the Narmadā, and northwards to the foot of the mountains. The Ayodhyā referred to cannot be the well-known city of Rāma in Southern Oudh, but must mean some place much farther north to which the legend of Hariśchandra's aerial city was attached.² It is not unreasonable to suppose that this military excursion of Yaśovarman, which must have lasted for three or four years at least, should have excited the fears and jealousy of Lalitāditya of Kashmir, who felt himself compelled to challenge Yaśovarman's claim to paramount power. The contest between the rival monarchs, as we have seen, was prolonged, and ended in the ruin of Yaśovarman.

¹ *Gaṇḍaḥarī*, Introd., pp. xx-xxxiii.

² For the legend see Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, s.v. Hariśchandra. The name of Ayodhyā is not given in Dowson's version of the tale.

If Vākpatirāja's outline of his hero's wars of aggression be accepted as correct in its main features, it is probable that Cunningham was right in attributing to Yaśovarman of Kanauj the origin of the name of the town Yaśovarmanapura in Bihār, and in regarding him as having been for a time the paramount sovereign of Northern India.¹

Several Jain books, the oldest of which may date from the thirteenth century, record jumbled traditions of Yaśovarman's war with Bengal. These works, as Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pandit observes, exhibit "a strange mixture of correct or nearly correct tradition with a great deal of absurd fiction." They make out erroneously that the King of Gauḍa, Yaśovarman's opponent, was named Dharma, meaning apparently Dharmapāla, the second of the Pāla dynasty, who did not come to the throne before the year 777 A.D., or thereabouts, but exhibit correctly Yaśovarman as the patron of the poet Vākpatirāja.

Yaśovarman's right to be reckoned as a liberal patron of literature is established by incontrovertible evidence. Kalhaṇa (Bk. iv, v. 144) records that he was "served by Vākpatirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhūti, and other poets," a statement amply confirmed by Vākpatirāja himself and the literary traditions of the Jains. Bhavabhūti, the celebrated author of the *Mālati-mādhava* and two plays dealing with the Rāma legend, wrote in Sanskrit, and was senior to Vākpatirāja, who was content to boast that the best things in his Prākṛit compositions were but "particles of the liquid nectar of poetry that came out from the ocean Bhavabhūti." The Sanskrit dramatist, a native of Vidarbha (Berār), seems to have resided for a time at Ujjain, and it is not known how he came to the Kanauj court. Vākpatirāja, who wrote in Prākṛit, was at first, according to the Jain traditions, in the service of the King of Gauḍa at Lakṣanāvati (Gaur), and

¹ *Reports*, iii, 135; xv, 164.

thence passed to the court of the victorious Yaśovarman.¹ It is alleged that in his latter days, that is to say, after the destruction of his patron by the king of Kashmir, he retired to Mathurā, practised austerities, was converted to Jainism, and ultimately starved himself to death, in accordance with the Jain rule for men desirous of making a good end. He considered his early poem the *Mahumaha-vijaya* (*Madhumatha-vijaya*) to be his best composition, but no text of it has been discovered, and nothing more can be said about it than that the subject probably was the death of the demon Madhu by the hand of Viṣṇu. His only extant production is the *Gaṇḍavaho*, which comprises 1209 couplets, and seems to be no more than the prelude to a much larger work, which may or may not have been executed. The editor has shown reasons for supposing that the *Gaṇḍavaho* was written after the death of Yaśovarman, and consequently that, according to the chronology adopted in this paper, it cannot be earlier in date than 745 A.D. Whatever may have been the facts of the early and the concluding years of the life of Vākpatirāja, we know from his own testimony that he was well read in Sanskrit literature, logic, and dialectics, that he was a disciple of a poet named Kamalā-yudha, and a warm admirer of Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa, and other renowned authors. At the court of Kanauj he became a personal friend of the king, and was appointed his *kavirāja* (*kāi-rāja*), or poet-laureate.

Kanauj during the reign of Yaśovarman certainly was

¹ In addition to the testimony of the Jain works analyzed by the editor of the *Gaṇḍavaho* in his Introd., pp. cxxxv-clxi, the *pañjāvalī* of the Tapagachchha sect records the important statement that "at this time [*scil.* 800 Vikrama = 742-3 A.D.] Bappabhatti, who converted king Āma, was born; died 1365 Vira or Sam. 895." The other legends show that Vākpatirāja lived at Lakṣmāvatī, and that Yaśovarman reigned at Kanauj about the same time (Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, xi, 253). It is not correct to affirm that the *pañjāvalī* itself gives the date for Vākpatirāja and Yaśovarman. They are mentioned only in Klatt's note. But the year 800 Vikrama must fall within the limits of Yaśovarman's reign.

entitled to rank as a literary centre. Lalitāditya, the conqueror of Yašovarmān, having passed most of his time in foreign regions, was too much occupied with war to attend to literature, and is not recorded to have been a patron of authors. His capture of Kanauj must have inflicted a severe blow on the well-being of polite letters. He seems to have retained dominion, at least nominally, over Kanauj for some time, as he made a formal grant of the city and surrounding villages to the temple of the Sun (*Āditya*) which he built at Lalitapura, the modern Latapor on the right bank of the Bīās (*Vitastā*) in Kashmir (*Rājat.*, iv, v. 187). It is not likely that the beneficiaries ever drew revenue from an estate so remote and difficult to hold, and the grant would seem to have been made rather as a vaunt than as a substantial benefaction.

Kalhana (Bk. iv, vv. 323-35) tells a strange story about the treacherous murder of a king of Gauḍa (Bengal) by Lalitāditya at Trigrāmi on the left bank of the Bīās (*Vitastā*) in Kashmir, which I am unable to understand fully or explain with certainty. The chronicler notes this murder as one of Lalitāditya's faults, and states that it was committed under his orders by assassins, although his guest's safety had been assured by his committal to the care of the image of Parihāraśeṣa, a manifestation of Viṣṇu. Certain servants of the murdered king, determined to avenge their master's death, having come to Kashmir on pretence of visiting the shrine of Śārādā, surrounded the temple of Viṣṇu Parihāśakeśava, the deity who had been made surety, and attacked it. "They reached in a vigorous onslaught the silver statue of Viṣṇu Rāmasvāmin, and mistaking it for that of Parihāśakeśava, they overturned it, and broke it into dust." Soldiers quickly hurried up from Śrinagar and cut the bold assailants to pieces. The tale, strange though it is, reads like truth, but it is not easy to determine who the

murdered king of Gaṇḍīya¹ may have been. One unnamed king of that country had been slain by Yaśovarman in or about 730 A.D., and another, apparently Gopāla, the first prince of the Pāla dynasty, was defeated by Vatsarāja Gurjara between 770 and 780.¹ If Gopāla reigned for 45 years, as alleged by Tāranāth, he must have come to the throne about 730 or 732, and been the immediate successor of Yaśovarman's opponent. Perhaps the explanation may be that Lalitāditya's guest was the heir of the king slain by Yaśovarman, and had come to Kashmir in order to invoke aid for the recovery of his father's throne, usurped by Gopāla. We may conjecture that Lalitāditya contemplated the subjugation of Bengal, and was convinced that he would find the enterprise easier if the lawful claimant to the throne were put out of the way. If Kalhana (Bk. iv, vv. 146-50) can be believed, the whole of Bengal, as far as the eastern ocean, actually was overrun by Lalitāditya. But the account of that monarch's adventures includes so much incredible romance, that it is impossible to feel confident in the reality of the alleged victorious march through Bengal, although it is not intrinsically incredible.

The barbarous coins bearing the name of Yaśovarman have long been and continue to be a puzzle to numismatists and historians. In metal, type, and all characteristics they belong unquestionably to the Kashmir series. They closely resemble the issues of Durlabhaka (Pratāpāditya II), who was reigning about 700 A.D., and also those of Jayāpāda (Vinayāditya), who came to the throne about 772 A.D., twelve years after the death of Lalitāditya, the conqueror of Yaśovarman. The names of the kings of Kashmir at that period are well ascertained, and do not include Yaśovarman, so that it appears to be impossible

¹ Wani grant (*Ind. Ant.*, xi, 156, 160); Rādhanpur grant, dated 730 Śaka = 808 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, vi, 240).

to reckon the issuer of the Yaśovarman coins among the sovereigns of Kashmir. These rude pieces, which look a little more barbarous than the coins of Pratāpāditya, are yet not quite as degraded as those of Vinayāditya; consequently, from the numismatic point of view, their natural place is between the coinage of those two princes. The date thus obtained agrees exactly with that of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*circa* 728-45), and it is difficult to resist the inference that they should be assigned to him. But if they are his, why are they made in the Kashmir fashion? Another difficulty is that they seem to come from the Panjāb and Kashmir rather than from the Kanauj territory. It is impossible to believe that they were minted at Kanauj, and they look as if they were struck in the Kashmir mints. But there is no record that Yaśovarman ever held Kashmir.

The puzzle remains unsolved. At one time I conjectured that the coins might have been "struck by an unrecorded Rājā in either the Panjāb or Kashmir during the sixth or seventh century" (*Catal. Coins I.M.*, vol. i, p. 266); but, on reconsideration, I am convinced that they must date from the eighth century, and am inclined to accept the old attribution to Yaśovarman of Kanauj. No other Yaśovarman in that period is known. The coins are common (*Cunningham*), and must, therefore, have been struck in large numbers by a prince of considerable power, such as Yaśovarman of Kanauj undoubtedly was. If Vākpatirāja can be believed when he affirms that his hero marched triumphantly defeating all enemies between the Narmadā and the Himalaya, can it be possible that Lalitāditya may have been for a time the subordinate ally of the king of Kanauj and constrained to strike coins in his name? If such were the case, the coins in question must have been struck by Lalitāditya in the earlier years of his reign prior to the protracted war with Yaśovarman. But I must confess my inability

to frame any hypothesis is adequate to explain the coins in a satisfactory fashion, and so must leave the question open.¹ It is a curious fact that no coins have come to the face of them to any period of Lalitāditya's reign have been discovered. The issues of both his predecessors and his successors are abundant, while absolutely nothing is known about his coinage.

No definite information is on record regarding the lineage of Yaśovarman or the manner in which he attained power. Vākṣaṭīśa eulogizes him as an ornament of the Lunnar race of kings,² and therefore must have considered him to be a Kshatriya, not a Vaiśya as Harsha-vardhana was. The termination *-varman* of his name suggests that he may have been a Maukharī like Grabhavarman and the other Rājās of that distinguished family whose names ended in *-varman*, and both Cunningham and Shankar Pāṇḍurang Paṇḍit have hazarded the conjecture that the Maukharis may have been connected with the Mauryas. The chief support of this conjecture is Hiuen Tsang's statement that Pūrṇavarman, Rājā of Magadha in his time, was the last of the race of Aśoka. The death of Pūrṇavarman seems to have occurred between 619 and 637 A.D.³

¹ These mysterious coins are described and figured in my *Catal. of Coins in the I.M.*, vol. i, pp. 81, note, 265, 268; by Rapson, in *Indian Coins*, sec. 112, pl. iv, 21; and by Cunningham in *Coins of Med. India*, p. 44, pl. iii, 11. See also his *Reports*, vol. ii, 159; iii, 138. The only specimen of which the exact provenance has been recorded is that inserted in the great Maṅkyaṭa stūpa, but I do not think the Yaśovarman coins ever occur in the Kanauj country, or, indeed, anywhere to the south of the Panjāb. I never saw them in the United Provinces.

² *Gūṇāvalī*, introd., p. 230b.

³ These limiting dates are determined by the known facts that Śaśāṅka was alive in 619; that, according to Hiuen Tsang, he died miserably when he heard of Pūrṇavarman's restoration of the Bodhi-tree (*Beal*, ii, 123), and that the pilgrim visited Bodhi Gayā about 637. The narrative implies that Śaśāṅka predeceased Pūrṇavarman, who did not die until Harsha was in a position to offer Jayasena the revenues of eighty villages in Orissa (*Beal*, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 153). Harsha was not in a position before 612 A.D. at the earliest, and probably not a few years later.

A Jain work, the *Prabhāvala-charita*, describes Yaśovarman as being descended from Chandragupta and a bright ornament to his race. This statement seems to mean that the writer believed Yaśovarman to be of Maurya descent. The kings of the imperial Gupta line, which included two Chandraguptas, did not take names ending in *-varman*. But the conjectures above noted are far from being proved, and at present the person of Yaśovarman stands in isolation, without either ancestors or descendants.¹ It is clear that when he was "entirely uprooted" by Lalitāditya his family cannot have inherited the crown, and his immediate successor as Rājā of Kanauj, who apparently was Vajrāyudha, must have belonged to a different stock.

The actual existence of Vajrāyudha as king of Kanauj and Pañchāla is known solely from a passing allusion made by Rājasekhara, the dramatist who lived at the Parihār court of Kanauj in the eleventh century. But we know that the throne of Kanauj was occupied in 783 A.D. by Indrāyudha, who was dethroned about 800 A.D. by Dharmapāla, king of Gauda, and replaced by Chakrāyudha, who retained power until his kingdom was annexed by Nāgabhaṭa Parihār about 810 A.D.² The

¹ The Jain books relate wonderful stories about Āma, king of Kanauj and Gwāliar, who is described as the son of Yaśovarman (*Gaṇḍavaho*, Introd., pp. cxxvii, cxlv, cl).

² The authority for the date 783 is the Jain *Harivamśa*. The Rāshtrakūṭa and Parihār inscriptions are the principal sources of information concerning the annexation of Kanauj by the Parihārs (Gurjara-Pratihāras) of Bhilmāl. I have discussed the subject fully in a separate essay on the Gurjars, and given the results briefly in *El. Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., pp. 349, 350. Rājasekhara writes: "To the capital of Vajrāyudha, the King of Pañchāla, to Kanauj" (*Karpūra-mañjarī*, iii, 57, ed. Konow & Lanman, p. 266).

Pañchāla, or the land of the Pañchālas, according to the Mahābhārata, as summarized by Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79; *Reports*, xi, 11), was divided, after the great war, into two kingdoms, namely, Northern Pañchāla, with its capital at Abhicchhatra, and Southern Pañchāla, with its capital at Kāmpilya. The Chinese do not mention Pañchāla as the name of a kingdom.

form of the names indicates that Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha, and Chakrāyudha, all belonged to one family, and it is impossible to find a vacant place for Vajrāyudha anywhere except between Yaśovarman and Indrāyudha. I feel confident that he really filled that vacancy.

Kalhana (Bk. iv, vv. 402-659) gives an account of the adventures of Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya during his reign of 31 years, extending from about 772 to 803, which is even more marvellous than the story of the exploits of Lalitāditya. Parts of the tale obviously are mere folklore, while other parts look like genuine history. The concise statement (v. 471) that Jayāpīḍa, after defeating the king of Kanyakubja in battle, carried off his throne, the ensign of royal power, is one of the matter-of-fact passages which seem to deal with real events. If the alleged defeat of a king of Kanauj by Jayāpīḍa be true, the vanquished monarch must have been Vajrāyudha, and the date of his dethronement cannot be far removed from

time of Harsha, as well as in the best days of both the Maurya and the Gupta empires, the whole of Pañchāla must have been comprised in the home provinces, and presumably administered by imperial officials. The Pañchālas are included by Varāha Mihira among the peoples of the middle country (Madhyadeśa = Āryāvarta), and the country of Pañchāla is reckoned by him as one of the nine great kingdoms (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, various passages, especially xiv, 32; *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 186; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 19). The list of nine kingdoms is repeated by Alberūnī in 1030 A.D. with the remark that the names were not then in common use. Varāha Mihira wrote in the sixth century, but his lists may, and apparently do, refer to much earlier times. So far as I know, the kingdom of Pañchāla is not noticed again under that name until the beginning of the ninth century, in the Pala copper-plates, and Rājasekhara's allusion to it in the tenth century is the latest on record, except Alberūnī's. Nothing is known about the history of Kāmpīlya (Kāmpīl). Kanauj is situated in the Southern Pañchāla of the Mahābhārata. For Abichhatra (Abichhatra, Abichchhatra, Adichhatra, Ahikshetra, Ahikshatra, Ādikoṭ, 'Āśarāḍpa'), see Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. i (1871), pp. 255-65, pls. xliii, xlv; Führer, *Monumental Antiquities N.W.P. and Oudh* (1891), pp. 26-9; *Progress Rep. Archaeol. S. N.W.P.* for 1891-2, pp. 1-5; *Ep. Ind.*, ii, 243 (genealogy of early kings); *ibid.*, iv, 210 (*bhukti*, 'province'); *Catal. Coins in I.M.*, vol. i, pp. 97, 145, 184, 185.

772 A.D. The attack on Kanauj must have taken place at the beginning of Jayāpīḍa's reign. Of course, the suggested date is merely approximate. Nothing more concerning Vajrāyudha is known or can be inferred.

Vajrāyudha's successor, Indrāyudha or Indrarāja, is known to have been reigning in 783 A.D., at which time Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Rājputāna, and Dhruva, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of the Deccan, were his contemporaries.¹ About the beginning of the ninth century he was attacked and dethroned by Dharmapāla, the powerful king of Bengal (Gauḍa), who placed on the throne in his stead Chakrāyudha, perhaps his younger brother. The installation of the new Rājā was solemnized with great pomp, the ceremony being attended by the kings of the principal northern states, nine in number, who signified their formal assent to the proceedings. This solemnity raised Dharmapāla for the moment to the rank of the premier monarch or paramount power in India to the north of the Narmadā. The attendant kings were those of the Bhojas, probably from Berār, the Matsyas of Eastern Rājputāna, the Madras of the central Panjāb, the Kuruks, probably of the Cis-Sutlej districts, the Yadus, presumably of Mathurā, the Yavanas and Gandhāras of the north-western frontier, Avanti, or the Ujjain territory, and the Kīras of the Kāngrā Valley.² The assembly at Kanauj of the rulers of territories extending from the Narmadā to Peshāwar is clear proof not only of the widespread fear caused by the victorious arms of Dharmapāla but also of the pre-eminence enjoyed by Kanauj among

¹ Jain *Harivamśa* (Bomb. Gaz., 1896, vol. i, part ii, p. 197 n.).

² Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 304; xx, 189); Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, 252). The position of the Bhojas in Berār has been determined by Dr. Mark Collins (*Geogr. Data of the Rayburma and Dawkumārurita*, Leipzig, G. Kreysing, 1907). The approximate positions of the other nations are fairly well known. The history of these transactions is examined more fully in my essay on the Gurjars. Here it is dealt with only so far as it concerns Kanauj.

the cities of India. From the time of Harsha's imperial sway Pañchāla had taken the rank formerly held by Magadha as the premier kingdom of the North, and Kanauj, like Pāṭaliputra in the olden time, had won universal recognition as the imperial city.

Chakrāyudha, the nominee of Dharmapāla, did not enjoy his elevation very long. A few, possibly ten years, after his installation, he was attacked by Nāgabhaṭa, the Gurjara king of Rājputāna, dethroned, and presumably put to death.¹ The new conqueror did not, like Dharmapāla, retire after setting up a vassal king. He boldly annexed Pañchāla to his ancestral kingdom in the west, and moved the seat of government from Bhūlmāl in Southern Rājputāna to Kanauj, and by so doing, claimed and assumed the position of Lord Paramount of Northern India. The date of this momentous change in the political system of the northern states may be expressed in round numbers as 810 A.D.

Nāgabhaṭa belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihār) clan of the Gurjaras, a foreign horde which had entered Rājputāna some two centuries or more earlier, and, quickly becoming Hinduized, had been absorbed into the Hindu caste organization. The members of the Parihār clan, which still survives, and occupies a good social position in Upper India, were recognized as Kshatriyas or Rājput̃s. Kanauj thus passed under the rule of the Parihārs, and so continued for more than two hundred years until January, 1019 (8th Sha'bān, 409 A.H.), when the city was captured by Mahmūd of Ghazni, and its numerous temples destroyed. The reigning Rājā then fled and transferred his court to Bārī on the other side of the Ganges.

During the two centuries of Parihār rule Kanauj attained great glory and also suffered severe disasters. For

¹ The leading authority is the Sagar Tāl inscription from Gwālior, ed. and transl. in *Archæol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903-4, p. 277; discussed by Kielhorn in *Nachr. der K. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft. zu Göttingen*, 1905.

some seventy years, from about 840 to 908 A.D., the Parihār kings Mihira-Bhoja and Mahendrapāla governed from the capital a vast empire extending from the borders of Bihār to the Arabian Sea, the Hakra, or 'Lost River,' and the Sutlaj. About 916 A.D., Indra III Rāshtrakūṭa captured Kanauj, but did not attempt to retain his conquest.¹ This mishap, which occurred early in the reign of Mahipāla, marks the beginning of the decline of the Kanauj empire, and probably involved the immediate loss of the western provinces. Notwithstanding this diminution of his patron's power, Rājasekhara the dramatist, who resided at the Kanauj court, does not hesitate to describe Mahipāla as being the sovereign of Āryāvarta, or Northern India. The latest play composed by Rājasekhara, entitled the *Bāla-bhārata* or *Prachanda-pāṇḍava*, was performed in the presence of Mahipāla, and presumably at Kanauj.² Inasmuch as Rājasekhara had been the *guru* or teacher of Mahendrapāla the previous king, and Mahipāla came to the throne about 908 A.D., it is possible that the poet's career may have come to an end before the raid of Indra III in 916 A.D.

The next event recorded in the history of the city of Kanauj is its capture by Mahmūd of Ghazni in January, 1019 A.D. Rājyapāla, the ruling Rājā, abandoned his capital without resistance, made his submission to Mahmūd, and allowed him to occupy in a single day the seven forts which defended the city. It is said that Kanauj then contained ten thousand temples, which the Sultan destroyed. The town was more or less completely spared, but quickly sank into a state of ruin and decay as noted by Alberūnī some twelve years later. The Rājā, in 1019 A.D., removed his court to Bārī on the other side of the Ganges, which in its turn was plundered

¹ Cambay plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vii, 30, 43). Indra III reigned from February, 915 A.D., to about 917.

² Konow and Lassen, *Karpūra-mañjarī*, p. 188.

by Maḥmūd in the following year, 1020 A.D.¹ During the interval between the departure of the Sultan in 1019 and his return in 1020 Rājyapāla was attacked and slain by a confederacy of Hindu princes.

Nothing more is heard of Kanauj until about 1090 A.D., when a Gaharwār adventurer named Chandradeva seized the city and founded a new dynasty, which attained considerable power and splendour under Govindachandra, who reigned from about 1114 to 1154 A.D. No description of the city at this period is extant, but it is evident that as the capital of a vigorous dynasty Kanauj must have recovered much of its former prosperity.

The end of the famous city came in 1193 A.D., when Shihāb-ud-dīn captured, sacked, and destroyed it. The site does not seem to have been wholly abandoned at any time, and certain mediæval Muhammadan buildings attest its continuous occupation. Kanauj, as it now exists, is a commonplace country town of the Muhammadan type, in the Farrukhābād District, United Provinces (N. lat. 27° 2', E. long. 79° 58'), with nothing save shapeless mounds to preserve the memory of its ancient glories.² Even these mounds have been destroyed to a large extent during the last thirty years by the excavations of railway contractors in search of ballast.³

Notwithstanding the almost complete devastation of the city by Shihāb-ud-dīn in 1193 A.D., the Hindus at any rate continued to recognize the existence of a Rājā of Kanauj, who in 1195-6 had sufficient authority to justify him in making a grant of a village in the Mirzāpur District more than two hundred miles distant from

¹ Al 'Uṭbī and Alberūnī in *Ellis*, vol. i. The name of Rājyapāla, erroneously read as Rāi Jaipāl in Al 'Uṭbī, has been recovered from inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 24; *Ep. Ind.*, ii, 235; see also *Ep. Ind.*, i, 219).

² Cunningham, *Reports*, i, 279-93.

³ Bivett-Carnac, "Archæol. Notes," *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii (1879), pp. 100-104.

Kanauj.¹ Perhaps this Rājā, whose name has not been preserved, retained only a titular connexion with Kanauj, residing at some town out of the reach of Muhammadan generals or officials. It is likely that the residence was near Jaunpur. Zafarābād, four miles to the south-east of that city, is said to have been the site of a palace of the later Rājās of Kanauj.² A few years afterwards, in 1219-20 A.D., the Rājā of Kanauj (*Gādhipurādhipa*) was named Gopāla, who was succeeded by Madana. In the year mentioned the Rājā's hereditary counsellor founded a Buddhist monastery at Setmahet, the ancient town in Northern Oudh, on the boundary of the Gopā and Bahraich Districts.³ These two incidents prove that during the period immediately succeeding the Muhammadan conquest the titular Rājās of Kanauj exercised jurisdiction over a territory of considerable dimensions extending more than two hundred miles towards the south-east, and more than a hundred miles towards the north-east. It is, of course, possible that the Rājās may have been obliged

¹ Pillar inscription at Belkharā, twelve miles S.E. of Chanāgarh (Chunar), roughly edited and translated by Cunningham, *Reports*, xi, 128, pl. xxxviii. Lines 3 and 4 read . . . *śrīmatskanyakubharajayajñarājya samrat 1253 vainsikha suli 11 bhannu*. This record does not seem to have been properly edited by anybody.

² Cunningham, *Reports*, xi, 104; Führer, *Sharqi Archil, of Jaunpur*, p. 64.

³ Set-Mahet inscription, edited by Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 61). The record is dated simply in *Sambat* 1276, and Gopāla is described as *Gādhipurādhipa*. Set-Mahet (Sahet-Mahet). I may note, certainly is not Śrāvastī, as Professor Kielhorn supposed it to be when writing twenty years ago. My opinion is not altered by the recent discovery of a well-preserved copper-plate inscription "in the foundations of a cell of the large monastery which occupies the south-western portion of the Sahet mound," recording the donation of six villages by Gopālachandra, Rājā of Kanauj, "to the community of Buddhist friars residing in the Great Convent of Holy Jetavana" (*Pioneer Mail*, 15th May, 1908). The date is given as 1136 S., which may be a misprint for 1236 or 1286 S. The writer of the article assumes that this find is "conclusive proof" of the identity of Sahet-Mahet with Śrāvastī, but I need hardly say that such a plate may have come from elsewhere. Its presence probably indicates official connexion between the Sahet-Mahet monastery and the Jetavana, but nothing more.

to pay tribute and render some service to a representative of the Sultan of Delhi. The second inscription referred to is also interesting as a proof of the late survival of Buddhism in Northern Oudh. There is nothing in the inscriptions to indicate the race or family of the two chiefs whose names happen to have escaped oblivion, but they may be presumed to have been relatives of Rājā Jaichand (Jayachandra), who was killed in 1193.

The leading events in the story of the city of Kanauj, so far as they are on record, may be exhibited in chronological order as follows:—

<i>Event.</i>	<i>Approximate Date.</i>
Foundation	Not known.
Mentioned by Patañjali	150 B.C.*
	A.D.
Visit of Fa-hien	403-5*
Captured by Śaśāṅka	605*
Occupied by Harsha	606*
Became capital of Harsha's empire	612*
Death of Harsha	648*
Defeat of Harsha's usurping minister	650*
Visit of I-tsing	673-87*
Accession of Yaśovarman	728
Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti poets at court ...	743
Destruction of Yaśovarman; Vajrāyudha acc.	745
Indrāyudha acc.	772
Chakrāyudha acc.; meeting of kings	800
Captured by Nāgabhaṭa; became capital of Gurjara empire	810
Greatest splendour in time of Mihira- Bhoja, etc.	840-910*
Captured by Indra III, Rāshtrakūṭa	916*
Captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazni	1019*
Capital removed to Bāri	1019*
Occupied by Chandradeva Gaharwār	1090
Renewed prosperity in reign of Govinda- chandra	1114-34*
Destroyed by Shihāb-ud-dīn	1193*
Unnamed Rājā of Kanauj	1195-6*
Gopāla, Rājā of Kanauj	1200
Madana, Rājā of Kanauj in	1219-20*

Dates marked * are practically certain.



XX.

ON THE NEWLY DISCOVERED SAMARITAN BOOK OF
JOSHUA.

By M. GASTER.

A PECULIAR fate seems to be hanging over the Samaritan literature. Although it is very old, and parts of it go back to centuries before the Christian era, yet one may say that it remained unknown to our very days. It was a continued discovery, one book after the other turning up haphazard, the first discovery dating only from the end of the sixteenth century. Since Scaliger came in contact with the Samaritan community in Cairo, the knowledge of Samaritans and Samaritan literature began to penetrate into Europe.

In 1616, for the first time, the Pentateuch according to the Samaritan recension became the property of Pietro della Valle, who obtained a copy in Damascus, and then through the efforts of Englishmen, like Huntington and Marshall, a little more became known of the Samaritans. The chief interest centred round that Pentateuch, and was almost limited to it. In the course of time a few fragmentary books of prayer and a few calendars were obtained from the Samaritans. Of their other books very little was known; few asked after them, and less cared for them. Only from the middle of the last century some of their Arabic and other secular writings came into European hands. Another danger threatened the remnants of the older Samaritan literature. Once the interest in the Samaritans was roused, the number of visitors grew, and as every visitor was anxious to retain a memento of his visit, many of the ancient books of the Samaritans have been

carried away, and may lie unrecognized in private libraries, scattered through the whole of Europe and America; some have even been torn into single leaves, which of necessity have also disappeared in a similar manner. Either for this reason, or because the Samaritans themselves attach no great significance to their secular literature, it so happens that, perhaps with the stray exception of a prayer-book, no old manuscript has been preserved by them outside the Pentateuch. I took special pains on my last visit to Nablus in May, 1907, to examine every manuscript in their possession. And I make bold to state that save one or two less important books, all the rest were comparatively modern copies from originals lost long ago. It will be seen later on that the Samaritans, whom we may consider as a fossilized remnant of the ancient Jewish sect, copied their old manuscripts with the utmost fidelity and care, and the test which I have made by obtaining two independent copies by two different hands of one and the same old prayer-book and of other documents has satisfied me on that point completely. The variations between one copy and the other were quite insignificant. It seems that they have concentrated all their best energies in copying the old MSS. For the rest their education does not rise above the level of the surrounding Mohamedan population. Not only have they forgotten Hebrew, but their own dialect (Aramaic) had become an extinct language as far back as the eighth or ninth century. And even their prayers are translated into Arabic and written side by side with the original in their most ancient collections of the Liturgy.

It is necessary to dwell upon these points before I attempt to describe the finding of the Book of Joshua, and before I give the reasons which have prompted me to recognize, in the two independent copies obtained from the Samaritans, the very Hebrew original of which, though known by a vague reference still, every scholar from the time of

Scaliger to this day was convinced that it had never existed. So deep-rooted was this conviction that even after having the book in my hands I did not believe that it was the old book, or that it was that Hebrew text. I thought it was either a transcript of the Arabic text into Samaritan characters or perchance a translation. It was only after I had read a few chapters and had compared it with the Arabic versions that I became aware that it could not be but the Hebrew original. Nothing, either in the way I obtained it or in the manner it was offered me, led me up to that belief. It came to me by chance, and those from whom I obtained it treated it with the utmost indifference. I claim no merit for the finding. It was a mere chance, and I shall not be surprised to learn that similar copies have come unrecognized into the hands of other visitors to the Samaritans. Nay, what is much more curious is, that since writing my letter to the *Times* (Tuesday, 9th of June) Mr. P. Goodman drew my attention to the fact that a similar copy had come into the hands of Mr. Luncz, and, as far back as 1902, he had printed a bare transcript of it in the *Jerusalem* periodical. It shared, evidently, the fate of the Samaritan original, it has remained unknown and unrecognized, and but for my own independent discovery it would perhaps have remained buried in that periodical. By the way, I may remark that that manuscript is somewhat incomplete. Important portions are left out. It is therefore not for the finding that I claim any merit. With deep thankfulness and humility I wish to recognize the grace of Him who guides man's steps, that He had enabled me after these manuscripts had got into my hands in 1907 to recognize their true character, and to contribute, as I trust, a small fraction towards the elucidation and interpretation of His Word.

I will now briefly sum up the process of the investigation which I followed, in order to establish the genuineness and antiquity of the text so curiously placed in my

hands. A modern copy, for that is what I possess, is apt to rouse suspicion as to its genuineness, especially as I have not seen among the Samaritans any old copy, even when my attention has not been drawn to it in any way or manner. Was this text a copy of an older original, and was that original a copy of other older originals, going thus back to the pre-Christian era, or was this copy a modern compilation? Such was my first question. The second question was, assuming it not to be a modern compilation, was it perhaps a translation, and if so, from which language, and at what time?

I will endeavour to answer these questions in the same order in which I have put them. Before doing so I must refer to what I stated at the beginning, that most of the manuscripts found among the Samaritans are only recent copies of older books. The first secular treatise brought to Europe and published was the "Tolidah," brought by Dr. Neubauer, and published by him in 1873 from a copy made in 1859 by the same Samaritan, Jacob ben Aaron, who is now the High Priest, and from whom I obtained one of my copies of the Book of Joshua. Now that manuscript proves to be a faithful copy of a book composed in the twelfth century (1149), of which only another modern copy existed in Samaria, and yet no one doubted its authenticity, in spite of the absence of any old copy. A second copy of the same book made recently for me by another Samaritan, the verger of the Synagogue, from whom I obtained also a second copy of the Book of Joshua, agrees absolutely with the copy obtained by Dr. Neubauer. I mention this as a proof for the statement advanced above of the faithfulness and accuracy with which the Samaritans copy their ancient manuscripts, and which take then the place of the old originals which are lost or destroyed. I have made this a test case, for Abul-Fath, in the fourteenth century, refers to this book and quotes

it, and the quotation agrees also entirely with this modern copy. Then comparing this chronicle with the one published by Adler and Seligsohn and with the manuscript Chronicle of the High Priest, in which the Book of Joshua forms the initial part, we are struck by the close resemblance between all these chronicles. This is a further reason why every reliance might safely be placed in their copies. The antiquity of the Book of Joshua could therefore not be assailed on the ground that it was preserved only in a modern copy. The book could for all that be very old. Still, the question whether it was a modern compilation could not be answered from the mere palaeographical point of view, for it might just as easily be a modern compilation as it could be a copy of an old original. Is there, then, anyone among the Samaritans who would compile such a book, and if so, which were the sources available? Wherefrom could he borrow the elements that make up this remarkable book? And is there anyone among the Samaritans capable of such a compilation in modern times? A further question would have to be asked, which to my mind would be the most important. What aims would be satisfied, what purpose would be served by such a modern compilation, which would be a very difficult scholarly piece of work, an accomplishment of the first order?

I prefer answering this last question first. A compilation of this kind could only be undertaken, as already hinted, by a scholar who not only would have access to the Hebrew Bible, Rabbinical literature, Josephus, etc., but would be abreast of the latest researches of Biblical criticism. Could such a work be done without any reward being expected? And if any attempt had been made to produce in modern times such a book and claim for it so high an antiquity, the most elementary precautions would have been taken to prepare it in the approved style on old parchment, to have it water-stained and weather-beaten,

to draw attention to it as an extremely ancient and important book which had recently been discovered, and to ask for it such a fabulous price as the Samaritans know how to ask when they offer some of their old Bibles for sale, or when they offered me an old mystical document on parchment and obtained it. They were then fully aware of the importance of this last-mentioned document, and for a "Ketubah," or "marriage contract," on parchment, which I obtained from them, I paid many times the amount over that which I paid for a copy of the Book of Joshua. And as for the dogmatic interests which were to be served, they had lost their point some 1,800 years ago. Who, in modern times, would pay any attention to a modern copy of a Book of Joshua by means of which the Samaritans might claim to be the true Israelites? They, moreover, have never advanced their claim on any other basis than on that of the Pentateuch alone, which was the only book considered as sacred and authoritative to both Jews and Samaritans alike. There was, therefore, no reason to doubt the authenticity and genuineness of the book on the score of being a modern copy.

I will now go one step further and say that, if for any unknown reason, they still might have decided or desired to make this compilation, there is not a Samaritan living, nor has there been anyone living for many a century, who was sufficiently conversant with the Hebrew Bible outside the Pentateuch to undertake such a gigantic task. The knowledge of Hebrew, except among the few who have still some closer acquaintance with the Pentateuch, was primitive and elementary, and I include among them the High Priest and his nephew Ishak ben Amram, with whom I am in correspondence, and whose Hebrew letters are a sufficient answer to any supposition of extensive knowledge of Hebrew. Nor is there, as far as I have been able to ascertain, anyone else in the Samaritan community capable of writing a single Hebrew line.

From all the evidence available it is clear that the work cannot be a modern compilation. Is it, then, perhaps, an old translation, and not the ancient original book?

I will now briefly sum up the contents of this work, for it bears on this last-mentioned problem. I have subdivided the text into twenty-four chapters, arranged more or less in accordance with the division of the Bible.

Chapter 1. Moses dies in the year 2794 from Creation, in the first of the twelfth month. (Let me at once point out that no other era is mentioned here except that of the Creation. Any late compilation would have either the year of Yezdejerd or of the Hedjra.) Joshua is appointed leader. He orders the counting of the people (which is missing in our Bible), and he asks the two and a half tribes to go with him.

Chapter 2. The spies go to Jericho. They return and bring report to Joshua and to Eleazar, the High Priest.

Chapter 3. The Ark goes in front of the army. The priests sing a hymn. The cloud is lifted. (All this is missing in our Bible, and is in strict accordance with the narrative in the Pentateuch.) The crossing of the Jordan.

Chapter 4. Stones are taken out of the Jordan. The erection of the twelve stones in the Jordan. The going up from the Jordan into the land of Canaan.

Chapter 5. The song of Joshua and of the children of Israel. (Not in our Bible.) The erection of the twelve stones in Gilgal.

Chapter 6. The rising of the cloud was in the first year of the Shemittah and of the Jubilee, the counting of which commenced in the year 2794. (Missing in our Bible.) Manna ceases, and the messenger of the Lord appears to Joshua.

Chapter 7. Conquest of Jericho.

Chapter 8. First attempt against Ai; failure. Complaint of Joshua. The discovery of the guilty one who had

taken a golden idol from the Temple in Jericho, who is discovered by the stones on the breastplate of the High Priest getting dim when his name was mentioned. Punishment. (The incidents of the golden idol and the oracle are missing in our Bible.)

Chapter 9. Conquest of Ai. The establishment of the altar on Mount Gerizim. Eleazar writes the law on the twelve stones of the altar. Blessing and curse uttered by the priests. Burial of the bones of Joseph in Elon More.

Chapter 10. History of the Gibeonites.

Chapter 11. War of the five kings against the Gibeonites. Joshua to their rescue. Five kings are killed and their cities conquered. The second Passover kept in the second year. (No mention of sun and moon standing still.)

Chapter 12. Joshua's war against the remaining kings. Occupation of the whole country. Destruction of the Anakim.

Chapter 13. Temple erected on Mount Gerizim. Joshua judges the people. The two and a half tribes are now free to return.

Chapter 14. The division of the land among the nine and a half tribes in the following order: Judah, Simeon, Benjamin, Dan, Ephraim, half Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and the six towns of refuge.

Chapter 15. The two and a half tribes return. Nobach is appointed king.

Chapter 16. King Shobach gathers the kings of the North, and they threaten Joshua with war.

Chapter 17. Joshua receives a message on the last day of the seven weeks before Pentecost. Pentecost kept on the Sunday. Joshua reads the letter of Shobach to the people.

Chapters 18 and 19. Reply of Joshua.

Chapter 20. Joshua's message delivered to Shobach. Great consternation among the people. Shobach calls

for the wizards. His mother is a witch, and they promise assistance.

Chapter 21. Joshua marches against Shobach. Suddenly surrounded by seven iron walls. Prays to God. A dove comes. He ties a letter to its wings. The dove delivers its message to Nobach, and his people come to the assistance of Joshua. Phineas comes with trumpets, and on blowing same the seven iron walls fall down.

Chapter 22. Joshua assembles the people before his death. Urges upon them to decide which God they wish to serve. They only wish to serve the God of their forefathers. Joshua dies, and is buried close to Mount Gerizim.

Chapter 23. Nathaniel is appointed king. Death of Eleazar. Phineas High Priest. Phineas establishes the calendar.

Chapter 24. Abisha, son of Phineas, writes the scroll of the Law in the thirteenth year since the entry of the children of Israel to Palestine, which is kept to this very day in the Synagogue of the Samaritans.

Of these twenty-four chapters, more than half agree verbatim with the Hebrew text of our Bible; of course with many omissions, and with very large additions. Eliminating these additions, the rest agrees even in strange expressions and in rare forms entirely with what we call the Massoretic text. Can this book, then, be a translation, and if so, from what language? Was this book really unknown to the Samaritans? For whose benefit should a translation have been made? That it cannot be a modern compilation I think has already been proved. There is no man who could do it, and no object to be gained for having done it. The strange idea that the book might have been a translation—for I must call it strange since we now have it in our hands, agreeing so closely with the Massoretic—rests on the fact that for centuries no other text was known but what purported

to be an Arabic romance of Joshua, compiled or written by Samaritans, and found in at least two Chronicles, one of the fourteenth century of Abul-Fath and another probably of the twelfth or thirteenth century, by an anonymous author. The latter is found in the manuscript that came to Scaliger from Cairo, and which up to 1847 remained in manuscript, and was the only source known to Europe of a Book of Joshua among the Samaritans. This author, who, as Juynboll, the editor, has shown, must have lived about the thirteenth century, says distinctly in his introduction that among the sources for his work he had utilized a *Hebrew History of Joshua*. And a letter which came from the Samaritans in 1598 mentions also expressly that they have the Book of Joshua, so therefore the existence of a Book of Joshua in the hands of the Samaritans as early as the thirteenth century cannot be gainsaid. The efforts made by Scaliger and Huntington to obtain that Hebrew copy having failed, to my knowledge no other attempt has been made during all these centuries. For the last 200 years no one seems to have asked or enquired among the Samaritans whether they had or what had become of such a book. European scholarship had satisfied itself that it did not exist, and therefore no one asked for it. Who knows whether others, having gone to Samaria, and having asked for it as eagerly as they asked for copies of the Pentateuch, might have perhaps preserved to us a still older copy than those in my possession. The fact is that no one believed in its existence, and when I got it, as I said before, I was under the same impression as everyone else. Abul-Fath says also that he has used a Book of Joshua. But it is difficult to say definitely whether he means a Hebrew or an Arabic. A slight transposition of the two letters ב and ר is sufficient to change 'Hebrew,' עברי, into 'Arabic,' ערבי, or 'Arabic' into 'Hebrew.'

These Arabic chronicles show unmistakably that a Hebrew text of Joshua existed in their time. And even without their statement it is self-evident that such must have been the case. They must have had access to some kind of a Book of Joshua, invested with some authority for them so as to start their history with that book. No other source is known from which they could have derived the narrative embodied in their own work. What, then, would be more natural than to suppose that an identical Hebrew text, which for the Samaritans forms part of their secular literature, which has been given to me as part of that secular literature, should be the very source of the Arabic expansion and paraphrase in both chronicles? It must be made perfectly clear that the whole history of the Samaritans, the references in their liturgy and in many other writings to which it would be impossible to allude in detail, all presuppose among the Samaritans the existence of an old Hebrew book containing the history of Joshua. The only question to be answered is in what relation this version of the supposed ancient text stands to the Arabic chronicles. Are they dependent on this text, or is the Hebrew text a translation and thus a re-translation from the Arabic? Can this text be considered as a direct translation from either of these works? A glance suffices to convince one that this text is absolutely independent of the Arabic chronicles. They are more in the nature of a paraphrase; Abul-Fath being more sober, whilst the anonymous, is much more expanded. He himself says that he has 'paraphrased' it, and he has in fact taken very great liberties with his original. But all the essential points, small details wherein the Samaritan text differs from the Massoretic, are found in both Arabic chronicles. Sufficient evidence that the original from which the Arabic translations have been made must have contained already all these additional elements. It is thus out of the question to consider this

text as a translation. But assuming for argument's sake that it is a translation from the Arabic. First, for whose benefit? No one understood Hebrew, except a very limited number, and they, in a very mixed manner; for at least 1,500 years there were no readers. And then, assuming it were a translation, would that would-be translator vary his style? Would not the whole work appear in a uniform character? And would it then not agree much more closely with any of these chronicles than it does, for they contain a large number of details and greater developments of the Shobach legend than are found in the Hebrew text. Why should the translator omit them? I can easily understand that a writer wishing to compose a romantic history of the past would add to the legends already found in his original; but why should a translator go out of his way to omit part and insert another part? And where was the necessity for anyone to translate the book back when, according to the testimony of ancient writers, the very Arabic translations and paraphrase referred to a Hebrew text, no doubt still in existence? Even if another Arabic translation should at any time turn up, which would approximate more closely to the Hebrew text, even that would only be a translation from the Hebrew which must have existed long before the Samaritans started translating their works into Arabic. It must also be added that in the whole range of their literature, of which I possess as complete a collection as could be got under normal circumstances, there is not one single book or treatise translated from Arabic into Hebrew. Surely a book like that of Joshua would be the last singled out for a translation. It would mean a retranslation into the original language, and, as mentioned above, using the very words of the Bible. But is there any reason whatsoever to doubt the existence of the Hebrew book among the Samaritans? Ignorance of their literature is

no argument. I have brought back many books of the Samaritans of which nothing has hitherto been known. On the contrary, the correspondence with Scaliger and the direct reference in the Arabic chronicles prove that as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century they had a Hebrew book of Joshua, which in all essentials agreed with this Hebrew text. We are, therefore, fully justified in recognizing in these MSS. a modern copy of that book which they had in their possession for many centuries past.

Having thus answered the two questions in the negative, first whether the book is a modern compilation, and secondly whether it was a translation from the Arabic, we may ask finally whether it could not be a translation from the Greek. The reason for asking this question lies in the curious fact discovered by me that we find in Josephus (fifth book of the "Antiquities"), with the exception of the Shobach legends, almost all the incidents contained in the Samaritan recension and missing in our Bible. More striking than all is the parallelism between Josephus and the Samaritan Book of Joshua. In the brief sketch of the division of the land of Canaan among the nine and a half tribes, both differ radically from the very expanded treatment accorded to this division of the land in the canonical Book of Joshua. Did the Samaritan borrow from Josephus or from the Greek sources, from which also Josephus might have borrowed, or do both go back to a more ancient Hebrew text accessible to both? A comparison between the Samaritan and the LXX shows that in contradistinction to the Pentateuch, the Samaritan Joshua agrees more closely with the Massoretic than with the Greek. It would be short of a miracle to find a Hebrew book translated from the Greek, agreeing at the same time so closely with the Hebrew Massoretic text. Besides, no other book is known in the whole range of old Hebrew or Samaritan literature which has been translated from the Greek. The reverse

has taken place. Hebrew books have been translated into Greek, but not *vice versâ*.

From whichever point of view we study this newly recovered book, no doubt is left that it must be an old Hebrew text, taken over by the Samaritans, and handled by them in the same way as they handled the text of the Pentateuch, and even with greater freedom. For they treated this text as a mere secular book, which had no sanctity for them, but only the value of an old chronicle with which to start their own history. They interpolated and curtailed this text so as to fit their dogmatic views, and also followed the tendency of the time, so conspicuous in all the writings from the second century B.C. downwards, viz., to present the past in a more glorified form, to omit from the narrative everything that could be turned and used as an attack against the purity, loftiness, and greatness of their forefathers. An apologetic tendency is clearly marked, and legends which seem to have been in circulation at least as early as the second century B.C. were readily taken up by the Jewish Midrash and by the Samaritan adaptors of the Book of Joshua. In the course of time various influences, first Samaritan, then Arabic, have no doubt moulded and changed the language of the Samaritans, and however faithful a copyist may be he will unconsciously introduce such popular forms and idioms with which he is familiar in the text which he copies. Our text of Joshua has escaped this influence as little as their own Samaritan Targum, or even the Pentateuch itself, which is not free from those blemishes. But these are questions which do not touch the history of the origin and antiquity of the Hebrew Book of Joshua, and its relation to our Massoretic book of the Bible.

With the philological aspects of the book, the parallels, and sources, I have dealt elsewhere (*Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*). Here I have limited

myself to the establishment of its genuineness and antiquity. It will now be the duty and the object of Biblical students to follow the investigations up, and to estimate at its proper value this newly recovered ancient text. It is sure to have an influence on the history of the Canon, on the origin of the Apocryphal literature, on the sources of Josephus, and on many points of Biblical philology and antiquity, for it carries us back to the first centuries of the pre-Christian era.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

THE LAST EDICT OF ASŌKA.

There is no doubt that, in many cases, final renderings of the Brāhmī and Kharōshthī inscriptions, including even the records of Aśoka, have not been attained yet, and will be reached only by the combined efforts of different scholars, whether working in actual collaboration or putting forward individual treatments for criticism.¹ We are always glad to see the arrival of new workers in any division of the epigraphic field, and to welcome in particular anything tending to elucidate the meaning of the difficult records indicated above. And so we naturally receive with appreciative interest a joint article in this line by Mr. V. A. Smith and Mr. F. W. Thomas which has appeared, under the general heading "Aśoka Notes," in the number of the *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1908, page 19 ff., received here at the end of April.

The Note in question is titled "No. 9: the Third Rock Edict," and consists of three parts. The first part of it, which includes the text of the edict, appears over the name of Mr. Smith. The second part stands over the name of Mr. Thomas: it includes an incidental treatment, which we shall examine below, of another record of Aśoka. The third part, which presents a new translation of the edict in the form of a "free version," is endorsed by the initials of both scholars.

¹ What we need just now for the Aśoka records is an *index verborum* which shall include the revised readings and additional materials obtained since the time when M. Senart's index was made. It should present the Sanskrit equivalents, so as to expedite utilization of it.

We do not propose to criticize this new translation in detail. But a few comments may be made. And it must be remarked that there is one point, certainly, in which the new version cannot be regarded as an improvement on the translation which was given to us by Professor Bühler: namely, in substituting "in the thirteenth year of my reign" for "by me twelve-years-anointed" as the rendering of *dhādasa-vās-ābhisitēna mayā*. In the first place, the innovation, started by Mr. Smith in his *Asoka* (1901), misses altogether the characteristic force of the manner in which Aśoka was accustomed to date his formal proclamations. In the second place, there is a tendency to confusion in connection with it. The Ceylonese tradition tells us (see this Journal, 1906. 985, note) that Aśoka slew all his brothers or all save one, and ruled for four years without anointment, and was then anointed to the sole sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha. From that we gather that Aśoka did not succeed to the throne peaceably, in the natural order of things, but seized it against opposition, even if he did not actually usurp it. And the inference is endorsed by the Indian tradition as presented in the story given in the Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil, 372 f.): when Bindusāra was at the point of death, at Pāṭaliputra, his eldest son Susīma was absent, quelling an insurrection at Taxila: the ministers brought Aśoka into the presence of Bindusāra, and said:—"Install this one in the sovereignty for the time being; when Susīma returns, we will install him:" the king was enraged by the proposal; but Aśoka said:—"If the sovereignty belongs justly to me, let the gods crown me!;" whereupon, the gods crowned him (by some means which the story does not disclose); and, when Bindusāra saw that, the hot blood rushed out from his mouth, and he died: when Susīma heard what had happened, he at once returned from Taxila; but Aśoka, taking his stand at

one of the gates of Pāṭaliputra, contrived a device by which Susima was slain as soon as he arrived there, and thus secured himself in the succession. The method in which such of the formal proclamations of Aśoka as contain dates at all are dated by stating in each case the number of years elapsed since his anointment, shows that it was only when his anointment was performed that Aśoka felt himself to be really the ruler of Northern India: and the anointment is evidently the right point to select as the commencement of his reign. It may be admitted that that is recognized, in a way, by the present rendering of the expression in the third rock-edict, though it is not a reproduction of the original term. On the other hand, however, we have, for example, the following anomaly. The thirteenth rock-edict tells us that Aśoka conquered the Kāliṅga countries when he was "eight years anointed." For this, Mr. Smith has in his *Asoka*, p. 129, substituted "in the ninth year of his reign," on the same lines as in the present case. But in his *Early History of India*, 2nd edition (1908), p. 145, he has placed this event "in the thirteenth year of his reign, or the ninth, as reckoned from the coronation;" introducing a contradiction which is decidedly apt to be misleading. The best course, even in making a "free version," is to render original expressions by terms which do not depart from the meanings of them. And a similar comment applies to the rendering of the term *Dēvānampriya* by "His Majesty:" the word *dēva* itself, as applied to a king, is customarily and suitably rendered in that manner; and (see page 484 f. above) the term *Dēvānampiya*, 'priya, = *Dēvānāmpriya*, 'dear to the gods,' was an appellation of the nature of another personal name of Aśoka, and is best used without translation.

In this new translation of the third rock-edict, the most conspicuous change is in the final clause:—*Parisaṁpi yute āṇapayisatī gaṇanāyaṁ hētuto cha vyamjanato*

cha. Here, M. Senart translated:—"Au clergé ensuite d'instruire les fidèles en détail dans le fond et dans les termes" (*Inscr. de Piyadasi*, 1. 92). Professor Bühler translated:—"Moreover, the teachers and ascetics of all schools will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit" (*Epi. Ind.*, 2. 467). The new translation, which is put forward as "an entirely novel rendering, which makes the sentence refer to the audit of monastic expenses," says:—"Let the Fraternities also appoint officials for the reckoning, with regard to both the objects and the accounts." It is not easy to pass an opinion off-hand on the relative merits of three so divergent renderings. Perhaps, however, the following remarks may be submitted, on the assumption that the proposed new rendering is correct in its leading idea. The preceding clause certainly seems to inculcate economy and a "simple life." But there is no allusion in any part of the edict (except where it is supposed to exist in this final clause) to any fraternity, or even to monks: whereas there is a mention of certain officials. The word for 'fraternity' would be *saṃgha* rather than *parishad*, which usually means 'an assembly, meeting, council, etc.,' and is found in the terms *amātya-parishad* and *mantri-parishad*, 'an assembly of ministers or councillors.' The noun and the verb appear to be in the singular, not the plural: and the verb is a future, not an imperative. Instead of the *yute* of the Girnār text, the Kālsī and Dhaulī texts have distinctly *yutāni*: the same word, actually written *yutani* according to the Kharōṣṭhī spelling, is given by the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra texts: and in Pāli, at any rate, *yute* is another form of the accusative plural neuter *yutāni*, in addition to being the accusative plural masculine. It thus seems possible, on the said assumption, that the text points to something in the shape of a Board of Control, and that the meaning may be:—"Moreover, the Board

will issue commands as to what items are proper in the counting (the framing of estimates), both on account of any (*specific*) cause and by way of (*general*) suggestion or indication ;" that is, by special order in any particular case, and by standing orders.

However, that may be as it may be : what we are more concerned with here is the point that the proposed new rendering involves assigning a quite new meaning to the word *vyākhanato*, and that the justification of that meaning has led on to Mr. Thomas' separate part of the joint note. He has there dealt with that record which we may conveniently name "the Last Edict of Aśoka,"¹ and which we have, in various recensions, at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt in Northern India, and at Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara in Mysore.² And he has done so because we have the same word there, in the Rūpnāth text, in the instrumental singular. The points in his argument are as follows.

The Last Edict of Aśoka mentions a *sāvana*,—according to Professor Bühler, 'a sermon ;' according to M. Senart, 'un enseignement ;' according to Mr. Thomas, 'a proclamation or precept,'—which it describes as *kāfe*, 'made' (according to the Rūpnāth text), or *sāvile*, *sāvāpīte*, 'caused to be heard, or proclaimed' (according to other

¹ The additional matter in the Mysore texts, introduced by the words *se hēvaṃ Dēvānampīya āha* (Brahmagiri, line 8-9), may be regarded, not as a separate edict, but as a supplement to the northern version : compare the frequent repetition of the words *Dēvānampīya Piyaḍasi tāja hēvaṃ āha* in the seventh pillar-edict.

² We can, however, mostly quote only the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura texts. The Bairāt text is much damaged. And the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara text is very fragmentary.

Mr. Smith, in a footnote to the joint article (*loc. cit.*, p. 23, note 6), has advised future editors of the Mysore texts to take note of "the very clear facsimiles" published by Mr. Rice in the *Epigraphia Carnationa*, vol. 11, Chitaldroog ("Bangalore" is a mistake), texts pp. 162, 164, 167. Practised epigraphists, however, will prefer to rely on the less clear but entirely mechanical reproductions given with Professor Bühler's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, 3. 138 ff.

texts), by someone who is not alluded to in the first mention of it. The possibility is noted by Mr. Thomas, that *sāraṇa* may have the weakened sense of *śruti*, 'an authoritative saying,' and that we might suppose that Aśoka was citing some word of Buddha or even a proverb. And on a previous occasion (this Journal, 1903, 833) he has treated it as a quoted *sāvana* which may be partly metrical. Now, however, guided by the word *kaṭe*, "which seems to imply rather a newly composed, than an ancient, precept," he has arrived at the conclusion that the author of the precept was Aśoka himself. This is his first point. We may ask, however:— If that was intended to be the meaning, why does not the text, which represents throughout a speech by Aśoka, include the word *mē* or *mayā*, 'by me,' as in:— *ētāye mē aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpitāni* (pillar-edict 7, circular part, line 1), and in:— *ētam=ēva mē . . . dhamma-[s]ā[van]e kaṭe* (ibid., line 2)? The *mē* or *mayā* could have been introduced just as easily and naturally here as there: and the absence of it is at least strongly suggestive that this particular sermon or precept was not composed, preached, or proclaimed by Aśoka.

Mr. Thomas' next step is as follows. Farther on in the edict, this sermon or precept is referred to as having been *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, or *kaṭe* by a person who is there described as *vivutha*, *vyutha*, or *vyūtha*. Mr. Thomas has remarked, on this last word, that "probably all scholars agree that it is a participle corresponding to the Sanskrit *vyushīta* and meaning 'gone abroad.' " Now, that is the meaning which underlies my rendering of the word as denoting Buddha in his character of "the Wanderer" (see this Journal, 1904, 26). But it seems doubtful whether it can be correctly said that probably all scholars are agreed on that point: there are recent indications that some would still prefer to derive the word from *vi + vas*, 'to shine,' rather than from *vi + vas*, 'to dwell.' However,

Mr. Thomas has decided that the word does mean 'gone abroad,' and has thus arrived at the conclusion that "the proclamation was made and published by Aśoka upon his travels." But here, again, we may ask :— If that meaning was intended, why does not the text include the word *mē* or *mayā*, 'by me,' which could have been most easily and naturally introduced in apposition with the instrumental *vivuthēna*, *vyūthēnā*, *vyūthēna*, which does stand in the text ?

Mr. Thomas' third step is the first towards determining an answer to a question which presented itself to him at this point :—"What travels ?" He has here quoted the following phrases :—

Sahasrām :— Dve sa-paṇṇālāti satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.

Rūpnāth :— 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta(or ti).

Brahmagiri :— Vyūthēna 200 50 6.

Now, these phrases are from any point of view laconic and elliptical : and they have been interpreted in various ways,¹ as giving the number of (1) the years elapsed since the death of Buddha ; or (2) the years elapsed since the time when Buddha went forth from his home to seek for true knowledge ; or (3) the illumined beings who had appeared in the world ; or (4) the beings (Buddhas) who had departed into Nirvāṇa ; or (5) the missions sent out by the orders of Aśoka ; or (6) the syllables in the edict ; or, more recently, (7) the years elapsed since the "illumination" of Buddha, the attainment of *saṃbōdhi* by him ; or (8) the years elapsed since the admission of Buddha's son Rāhula into the Order. Mr. Thomas has rejected all those renderings, as far as he has mentioned them.² And, following the view that the words *vivuthā*

¹ The different views are presented here in the order in which they were propounded.

² He has referred to Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6 : No. 8 had not been published when he wrote. His view comes as No. 9 : and the proposals in this matter now promise to become as numerous as those regarding the date of Kanishka.

and *vivāsā* are nominatives plural, not ablatives singular, he has translated them so as to match his rendering of *vivutha*, *vyutha*, *vyūtha* by 'one who has gone abroad, one who is on his travels,' and has arrived at the result that the number 256 denotes the number of "changes of abode" made by Aśoka.

Mr. Thomas has next dealt with the passage, found in the Rūpnāth text only, which contains the word *vyāñjana*, and presents also another word, *vivasetavāya*, which comes from the same root with *vivutha*, *vyutha*, *vyūtha*, and *vivāsa*. He has interpreted it as an injunction issued by Aśoka to his subordinates :—"With this "document (or in accordance with this 'signification' = "command")¹ you must everywhere go abroad so far as "your district extends." And he has arrived at the conclusion that the *vivāsas* or "goings abroad" of Aśoka were, like those which he directed his subordinates to make, of a missionary or propagandist character.

His final step is as follows. The edict in question is a short lecture, delivered by Aśoka, on the good results of displaying energy in matters of religion; the *sāvana*, whoever may have been the author of it, being something which is cited in the course of the lecture. The edict was interpreted by Professor Bühler as specifying first a period of "somewhat more than two and a half years" during which Aśoka was a Buddhist disciple or lay-worshipper without much exerting himself, and then a period of "somewhat more than six years" during which, having formally joined the Order, he did exert himself strenuously, with the result that Buddhism was established as the true religion throughout his dominions. Mr. Thomas, however, has rejected the *sud-vachhale* of the *Sahasrām* text and the *ekha-vachhare* of the

¹ This is the rendering of *vyāñjanāna* here, against the proposed translation of *vyāñjanāna* in the third rock-edict by 'with regard to the actual documents or figures, with regard to the accounts.'

Rāpnāth text, to both of which expressions there attaches the undeniable meaning of "six years," and has found there, from the somewhat different word in the Brahmagiri text, the mention of a period of only one calendar year.¹ And he has wound up this part of his topic by remarking:—"Now if Aśoka, having joined the "Saṅgha, adopted a course of activity in the form of "constant travel and changed his residence about once "every day, 256 would be a probable number of changes "—for the rainy season would be excluded:" which observation Mr. Smith has elucidated by a footnote, in which he tells us (loc. cit., 23, note 5) that " $365 \text{ days} - 119 = 246$; $- 109 = 256$; 120 or 121 days = 4 months," and cites a passage from Hiuen-tsiang to the effect that, for the Buddhists as for the other people of India, the rainy season lasted for four months.

The above-stated result is ingenious. But let us consider it from a practical point of view. The rainy season in India does last for four months. Is it, however, the case that the whole of the rest of the year is available for touring? The Assistant and Deputy Collectors and

¹ He has had recourse to the expedient of assuming mistakes: we are to understand that the Sahasrām text has, not *saṣ-vaṣṣhale*, but *saṁvaṣṣhale* for probably *saṁvaṣṣhale* (but ? *saṁvaṣṣhale*); and we are to regard the *chha-vaṣṣhale* of the Rāpnāth text as standing for *saṁvaṣṣhale*, under the influence of the neighbouring *chha*'s. But it is a primary rule that we are not to assume mistakes: we must apply ourselves to interpreting texts as they stand. And I may observe that I have already pointed out (see this Journal, 1907. 521, and note 2) that there are no grounds for the assumption, which has been made, of mistakes in another important word in the Rāpnāth text, *lakkhāpetavaya*.

As a matter of fact, whether the second period was of six years or of one year is not of vital importance: the chronology of Aśoka's career can be arranged from either point of view. In agreement with Professor Bühler, however, I find in the Sahasrām and Rāpnāth texts the mention of a period of six years. In the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura texts I find, with him, a mention of the same period, but —(and in this detail I differ from him)— with a special signalization of one year, the last of the six.

Magistrates in the Bombay Presidency probably do as much systematic touring as any other Indian officials. But it is recognized that they must not remain on tour after the commencement of the rains, and that, at the end of the rains, about a month should be allowed, for the country to become dry and traversable, before (unless in any emergency) they may move out into camp again; and the touring season is consequently limited, even in Bombay, by official orders, to seven months, or say 213 days. In that respect, regard is had to the health and convenience of the Native establishments, quite as much as to anything else. It does not seem probable that an ancient Indian king, even when posing as a missionary, could travel without an appreciable retinue and clerical staff, to whose circumstances attention would have to be paid, as well as to his own. And considerations of the same kind with those which now prevail must, surely, have more or less attended the touring expeditions of Aśoka. For the rest, the officials mentioned above are quite sufficiently active in the matter of touring. But it is questionable whether any of them has ever changed his camp 213 times, much less 256 times, in the course of one season. Nor would such a display of energy exactly meet with encouragement: quite the reverse, indeed; it would be instantly checked, as interfering seriously with details of local work—some of them precisely analogous, if we only substitute “administration” for “*dhamma*,” to the duties prescribed by Aśoka for himself on his tours for *dhamma* (see page 490 above)—and with the convenience of all parties having business in the migratory courts. The modern District Officer makes it his object to choose for his camps well-selected centres, and to remain at them long enough for the people of surrounding villages to hear of his arrival and to come in with any representations they may wish to make. And it is hardly unreasonable to think that Aśoka must have

arranged his tours on much the same principles; especially in view of the fact, disclosed by the third rock-edict, that he allowed his local officials, styled *Rājūka* and *Prādēsika* five years in which to make a complete tour through their charges.

But let us suppose that Aśoka did make a continuous tour of eight months, with 256 changes of camp, for the purpose of propagating Buddhism throughout Northern India. To what extent would he be able, by such an arrangement, to penetrate the country in such a manner as to bring his mission home to the thoughts of the great mass of his subjects? He might traverse his dominions, in a fashion, by marching from Pāṭaliputra to Taxila, thence to Ujjain, and thence straight back to his capital. That route, however, measured from point to point, is not less than 2310 miles. It would represent no fewer than 190 stages if Aśoka travelled at the rate of 12·12 miles = one day's journey (see this Journal, 1906, 1013), or 254 stages if he travelled by shorter marches, utilizing the camping-grounds, provided with rest-houses and wells, which (see *ibid.*, 412) he had built at intervals of 8 *kōs* = 9·69 miles (see *ibid.*, 1012) along his high-roads. And how vast an extent of his territory would remain untouched by such an expedition; most of it being so far distant from his route that the people, even if they heard of his movements, would not have sufficient time to ascertain his camps and go in to them.

Such are some practical objections which present themselves to this new proposal for interpreting the number 256 in the Last Edict. Perhaps, however, one or the other of the two scholars who have given us the joint Aśoka Note No. 9, can lay before us information which might lead us to hesitate before we dismiss as untenable the view that Aśoka would make a preaching-tour of eight consecutive months (say 243 days) and move his camp 256 times in that period.

Meanwhile, following Professor Bühler, we retain our conviction that the number 256 denotes the number of years elapsed, at the time when the Last Edict was framed, since the death of Buddha. We know (see page 495 above) that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, and reigned for 37 years. That carries us on to the year 255, completed. The edict, which distinctly belongs to quite a late time in the career of Aśoka, presents the number 256. And from a consideration of the purport of the whole record we can see that it tells us that it was framed one year later, after the completion of the 256th year, when Aśoka, having abdicated in accordance with a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian kings, had taken the vows of a Buddhist monk, and was spending his closing days in religious retirement at Suvarṇagiri, Sōngir. From this point of view, the number 256 is at once intelligible, and everything fits in exactly.

J. F. FLEET.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

In connection with some remarks made by me on page 187 f. above, Professor Jacobi has kindly drawn my attention to the point that the word *tia*, *tiya*, = *tika*, = *trika*, is found in the Aupapātika, §§ 38, 40, and in the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, §§ 89, 100. In each place, it occurs in combination with other terms of the same nature: and the use of it may be illustrated by the Kalpasūtra, § 89. Here we have:—*siṅghāḍaṇṣu vā tiṇṣu vā chaukkṇṣu vā chachharṇṣu vā chaumuhṇṣu vā mahāpahṇṣu vā gāma-ṭṭhāṇṣu vā nagara-ṭṭhāṇṣu vā*, etc., in a passage which Professor Jacobi has translated thus (SBE, 22. 248):—" (From that moment in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvira was brought into the family of the Jñātrīs, many demons brought

... old and ancient treasures ... which were hidden) ... in triangular places, or in places where three or four roads meet, or in courtyards, or squares, or high roads, or on the site of villages or towns," etc.

It follows that *trika* has had the meaning of 'a place where three roads meet' from decidedly ancient times.

J. F. FLEET.

THE RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION.

There is another not impossible explanation of the syllables *vigada* in the Rummindei inscription (page 473 above). It occurred to me when I had the record under consideration. But I did not mention it in my article, because I could not carry it on to any definite result.

Huen-tsiang several times mentions "stone and brick walls." The record on the Kanheri copperplate, dated in the time of the Traikūṭaka kings and in the year 245, tells us that the Chaitya or Stūpa mentioned in it was made *ghaṭita-pāshāṇ-śhṭakābhīḥ*, "with dressed stones and bricks." And modern excavations seem to show that the two materials in combination were used freely by the ancient Hindūs for building purposes.

Can any vernacular word be traced, resembling *vigada*, and meaning 'a brick'? If so, we might very suitably take:—*silā-vigada-bhīchā kālāpita*; "he caused a stone and brick wall to be made." This much at any rate is certain, that Aśoka caused to be built round the site of the Lumbini garden a wall which was more or less of stone.

J. F. FLEET.

THE GAME OF DICE.

In his most interesting treatise on the game of dice in India,¹ Professor Lüders finds in a *Kārikā* in the

¹ *Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien*, 1907. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 1078.

Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, ii, 1, 10, a reference to the game in the form in which it appears in some Gāthās¹ found in one Burmese MS. of the Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka, and in which, instead of Vibhīdaka nuts, are used *pāśakas* with four marked sides, the victory falling to him who throws the number fixed upon by agreement beforehand as bringing him victory. There is otherwise no early evidence for this form of the game; even in the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, which recognises the use of *pāśakas*² and which is notoriously late,³ no mention is made of it, and I agree with Professor Lüders that in the Nala (Mahābhārata, iii, 59, 7) the word *vṛṣa* denotes rather the prize than the mode of play, unless indeed the passage is to be reckoned as one of those which show that that famous and popular episode has been rewritten from time to time until its original sense has been obscured, a game with *pāśakas* being substituted in part for the old game with Vibhīdaka nuts, which alone explains the episode of Rūpama.⁴

Now the evidence of the Gāthās does not carry us back with any certainty to an early date. The certainly genuine Gāthās in the Jātaka and the rest of the Pāli canon recognise only⁵ the Vibhīdaka game, and the Gāthās of the Burmese MS. may be relatively late. The Kārikā, on the other hand, must probably belong to the early part of the second century B.C. at latest,⁶ and before

¹ And in the prose of the Jātaka, to which, of course, no importance attaches.

² Lüders, p. 21.

³ Ibid., p. 22, n. 1; Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xxiv, p. 53.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 57, 58. Professor Lüders has, I think, misunderstood Dr. Grierson's note (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 356) on this point, as Dr. Grierson does not give as his own the view that Rūpama challenged Nala to a game of 'odd or even.' Further, Dr. Grierson's view that the Vibhīdaka was chosen by Rūpama because of his skill in dice seems certainly correct, and agrees with Professor Lüders' own view that dice in the Epic game were of Vibhīdaka (p. 18).

⁵ Lüders, p. 62.

⁶ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 175, n. 2.

accepting the view that it confirms the Gāthās of the Burmese MS. it is desirable to consider if it cannot be interpreted in another sense.

Pāṇini's rule runs *akṣaśalākāsaṃdhyāḥ pariṇā*, and the Kārikā is—

akṣādayas tṛtīyāntāḥ pūrvoktasya yathā na tat |
kitavanyavahāre ca ekatve 'kṣaśalākayoh ||

As Professor Lüders explains, this means that *akṣa*, etc., are compounded with *pari* to denote how much the cast is more than that which has before been said; e.g. *akṣa-pari*, for *akṣeṇa pari*, means 'by one die more.' The word *pūrvoktasya*, which Patañjali merely treats as equivalent to *pūrvasya*, he takes to show that the writer of the Kārikā knew a form of the game of dice in which, as in the Jātaka, the aim was to throw a number determined beforehand. This argument, however, is hardly cogent, and a more satisfactory explanation is suggested by Professor Lüders' own explanation¹ of the terms *dvāpara* and *ekapara*, the former of which occurs as early as the Taittiriya Saṃhitā, the latter in the R̥gveda itself. He holds that the former means 'more by two' than the *kṛta*, the latter 'more by one' than the *kṛta*, and his interpretation seems conclusive. But what is the *kṛta* itself? Surely nothing more or less than the *pūrvokta*. *Kṛta* means what is fixed upon (as in *kṛtakālah*, *dharmo rājakṛtaḥ*, cited from Yājñavalkya, ii, 184, 186, by Professor Lüders)² rather than 'das Gelungene,' as Professor Lüders takes it, and in Baudhāyana's Śrauta Sūtra³ the words *kṛtaṃ kṛtam*, which accompany the division of the 49 dice into three sets of 12 (4×3), leaving one of 13, denote "the fixed number is made up."

The only objection to this view—and probably the reason why Professor Lüders has not adopted it—is the

¹ p. 64.

² p. 43, n. 2.

³ p. ii (p. 48, l. 10); cited by Lüders, p. 51.

fact that *kṛta* appears early to have been stereotyped into the sense of a cast of dice divisible by four,¹ as it is compared in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i, 5, 11, 1, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 3, 2, 1, with the *catuṣṭoma*, and appears elsewhere alongside of *kali* when that is considered the best cast. But other passages leave it open to suppose that the original number could be fixed at will. For instance, in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, iv, 4, 6, a hundred dice are used for the ritual game, and then five are given to the king. No doubt this does not prove Weber's theory of a game played with five dice, but to argue, as Professor Lüders² does, that the winning number is a multiple of four, and that the five dice presented to the king stand outside the game, is rather difficult. It is quite true that the game is over, according to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, before the dice are presented to the king, though in the Vajasaneyi Saṃhitā the order of events is reversed; but it is obvious that if the winning number was four, that would be the natural number to present to the king.³ But why not five? If there are 400 dice, they are exactly divisible by five, and the ritual game can as easily be played with five as with four. But, argues Professor Lüders, Kātyāyana, Śrauta Sūtra, xv, 7, 18, ascribes to the king in the ritual game the *kṛta* cast, while five dice would be *kali* for him. Clearly this begs the question, and assumes that *kṛta* can only mean a four cast, while it is surely much more natural to assume that the *kṛta* cast here is five, giving a real significance to what is

¹ The only direct statement to this effect is that of Rudradatta (Lüders, p. 52). I think, however, this view correct. R.V., i, 41, 9, must then mean 'as one fears one about to throw (attempting to throw) fours until he actually throws (*ā nidhātōḥ*).² when, of course, fear is out of place. It cannot mean, as Lüders (p. 56) seems to take it, 'one who holds fours,' for the game is to throw a number sufficient to make up a multiple of four.

² p. 53.

³ He thinks the act is symbolical of the five *dīśaḥ*. There is no doubt of the symbolism, but four *dīśaḥ* would have suited it.

clearly an important feature in the ritual, the solemn presentation to the king of a number of dice symbolising the cast of victory.

It is possible that the five cast once was as popular as the four, and so survived in the ritual custom, but it is easy to see how, for greater simplicity and celerity, the number four became accepted as usual, and *kṛta* became practically synonymous with a cast of four. But it cannot have meant this originally; it must have been no more than the *pārvokta* of the Mahābhāṣya Kārikā.

While on this subject I may notice a Rgvedic verse to which Professor Lüders has given new force by seeing in it a metaphor from dicing. In x, 116, 9, we read :—

*āyā iva pāri caranti devā yé asmābhyam dhanād
udbhūdas ca ||*

This must mean "The gods move about like dice," but only optimism, perhaps too great for even a Vedic Indian, can render the last Pada "(the gods), who are givers to us of wealth, and are victorious (i.e. give victory)." No doubt *udbhūd* means in gaming language 'victorious,' but we get a more probable sense by remembering that both in Vedic and classical Sanskrit¹ we can supply *dhana* as the object of *udbhūdas* and render "who give us wealth and take it away," the word *udbhūdas* being chosen because of its gaming flavour. Dicing may bring wealth, but the Vedic Indian, as the Akṣasūkta shows, remembered also that it led to loss of family and liberty.

In conclusion, I may add that golden dice are actually mentioned, presumably as in secular use,² in the hymn in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, xii, v. 3, which reads :—

¹ See ref. in Wackernagel, *Altindisches Grammatik*, ii, 1, p. 30; Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 35.

² Lüders finds them only in ritual use in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, p. 21.

yād akṣeṣu hīraṇykeṣu |
gaṣu akṣeṣu yād yaśah |
śūrāyāṇi pāyamānāyām |
māyī tad hastivarcasam ||

The Atharva Veda, xiv, 1, 35, has—

yāc ca vāreo akṣeṣu |
śūrāyāṇi ca yād āhitam |

There is no reason to doubt the Śāṅkhāyana text, and the context is in favour of a secular reference.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE BĀBAR-NĀMA : DR. KEHR'S LATIN VERSION AND
 A NEW LETTER BY BĀBAR.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg, Mr. Serge d'Oldenburg, and the kind mediation of Mr. F. W. Thomas, I have now been able to examine Dr. Kehr's final Latin version of the *Bābar-nāma*.¹ His translation is bound in two books, and extends only to the end of 908 H. Here he has a note which, after stating that what is to come treats of India, concludes with : " Hisce narrationibus passim insertæ sunt egregiæ regnorum Indicorum descriptiones quæ opportune hōc tempore in lucem prodibunt quo bella inter Persas ac Indos gesta sunt." The wars, as he wrote in 1739, will be those of Nādir Shāh.

Dr. Kehr reproduces in his final version, with little variation, the notes he entered on interleaves of his transcript volume.² That his translation, therefore, can be counted only as a negative result of his work on the *Bābar-nāma* is, however, a small matter for students of the book, compared with the positive service he has done

¹ Cf. J.R.A.S., January, 1908, art. "Bābar-nāma."

² J.R.A.S., l.c.

them by accurately copying a manuscript which has not since been traced. To this great service it is revealed by examination of his Latin volume that he added another, which, if it has even before been referred to in *Bābariāna*, has at least not been mentioned by Erskine, Ilminsky, or P. de Courteille. It is this; he has prefixed to his Latin version translations of several disconnected writings which, it may be presumed, he found with his archetype *Bābar-nāma*. Of these the most important is a letter from Bābar to his second son, Kamrān, which is unknown elsewhere in European literature or in or with any other of the MSS.

These unexpected acquisitions I will now enumerate.

(1) After his own title-page, he writes, "*Jam sequitur versio ipsius textūs Tatarici,*" and follows this by translating what may be the title-page of his Turkī archetype: "*Exhortationum atque Documentorum authenticorum Diploma regium et opus historicum memoriale Orientale Turcicum (i.e. Tataricum) Majestatis Bāburi Monarchæ victoriosi qui in terrā beatā requiescat!*¹ *ex Indiā Kandahāram ad Mirzam Camrānum transmissum.*"

(2) Entered on a new page is the "*Diploma Regium.*" Its superscription, adjectives omitted, is as follows: "*Filio suo . . . Mohammedi Camrāno . . . salutem amicitiae scopum et finem appreeatur parens ipsius Bābur.*"

Of the letter itself, it seems safest to give merely a summary. In it Bābar expresses pleasure at having received a letter from Kamrān, warns him of some characteristics of Khurasānis, recommends to him a counsellor of unrecognizable name, gives him good advice, quotes Hāfiz, Sa'dī, Jāmī, and another, warns him against low company, tells him he can learn the state of India from an accompanying *fath-nāma*, and, finally, informs him that the son of Ibrāhīm Lodī has been sent to his

¹ The words here, from *victoriosi* to *requiescat*, seem likely to represent "Ghāzī and Firdaus-makīnī."

charge and should be carefully watched. At this point Kehr writes "Vale," and the letter presumably ends.

Its date can be inferred from the mention made of Ibrāhīm Lodi's son, because the Bābar-nāma records his consignment to Kamrān's watch and ward and his departure for Qandahār on Thursday, Rabī' i, 29, 933 H. (January 3rd, 1527). He joined (قوب) for the journey a messenger of Kamrān, a certain Mullā Sarsān (or Sartān), who had come to Bābar "on several matters," and will have brought the letter Bābar expresses pleasure at receiving and have conveyed the reply to it, summarized above.¹

(3) What is entered after Kehr's "Vale" is manifestly a fragment, as it stands. His alternative readings of it show that it puzzled him; its Turkī source is certainly needed for its reasonable interpretation. As it is short and entertaining I quote it in full:—"In sociis tuæ deambulatione spectationis ergo jucundā contiguus apud nos oculus non est (id est, non semper possum perspicere cum socius tua delectationis causā deambulat). Colloquium meum hoc est. Quod præter Creatorem meum aliud colloquium non sit (id est, interea dum illa deambulat, ego cum Creatore mei soliloquium instituo)."

(4) Entered after what may represent a scribe's note introducing them, there follow four verses (one by Khwāja Kilān,) all of which are included in the Bābar-nāma. Bābar writes more than once of sending verses to Kamrān, it may be observed.

(5) A passage comes next which adds to one's desire to see its Turkī source: "Quicunque hæc facta et facta mea perlegerit scito quales calamitates et quales ægrotudines (i.e. molestias) et quales mæiores expertus sim."

(6) The last entry, before the Bābar-nāma begins, is one telling how the book came into an owner's hands, and is

¹ Haydarābād MS., f. 307; Memoirs of Bābar, Leyden & Erskine, p. 349.

as follows :—"Has res gestas feriâ secundâ (i.e. die Lunæ) mensis Dschumadi prioris, die secundo, anno (Hegiræ) 957 (i.e. 1550) in statione (vel hospitio) Haudschî-Tâsch Mohammedes nobis donum attulit."

The import of this passage may be that on Monday, Jumâda i, 2, 957 H. (May 19th, 1550), Hâjî Muḥammad *kakultâsh* (then prominent in Humâyûn's service) presented the Waqî'ât ("res gestas") to Humâyûn ("nobis"). This import is sustained by the known historical details of the fighting between Kamrân and Humâyûn, the capture of camps and peripatetic fate of libraries.

(7) This passage is followed by Kehr's Latin version of the Bâbur-nâma.

It is disappointing that Dr. Kehr's volumes contain no information about his Turkî archetype beyond the adjectival reference at the end of 904 H., in vol. i, quoted here for the word 'Indico'—"Ex rarissîmo manuscripto Tatarico-Indico, Bâbur-nâmah dict, Latine ad verbum explicuit, scripsit Kehr"; and the following note which may refer to some collection of MSS. of which Kehr's archetype was one—"Ex archivi Tataro-Indici protocollo Tatarico-Turcei conscripto interpretatur est G. J. Kehr" (vol. ii, p. 143).

A. S. BEVERIDGE.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE PĀṆḌAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

Dr. Grierson¹ has, in connection with Mr. Pargiter's important paper² on "The Nations of India at the Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas," suggested a new view of the relation of the Kurus and the Pañcālas, the former being later immigrants and Brāhmanical, the latter earlier and anti-Brāhmanical. This view is in some respects so revolutionary that it is desirable to consider how far it can be supported by the evidence available.

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 602-607.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 309-336.

Now it is clear that the main evidence must be found, if at all, in the texts of the earlier Vedic literature. For, without doubting¹ the early existence of epic lays whence are derived the main theme of the Mahābhārata, it is clear that that work in its present form cannot claim an earlier age than perhaps 200 B.C. even for the non-didactic elements, and Mr. Pargiter has in several places² shown the existence of serious inconsistencies in the text as handed down. Further, Mr. Pargiter has not found, nor do I myself find, any clear traces in the Mahābhārata of the war as one of Brahminism and anti-Brahminism. The Pāṇḍavas,³ indeed, are "beyond the pale," but this proves nothing for the Pāṇcālas, and against Dr. Grierson's theory it may be noted that the Somakas, firm allies of Pāṇcāla, show clearly by their name that they cannot have been *asuvants*.⁴ No doubt the great ally of the Pāṇḍavas was Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, but I must demur to the theory that the monotheistic Bhāgavatas were anti-Brahminical. Doubtless their views were not those of the writers of the Upaniṣads, but they were, it seems to me, sufficiently close to those of the writers of the earlier Brāhmaṇas, in which Prajāpati, Viṣṇu, and especially Śiva receive a prominence which shows that the old polytheism was in rapid decay.⁵ This condition of affairs could easily lead to diverse results, either to quasi-monotheism or pantheism, or to the more philosophic doctrine of the Upaniṣads; that the former was in any sense the work of anti-Brahminical persons is certainly not proved, nor, I think, even plausible. Nor can I admit that the Sāṃkhya system was allied to the Bhāgavatas; the two

¹ I do not, of course, accept the identification of *itihāsa-purāṇa* suggested in *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 539, which rests on a complete misunderstanding of the Vedic passages in question.

² See pp. 313, n. 1, n. 2, n. 10; 317, n. 7; 320, 321, etc.

³ Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, p. 376.

⁴ Cf. Grierson, p. 697.

⁵ Cf. Aufrecht, *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, p. v.

systems, of course, differ *toto celo*, as the one is almost monotheistic, the other absolutely and decidedly atheistic, and the evidence in favour of an anti-Brahminist Sāṃkhya is, if possible, less than that for an anti-Brahminist Bhāgavata. Professor Garbe¹ has attempted to set up the Sāṃkhya as a reaction against Vedāntism from outside, because the Sāṃkhya doctrines are not found in the earlier Upaniṣads. But that fact merely shows that the Sāṃkhya is later than the doctrine of those Upaniṣads, and not that it is a reaction. Further, the theory² that in the struggle of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra over the favours of Sudās there is a forerunner of the cult war of the Mahābhārata seems for Vedic times conclusively disproved by the fact that Viśvāmitra, instead of being a "Kṣatriya priest of Kanyākubja," is in the Rgveda and the later Vedic texts a Ṛṣi pure and simple, one of the members of the priestly class whose hymns are collected in the Rgveda Samhitā. Nor is a theory which regards the Brahminical party as allied with a choice collection of northern barbarians, Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, and Barbaras against the anti-Brahminical Kṣatriyas free from serious difficulty.

But the greatest difficulties in the theory become apparent when the evidence of the Brāhmaṇa literature is considered. For then the Kuru-Pāṇcālas are not merely connected, more closely than any other two tribes, but their Brāhmaṇas are the Brāhmaṇas *par excellence*. Vāc is at home with them, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 2, 3, 15; the *caturvatta* is performed best among them, *ibid.*, i, 7, 2, 8; their kings perform the Rājasūya, the most striking example of priestly control over royalty, *ibid.*, v, 5, 2, 5. They form the centre of the Madhyadeśa Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 14. Their Brāhmaṇas occur in

¹ *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, pp. 20 seq. See also his *Beiträge zur Indischen Kulturgeschichte* and my remarks on it in this number of the Journal.

² Grierson, p. 605.

the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, ii, 78, and the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa¹ and in other Upaniṣads, and amongst them probably all the great Brāhmaṇas² were composed. Neither in that literature nor in that of the R̥gveda do I find any trace of a Kuru-Pañcāla quarrel. Such a quarrel was conjectured by Weber³ to have been the origin of the story in the Kāthaka⁴ of a dispute between Yaka Dālbhya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya, the former being held to be a Pañcāla by origin. I am not sure whether Weber continued to hold that view; at any rate, the passage in the Kāthaka has nothing of a dispute between Kurus and Pañcālas, and merely preserves one of the constantly recurring tales of a difference of opinion between a priest and a prince on a ritual question; the very passage refers to the Naimiṣṭya sacrifice among the Kuru-Pañcālas, and again emphasises the union of the people. There is still less evidence in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, xxiii, 18, where Weber⁵ conjectured that Subhadrakā of Kāmpīla was the Mahiṣī of the king of a stem in the neighbourhood of the king for whose Aśvamedha the verse was used, for not only is that interpretation open to grave doubt,⁶ but in any case we have no right to say that the Kuru king is the king in question, while in the Kāṇva recension of the Saṃhitā, xi, 3, 3, we have at the Rājasūya the words *esa vaḥ Kuravo rājaiṣa vaḥ Pañcālāḥ*, which shows that the Kuru-Pañcālas had actually one king. In the R̥gveda itself the Kuru-Pañcāla federation does not appear under that name, but there is

¹ iii, 30, 6; iv, 6, 2; cf. iii, 7, 6; 8, 7; iv, 7, 2. See also Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, iii, 1, 4; 9, 19 (Kāṇva); Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, iv, 1.

² Cf. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i, 8, 4, 1, 2. The Pañcaviṃśa knows Kurukṣetra (xxv, 10), if not the name Kuru-Pañcāla. For the Kauṣītaki, cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 387.

³ *Ind. Stud.*, iii, p. 470.

⁴ x, 6.

⁵ *Ind. Stud.*, i, pp. 184, 205, 206; *Ind. Lit.*, p. 114.

⁶ Eggeling, *S.R.E.*, xlv, p. 322.

no trace of hostility between the tribes which are held to have merged into these two great peoples. The old name for the Pañcālas¹ is stated to have been Krivi, and the similarity to Kuru renders the theory of Zimmer² that the Kurus and Krivis formed the Vaikarṇa of Rgveda, vii, 18, extremely plausible, especially in view of the fact that both peoples are found about the Sindhu and Asiknī, while Vaikarṇa reminds us of the Epic Karṇa and Vikarṇa.

The Vedic literature seems thus to negative any possibility of finding an opposition both in ritual and origin between the Kurus and the Pañcālas, nor does the Epic, so far as I can see, represent the struggle as one of Kuru *versus* Pañcāla. To the Epic, indeed, the struggle is primarily one between two closely connected stems within the Bharatas, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. Some of the tradition may reflect vaguely the ancient contest of the Tr̥tsu-Bharatas against the other Aryan tribes, equally bearers of the Vedic traditions, and in this sense we may believe in a Kuru epic, before the Pāṇḍavas appear. But a Mahābhārata has meaning only as a Pāṇḍava epic, and the existence of such an epic is probable in the time of Pāṇini,³ so that it is in the centuries between the end of the Brāhmaṇa texts and the grammar of Pāṇini (B.C. 350⁴) that we must look for the real origin of the Epic story. The most probable theory seems to me to be that the Pāṇḍavas were a northern, perhaps semi-Mongolian tribe who succeeded in winning the leading position among the Bharatas;⁵ at least the hypothesis

¹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 5, 4, 7.

² *Altindisches Leben*, p. 103.

³ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

⁴ This I think the most probable date; cf. my *Āitareya Aranyaka*, pp. 23-25.

⁵ The later Upaniṣad literature (Chāndogya, i, 10, 1) and the Sūtra (Sāṅkhyaśāstra Śrauta, xv, 16 — a quasi-Brāhmaṇa passage) know of a disaster to the Kurus.

explains best their name and the curious features of their history. The struggle may have been bitter, but no doubt the great war of the Epic is mainly the fruit of poetic invention and Brahminical theory. The motives of the various parties and their grouping in this view lose much of their historical interest. If Pañcāla sides with the Pāṇḍavas, no racial or religious grounds can safely be assigned, nor can we fairly conclude that any serious hostility existed in Vedic times between the two tribes of Kurus and Pañcālas. Similarly, it is surely impossible to regard as divided by racial or religious lines the Matsyas, and Western Māgadhas and the Kāśīs who stood by the Pāṇḍavas, and the Eastern Māgadhas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas who fought for the Kauravas.¹ For Dr. Grierson's theory what is needed is a division setting off Kuru-Pañcāla against Kosala-Videha tribes which the Vedic records allow us to regard as really distinct.

I conclude, then, that for ethnography the Mahābhārata is of little use; that it does *not* represent the victory of Kṣatriya over Brāhmaṇa, or preserve a record of a time when Pañcāla was unorthodox. I am therefore unable to follow Dr. Grierson's² view of the position of the Bhagavad Gītā, or even Mr. Pargiter's³ conjecture as to the significance of the Nāga Takṣaka as a sign of the ruin of the Punjab principalities in the war. If it be held that there must be a substantial substratum for the Epic, it may be asked what real substratum is there for the Roland or even for the Iliad. In each case, as in the case of the Mahābhārata, a great structure has been reared on a small foundation.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ Pargiter, p. 333.

² p. 606.

³ p. 336.

NOTE ON MR. KEITH'S NOTE ON THE BATTLE BETWEEN
THE PĀṆDAVAS AND THE KAURAVAS.

Through the courtesy of the Secretary, I have been afforded an opportunity of seeing the proof of the above interesting note, and would ask leave to make the following remarks:—

Mr. Keith will understand that it is with no desire to belittle the importance of what he says that I refrain from entering into a detailed controversy. The reason for refraining is simply want of space in the pages of the *Journal*, together with want of time on my own part. To answer fully every proposition which he has put forward would indeed require the ample room of a whole number.

I therefore content myself, in the first place, with pointing out that in my remarks on Mr. Pargiter's paper I never said that the Pāṇḍavas were anti-Brahmanical. I said that they were anti-Brahmanists, which, to my mind, conveys a very different idea. The Bhāgavatas seem to me to have been opponents of the orthodox 'Brahmaism' of the older Upaniṣads, and, as this was mainly taught by Brāhmaṇas of the Madhyadēśa, so far, and only so far, can they have been called anti-Brahmanical.¹

As for the Kurus being later and the Pāṇḍavas earlier immigrants, that theory is at least as old as Lassen,² and,

¹ The anti-Brahmanist tendency of the Bhāgavata religion is well illustrated by the story of Ambariṣa, as told by Priyā-dāsa, the commentator of the *Bhakti-mūla*. Duryōdhan, the Brāhmaṇa, has insulted a Bhāgavata Kṣatriya (Ambariṣa). He is pursued by Viṣṇu's discus, and after appealing without avail to Brahmā and Śiva, is constrained at length to supplicate Bhagavat (Viṣṇu). Bhagavat tells him that he (Bhagavat) had formerly three qualities, viz., (1) that of protecting suppliants, (2) that of abolishing distress, and (3) that of being the God of Brāhmaṇa-hood (*Brāhmaṇya-dēva*). "Now," he proceeds, "I no longer honour these qualities, for they have all been put aside (*tiraskṛta*) by my new quality of tenderness to *bhaktas* (*bhakti-vīratya*)."

² I.A., I^o, pp. 743 *et passim*.

whether it is right or wrong, I would suggest that my stating a theory which has been held by many scholars down to the present day can hardly be styled 'revolutionary.' Indeed, my difficulty in answering Mr. Keith is that he challenges, not any theory of mine, but a series of theories regarding the early history of India which have been stated by much greater scholars than I can ever hope to be. All that I did was to put down what I at the time believed to be generally accepted assumptions, to group them together, and to suggest (if even this was new) religion as the immediately exciting cause of the cataclysm, just as the wrath of Achilles was that of the war sung of in Homer's epic.

That the earlier and later Aryan immigrants formed what might almost be called different nationalities is, I think, admitted by every one from Lassen down to Professor Hillebrandt. The mutual relationship of the Prakrits and that of the modern vernaculars confirm this, and so does ethnology.¹ That the earlier immigrants were to the east of the later ones is not only to be expected, but is fully borne out by the Vēdas, to which Mr. Keith appeals, as well as by later literature. It is to be expected that, as generations rolled by, the centre of gravity would gradually shift eastwards, and with it the scene of the struggle between the old and new comers.

While fully admitting the importance of the evidence of Vedic literature—I used it freely myself—I must also put in a plea for the grains of truth to be found in the traditions of the older parts of the Mahābhārata (going back to 400 A.D.) and of the Rāmāyana. That the main theme of the original Mahābhārata was not a war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, but between the former and the Pāṇḍavas, whose allies were the Pāṇḍavas, is,

¹ See, for instance, Mr. Risley's Chapter on Caste in the last Indian Census Report.

I think, almost universally admitted.¹ The theory is not mine. It is again as old as Lassen, is tacitly assumed as a fact which needs no proof in nearly every book which I have read upon the subject, and is accepted even by some native Indian scholars. The common name for the war at the present day is the *Kuru-Pañcāla* war, not the *Kuru-Pāṇḍava* war. As for the epic having been originally written on the side of the Kauravas, and long afterwards changed round in favour of the Pāṇḍavas, I think that, from the time of the elder Holtzmann, this is accepted by every scholar who has written on the subject, except Dahlmann. Here again, if the theory is revolutionary, I am not the culprit.

As for *Bhakti* and monotheism, there are traces of both in the R̥g Vēda, especially in the Varuṇa hymns; but, in the old Madhyadēśa, they disappeared before Brahmaism, and it was the Bhāgavatas, representatives of people who lived in the outer band round Madhyadēśa, that cultivated and preserved them. As for the Sāṁkhya-Yōga (not the pure Sāṁkhya, as mentioned by Mr. Keith) system being allied to the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas, here, again, I have said nothing new. It has been said many times by others, including Professor Garbe, M. Senart, and Professor Barnett, and I can leave the question in confidence in their hands. But it is unnecessary for me to depend even upon these eminent scholars. The fact is plainly stated over and over again in the text-book of the Bhāgavatas—the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the Mahābhārata.

Again, when I look upon the struggle between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra as a forerunner of the cult war, I am only again following the example of Lassen.² I also have his authority for assuming that there was a struggle for

¹ See, for instance, Professor Macdonell, in the *Indian Empire*, vol. ii, p. 235.

² L.A., I², pp. 703, 713. I merely quote Lassen as the oldest authority I know of, and not because he has not had many followers.

supremacy between the Kṣattrīyas and the Brāhmaṇas. Then as to Viśvāmitra—of course he was a Vēdic Rṣi, but surely Mr. Keith will not maintain that all Vēdic Rṣis were Brāhmaṇas. The Vēda makes him an Eastern, and the epic tradition is that he was a Rājaraṣi,—a Kṣattrīya. His struggle to become a Brāhmaṇ is a well-known episode in the Rāmāyaṇa.

I approach the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads with much diffidence, for Mr. Keith is familiar with them, and I am not, but surely the much discussed passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, ii, 3¹⁵) is not decisive. If we read it in the light of Professor Eggeling's note in the preface to S.B.E., XII (p. xli), we shall see that while that scholar puts the Kurus in the Madhyadēśa, he expressly excludes the Pāñcālas from that tract.¹ The fact that the Kuru-Pāñcālas are mentioned together does not prove that they were related, any more than the frequent use of similar compounds at the present day does so in similar cases.² All that we can deduce is that the territories of the two tribes adjoined each other. The passage quoted from the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa does not, I think, put them in the Madhyadēśa. The word is not used, and the context shows that all that is meant is that there were two powerful tribes in the centre of northern India, as opposed to the north, south, east, and west. Mr. Keith

¹ Even so late as the eleventh century A.D. the country inhabited by the Kurus (not Kurus and Pāñcālas) was looked upon as the true home of Brāhmanical orthodoxy. In the second Act of the *Prabodha-candodaya* we have the unorthodox Cārvāka congratulating King Mahāmōha that all the world has abandoned the Vēdas. "Even in the Kuru-kṣētra, not to speak of other countries, nothing is to be feared from learning or knowledge." *Kuru-kṣētrā-dīṇa tēvad dēvina saṁjñā 'pi na vidyā-prabodha-dayaḥ śūnantiyāḥ*.

² It might even be argued that the compound 'Kuru-Pāñcāla' referred not to two related tribes but to the country inhabited by two sets of opposing tribes, of whom the Kurus and the Pāñcālas were respectively the leaders. It is in this sense that we talk of the 'Kuru-Pāñcāla war.' See also the passage already referred to by Professor Macdonell in the *Indian Empire*.

maintains that these and some other passages prove that both the Kurus and Pañcālas were specially orthodox. As regards the Pañcālas, I cannot agree with him in the light of the passages from the Chhāndōgya Upaniṣad which I quote in the next paragraphs, and of the fact that Drupada, the Pañcāla king, consented to the polyandrous marriage of his daughter. The Jāts or Jāts, the cultivating class of the country which was formerly South Pañcāla and Matsya, are said to be polyandrous even at the present day. The argument that Brāhmaṇ priests performed grand sacrifices there fails to distinguish between Brāhmaṇ teachers and Brāhmaṇ priests. Any king in India of those days who felt himself strong enough, and who had the necessary funds, would try to have a Rājasūya performed, and the fact that Brāhmaṇ priests officiated would no more prove the king's Brahmaist orthodoxy than it would prove the orthodoxy of an aboriginal tribe amongst whom (as does occur) a Brāhmaṇ priest performs a similar sacrifice in 1908. Brāhmaṇ priests follow wealth, not orthodoxy. If a Rājasūya was performed among the Pañcālas, it only proves that the tribe was powerful and wealthy. They might have been as barbarous as the Gōnds or the Manipuris of the present year of grace.

As regards the Upaniṣads, they contain several references to Kṣattriya teachers, and it is significant that none of these belong to the Madhyadēśa. Pravāhana Jaivali was a Pañcāla Kṣattriya, a *Rājanya-bandhu*, a wretched Rājanya, who¹ silenced Brāhmaṇs, and even gave instruction to the Brāhmaṇ Gautama. He goes so far as to claim (V, iii, 7) that the true knowledge did not belong to the Brāhmaṇs, but in all worlds belongs to the Kṣattras alone.

¹ Chh. Up., I, viii, 1, and V, iii ff. Cf. Bṛh. Ar., VI, 2, and Śat. Br., XIV, viii, 10.

The same Upaniṣad (III, xiv) has a famous description of Brahma. It claims to be a quotation of the teaching of Śāṇḍilya, to whom, with Nārada, is attributed the systematization of the *bhakti* religion. It is well-known that this description is condemned by Śaṅkarācārya as far as he dare condemn anything in the Upaniṣads, and that it closely agrees with the idea of the Deity contained in the Nārāyaṇīya.¹

In another section of the same Upaniṣad (V, xi), we find ourselves in a different portion of our outer band, the Kaikēya country of the Western Pañjāb. Five great theologians go to the Brāhmaṇ Uddālaka with hard questions which he cannot answer. So he sends them on to Aśvapati, the Kṣattriya king of Kaikēya,² and it is he who solves their difficulties. If it is objected that, in the Kuru-Pañcāla war the Kaikēyas sided with the Kurus, it is easy to show that, all the same, in the early times, before the great war they belonged to the outer band. Linguistic and ethnographic evidence, which it would be too long to detail here, shows that they were in post-Vēdic times conquered from the Madhyadēśa in the westward reflux expansion of the inhabitants of that tract.³

As regards the general question of ancient Kṣattriya learning, especially of its monotheistic and ethical tendencies, and its early rivalry with Brahmaism, it is

¹ As illustrating the frequent touches showing the connexion, *pace* Mr. Keith, between the Bhāgavata *bhakti* religion and Sāṅkhya-Yōga, we may note that the word 'Śāṇḍilya' is a patronymic from 'Śaṇḍila.' The latter (see Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, ii, 167) was a son of Kaśyapa, who married thirteen daughters of Dakṣa. Dakṣa's thousand sons were taught Sāṅkhya by Nārada himself (MBh., I, lxxv). This is all that we know about them.

² He was a father-in-law of Daśaratha (Rām. II, 1, 2), a fact which brings him into close connexion both with the Eastern Aryans and with the Bhāgavata religion.

³ The question as to how the Kurus got to the Madhyadēśa has been frequently discussed elsewhere. See, for instance, my *Languages of India*, pp. 52 and 65.

sufficient to refer to Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-4*, pp. 71 ff., and to the Introduction to Professor Garbe's translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Let me here merely draw attention to the number of Kṣatriya names connected with the origins of both the Sāṃkhya and the Bhāgavata systems. Kapila, himself, is said to have belonged to Kṣatriya stock, his mother being the daughter of a Rājarsi.¹ So was Janaka, and so was Bhiṣma, who in Mbh. XII, xciv and cclxxxvi, endeavours to reconcile the Sāṃkhya with the Brahmanism. As for the Bhāgavata doctrine, it came from the Sun.² The Sun told it to the gods. From them it descended to Bhiṣma, who records it in the Nārāyaṇīya. Indeed, the whole of the Nārāyaṇīya is full of Kṣatriya names.

Mr. Keith's remarks about the Matsyas, Kōsalas, Māgadhas, and other tribes hardly apply to what I said, for I have specially confined myself to what was the sum of the whole,³ namely that, owing to political alliances and personal reasons, the war of the Mahābhārata resolved itself into a combat between Pāṇcāla and South Madhyadēśa on one side, and the rest of India on the other.

To sum up. I believe that there is nothing new in any of the following statements:—

(1) That there was in India a long struggle for supremacy between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas.

(2) That in early days, the country east, south, and west of the Madhyadēśa, in its narrowest sense as the country of the Kurus, was unorthodox from the point of view of the Brāhmaṇists of the Madhyadēśa.

¹ Bhāg. Pu., III, xxi, 26.

² Mbh. XII, 12,986. We may perhaps note this in connexion with what I said about the Lunar and Solar races in my former remarks.

³ See Mr. Pargiter, p. 333.

(3) That the unorthodoxy was thought out and fostered by learned Kṣatriyas.

(4) That some of these unorthodox Kṣatriyas had a home amongst the Pāṇcālas.

(5) That the Pāṇcālas lay to the east and south of the Madhyadēśa, as defined above.

(6) That the Pāṇcālas permitted polyandry, as their descendants do to this day.

(7) That the *jons et origo* of the war was the insult offered by Drupada, the Kṣatriya king of the Pāṇcālas, to a Brāhmaṇa, who took refuge with the Kurus.

(8) That the war of the Mahābhārata was in its essence a Kuru-Pāṇcāla war.

If my theory is revolutionary—and I do not see that it is—the revolution consists only in putting these facts together, and in making deductions from them. The deductions may be right or they may be wrong, but I think that all the facts are admitted by most scholars.

If the facts and the deductions are correct, we can find a good many grains of ethnological information amongst the vast amount of chaff contained in the epic. To me, the great merit of Mr. Pargiter's paper is that, for the first time, it puts students in the way of sifting out these grains.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

May 27th, 1908.

VEDIC RELIGION.

I am afraid Mr. Jackson, in his note on this matter at p. 533 of the April number of the *Journal*, is somewhat precipitate in finding analogies for the so-called sacrifices of the Vedas in the Greek mysteries or the secret dances of many savage tribes. The latter comparison it is, in the absence of any specification of the tribes referred to,

impossible to criticise; of the former I can only say that I shall await with interest an explanation of the points of contact between the mysteries and Vedic religion as they appear to Mr. Jackson, observing merely that the real significance of the Greek mysteries still forms a subject of dispute and doubt far exceeding that entertained in regard to any problem of Vedic ritual.

I also fear that the description of a sacrifice as a case of substitution of the victim for the sinner does not help much towards its understanding. Does Mr. Jackson really suppose that the sinner originally sacrificed himself or that others sacrificed him to that somewhat abstract deity Nirṛti? Yet, if he does not, his description appears to me meaningless, nor do I understand his remark that the ass is the 'vehicle' of Śitalādevī, who may stand in the place of the vaguer Nirṛti, for nothing is said in the Vedic text of the ass being the 'vehicle' of Nirṛti, and the view that the wearing of the skin is a mere penance will hardly survive a perusal of the passage in Pāraskara, to which I would refer Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson seems to have overlooked my remarks on p. 944 when writing his note on the sacrifice of a man at the Agnicayana. He will find that his view coincides, so far as it goes, with mine; I have, however, endeavoured to suggest an explanation of the facts, the object of my paper being of course explanation, not enumeration of modern instances which certainly prove nothing for the Veda.

I should like, however, to supplement my article by a reference to the curious ritual at the Avabhr̥tha of the Aśvamedha,¹ in which the sacrificer is purified from sin by offering a sacrifice to Jumbaka (Varuṇa) on the head of a man of repulsive appearance, who stands in the water

¹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 3, 6, 5; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 9, 15; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xx, 8, 16; Śākhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 18.

until it enters his mouth. Hillebrandt¹ has suggested that in this legend, taken in conjunction with the Śunahśepa legend, we have a relic of a Vedic practice of slaying at stated intervals the aged and worn-out king.² No text, however, suggests that the man was killed, and, as Professor Eggeling³ points out, the oblation could not properly have been performed on the head of a drowning man. The real nature of the ritual seems to be explained by a remark in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 18, where it is said that the man is driven forth after the oblation, the guilt of the village outcastes being thus removed. The man is clearly a scapegoat on whose head are deposited the sins of the village, and his numerous physical defects may be explained (as in the case of the *φάρμακοί* of Hipponax⁴ and the victims at the Thargelia⁵) by the preference of the tribe to banish one whose natural defects at once decreased his tribal value and seemed to render him peculiarly fitted to be a sin receptacle. Probably the offering to Jumbaka on his head is a priestly refinement on a formal touching of the head in transferring the sin.⁶ The priests considered that the expulsion of sin was effected by the grace of Varuṇa won by sacrifice, and substituted this conception for the more magic conception of sin-transfer. The further remark of the texts ascribing to Varuṇa the physical peculiarities of the bald man should not be interpreted as showing that the god was normally so conceived. The ritual when the sacrifice to Varuṇa was introduced had to explain the appearance of the man, and the simplest way was to ascribe his

¹ *Ved. Myth.*, iii, p. 32.

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, p. 227.

³ *S.B.E.*, xlv, p. xl. His discussion of the whole question is most valuable.

⁴ Murray, *Rise of Greek Epic*, pp. 253 seq.

⁵ Farnell, *Greek Cults*, iv, p. 271.

⁶ Frazer, ii, p. 202. The bathing in water may be merely purificatory, or it may be a reminiscence of a vegetation ritual. Both explanations may in different cases be true. Here I prefer the former.

characteristics to Varuṇa, the man being clearly regarded as a temporary embodiment of the god.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

BHAGAVANT AND KṚṢṆA.

Just before the late Professor Kielhorn's lamented death I had written to him—not knowing that he had sent a communication to the *Journal*¹—to ask his opinion on the question of Bhagavant, as my attention had been called, by reading Weber's review of his edition of the *Mahābhāṣya*, to the fact that the reading of the text² was there *tatrabhavataḥ*, not *bhagavataḥ*. My difficulty was that the version of Kaiyaṭa³ ran, *nityaḥ paramātmadevatāviśeṣa iha Vāsudevo gṛhyata ity arthaḥ*, and that this evidence seemed to me to favour *bhagavataḥ*, while the difference of *bhugavataḥ* and *bhavataḥ* in MSS. is so small that a defective archetype might produce the present unanimity of what is, after all, the not very large number of MSS. consulted. Further, I pointed out that the existence of Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, and quasi-identification at least with Viṣṇu were regarded by Weber⁴ himself as hinted at in the fact that the special subjects of the representatives of the actors mentioned by Patañjali were the binding of Bali, Viṣṇu's famous deed, and the slaying of Kāṃsa, Kṛṣṇa's famous deed. Professor Kielhorn might well have replied so as to remove my difficulties, but even with *tatrabhavataḥ* as the reading Kaiyaṭa's rendering is intelligible, and appears to me to be strongly supported by Professor Kielhorn's own example. For, as he points out, the precise phrase *saṃjñā ca iṣa tatrabhavataḥ*, which

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 502, 503.

² *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, iv, 3, 98.

³ Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, p. 350.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

on his view occurs with regard to Vāsudeva, occurs with regard to Ka (= Prajāpati), and it may be that Kaiyata is precisely accurate in equating *tatrabhavant* with *paramātmadevatā*, when we find Prajāpati so described. In that case we would have from the Mahābhāṣya the most satisfactory proof of the identity of Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, for except through such identification no one could dream of putting Vāsudeva on the same plane as Ka.

The usage of *tatrabhavant* in the Mahābhāṣya, as given by Professor Kielhorn, appears decidedly in favour of this view. It is otherwise used only of sages and learned persons, Brāhmaṇs who speak pure Sanskrit untaught, etc. The expression, therefore, in Vāsudeva's case must, it seems, mean either that the personage was a god (as with Ka) or a learned person of some sort, and the probabilities are certainly in favour of the first alternative. But certainty is impossible, and I must leave the matter doubtful, remarking only that the argument in favour of the early identification of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa seems, so far as it rests on the Mahābhāṣya, to remain unaffected by the divergence in reading between the Benares edition and that of Professor Kielhorn; indeed, taking Professor Kielhorn's reading the evidence seems to be rendered more rather than less cogent.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

NOTE ON THE KĀVADI CEREMONY AMONG THE HINDUS IN CEYLON.

Among the Hindus in Jaffna and other parts of Ceylon a custom exists that in some ways resembles the Hook-swinging (which used to be so popular in the Madura district and elsewhere) and the Tūkkam ceremony in Travancore.

For illness or some other cause a person will vow to carry milk to the temple for the purpose of bathing the

image of the god. At the auspicious time the votary buys about two bottles of milk which he pours into a sumbu. He then procures a wooden arch decorated with peacocks' feathers which is strapped to the shoulders, and to which the vessel is fixed, the mouth of it having first been carefully sealed with a plantain leaf tied round with string. He next goes from the nearest temple to the one where he has promised to wash the image. When hooks are used these are put in the man's back at the temple from which he starts, and on the journey between the two shrines he is accompanied by a procession at which the native band plays. A close relation or intimate friend holds the coir ropes attached to the hooks while the man himself trots slowly, thus pulling against them. Meanwhile other friends burn incense in his face to drive away the devils. On arrival at the second temple the milk is given to the Brahmin, or in his absence to the Pandaram. The votary often waits there until the wounds heal, and the only unguent applied is the burnt cow-dung used for smearing over the body.

A friend can make the vow on behalf of a sick person, who has to fulfil it later on.

The number of hooks used varies from four to sixteen. The writer was able with considerable difficulty to procure a complete set from a Brahmin who felt some scruples as to parting with them, and who was more than usually curious to know why they were wanted. This set consists of twelve hooks, an exceptionally large number. They are 6 inches long, which is rather an uncommon length, and suggests that they were made some time ago, since there is a tendency now to decrease the size.

It is a curious fact that while Hinduism only came to Ceylon from India, the Kāvadi ceremony is apparently unknown in that country, although, as Mr. Thurston, of the Madras Government Museum, points out in a letter on the subject, "Kāvadi occurs as the name of a division of

Kuravas who carry offerings to Perumalswāmi at Tirupati on a pole. It also occurs as a name for Kammadiyan curd-sellers in Madras, who carry the curds in pots on their heads."

H. ANDERSON MEADEN.

UBALIKE = UBĀRĪ.

In discussing the Rummindēi inscription of Aśoka in the April part of this volume, Dr. Fleet has dealt with the phrase in lines 4 and 5, *Lummini-gāme ubalike kaṣe aṭhabhāgiye cha*, on pp. 478-9. For *ubalike*, which he renders 'free of rent,' he proposes to read *umbalike*, and explains this word from South Indian forms, the Kanarese *umbalī*, *umbalige*, *ummalī*, the Telugu *umbalike*, etc., and the Tamil *umbalikkai*.

It is possible that the Southern forms may be connected with the word in Aśoka's inscription, but I wish to point out that the modern equivalent of *ubalike* appears to exist in the province of Bundēlkhand, at no great distance from the sub-Himalayan tract in which Rummindēi is situated, in the word *ubārī*, उवारी. This tenure, which is common in the Jhānsī and Jālaun districts of the United Provinces, signifies in the present day an estate held, not free of rent or revenue, but on a quit-rent at something less than the full assessment. In the present day the proportion of remission varies in different estates: in some the quit-rent is only one-third of the full assessment; in others a higher proportion is taken (see the Jhānsī Settlement Report, 1871, pp. 91, 126, etc.). Etymologically it appears to be certain that *ubārī* is the equivalent of *ubalike*, the lengthening of the vowel in the second syllable being probably due to the modern dialect.¹ In Mr. W. Crooke's *Rural and Agricultural*

¹ Some of the Kanarese forms in Southern India also appear to present a long *a* in the penultimate.

Glossary, p. 280, the modern form is given as *ubarī*, with short *a*; but this is an error, probably due to the omission of the mark of length in the *N.W.P. Gazetteer*, vol. i, pp. 34, 216, 283, 346, where the tenure is explained. Sir James La Touche confirms my recollection that the correct spelling is *ubāri*. The word does not occur in Platts's *Hindustani Dictionary*.

I must leave to others the question whether in the fiscal language of Aśoka's time *ubalika* meant altogether free of rent (revenue) or, as at present, paying a quit-rent.

C. J. LYALL

MAGADHA AND VIDEHA.

In his appreciatory remarks upon my paper on "The Nations of India at the great Battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas" (for which let me thank him), Dr. Grierson has offered a number of suggestions that throw valuable light upon the Aryan religious and tribal movements that took place in ancient India, and that may have influenced the story narrated in the *Mahābhārata*. They appear to be well worth further investigation. How far tribal movements were affected by religious feelings and *vice versa* is a point to be considered, and history perhaps generally indicates that religion has followed rather than instigated such movements. All these questions would demand a long and intricate enquiry, and here I would wish to notice merely one of his remarks. He has pointed out that the vanguard of the Aryan migration in India was less subject to Brahman influence than were the tribes further west, and that it was in Kosala and Videha (and Magadha may be added) that new philosophies and religions arose. This is undoubtedly true. Similar phases may be observed in other lands where similar movements have taken place. There is one feature that I should like to add to his notice of that region.

In a paper on the "Ancient Countries in Eastern India" (JASB, 1897, vol. lxvi, part 1, p. 85) I pointed out that the five nations of the Aṅgas, Vāṅgas, Kalingas, Puṇḍras, and Suhmas constituted a closely connected ethnic group, and that they probably invaded India from the sea, settling first along the west and north coast of the Bay of Bengal, and gradually pushed inwards up the Ganges valley. They occupied a wedge-shaped area, with its base along the seacoast and Aṅga as its apex touching Magadha and Videha. It appears clear that they were not nations which had occupied the Ganges valley and been driven eastward by the Aryan migration. The disorganized condition of peoples who are broken and driven backward by an invading host has been well expressed by Longfellow in Hiawatha's lament over the Red Indians of North America ("Hiawatha," xxi):—

"I beheld our nations scattered,
All forgetful of my counsels,
Weakened, warring with each other;
Saw the remnants of our people
Sweeping westward, wild and woful,
Like the cloud-rack of a tempest,
Like the withered leaves of autumn."

Those five nations exhibited no state of disorder, but, on the contrary, held a firm compact position, projecting in Aṅga a strong front far up the Ganges valley. Their position can only be explained as the result of a counter invasion from the east. Their vanguard and the Aryan vanguard met in Magadha and Videha, and each was arrested there. It was that region, where the two opposing streams of different ethnic origin met and mingled, that always constituted a nucleus of instability. Aryan influence, political, religious, and social, spread gradually over those five nations, but did so by virtue of its superiority and not by further aggressive migration. The Aryan vanguard in Magadha and Videha would surely of itself have become orthodox when in the course

of time it became a settled polity, as did the regions to the west, for the liberty possessed by pioneers lasts as long as they have pioneer-work to do. There must have been some other cause at work which made that region ferment with philosophical and religious ideas for centuries, and that, it seems to me, was the interaction that went on inevitably and continuously between the different ethnic elements that were compelled to mingle there.

That interaction was not a new thing at the time of the great battle. It had existed long before, for *Āṅga* was a kingdom that ranked with *Kosala* in *Daśaratha's* and *Lomapāda's* time. Those two kings and *Janaka* are placed some twenty royal generations earlier than the battle, and four kings are said to have reigned in *Āṅga* before *Lomapāda* (besides the eponymous *Āṅga*).¹ The ethnic group is said to have existed even before that, and though it was naturally *mlecchha*, yet it was never (as far as I am aware) described as barbarous. *Dusyanta's* grandmother is said to have been a *Kaliṅga* princess,² and in the eight generations of the *Lunar Dynasty* before her time two kings are said to have married *Āṅga* princesses and one a *Kaliṅga* princess.³ There was no incentive to fabricate such alliances, and they show that *Āṅga* and *Kaliṅga* were reckoned respectable monarchies at a very early date.

F. E. PARGITER.

¹ *Hari-Vaṁśa*, 1692-7 (Calc. ed.).

² *MBh.* i, 3780-2.

³ *MBh.* i, 3772, 3775, 3777.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

KITAB BAĞDĀD VON AHMAD IBN ABI ṬĀHIR ṬAIFŪR
(Sechster Band). Edited and translated by Dr. H.
KELLER. Part 2 : German translation. Leipzig :
O. Harrassowitz, 1908.

Dr. Keller has long been known to be engaged on an edition of what remains of the "Kitāb Baghdād" of Ibn abi Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr from the unique MS. B.M. Add. 23318, for an instalment of the text and translation appeared as long ago as 1898. The entire German translation has now been issued as "II. Teil," the text being presumably intended to follow as "I. Teil," but the presence of the MS. at the Museum supplies its place.

The introductory matter (pp. xxvi) shows that Dr. Keller has subjected his text to a close and searching analysis, and his references to other works where the same matter occurs, especially his tabular comparison of the Kitāb al-Aghāni, is of great value. But Dr. Keller has a special theory to support. The pp. xiii-xxvi are devoted to showing that the "Kitāb Baghdād" was largely drawn on by Tabari, whilst its author's name is intentionally cited but once; that Tabari's selections therefrom were throughout made with the twofold object of concealing the indebtedness, and of suppressing anything unfavourable to the Abbasid ruler; and that the result is to present a picture of the period imperfect, one-sided, and deceptive. Tabari is, in fact, a "Tendenz" writer (p. xxiii). Dr. Keller concedes certainly that the Annals will always possess value, but on their author's methods he is outspoken. Tabari betrays himself as a "Plagiator" (p. xiv), a term which, as differing from the "Abschreiber" used on p. xv, certainly

discloses a "Tendenz" in Dr. Keller; he worked mechanically, and omitted so important an event as the death of Wāqidi (p. xviii); when the Kitāb Baghdād failed him he was reduced to bare chronicles for his information (p. xxi); and from his source he drew merely flattering matter ("Lobhudeleien und Zahmes") to the exclusion of all that was unfavourable, masculine and energetic (p. xxvi). But does the evidence on these various heads constitute proof, or even a *prima facie* case?

Ṭabari's leading counsel speaks, of course, from Leyden, but to one count of the indictment an acquittal may be claimed from behind the bar. On p. xxi translations are given of two passages of the text, which rest on the same authority, and occur at eight folios interval, both recording the appointment of Ṭāhir b. al-Husain to be governor of Khurāsān, as follows, fol. 14^a:—

قال ابو حسان : وكان سبب ولايته فيما اجمع الناس عليه ان
عبد الرحمن المظفرى الحرورى قتل بغير امر والي خراسان فتخوفوا
ان يكون ذلك لاصل عمل عليه

and again on fol. 22^a, under the next heading:—

وذكر ابو حسان وانما كان سبب ولايته انه قتل عبد
الرحمن المظفرى الحرورى بغير امر والي خراسان فتخوفوا ان يكون
لذلك اصل.

The event is recorded in the text of Ṭabari as follows (iii, 1043, l. 6):—

قال ابو حسان : وكان سبب ولايته فيما اجتمع الناس عليه ان
عبد الرحمان المظفرى جمع جموعا * بنيسابور ليقاتل بهم¹
الحرورية بغير امر والي خراسان فتخوفوا ان يكون ذلك لاصل عمل
عليه.

¹ Ex I.A. recepi. Cod. . . . بنيسابور. Taif. corrupte, etc.

Dr. Keller holds the two passages to differ in meaning; that Ibn Ṭaifūr added the second to elucidate the first; and that Ṭabari, noticing only the first and its unsatisfactory form, pieced it out with a bald extract from a chronicle. But all this is mere phantasy. The two passages are practically identical: it is a mere case of repetition; of the two, the first is indeed the better, and the text of Ṭabari approximates to it. Nor can Dr. Keller's translations be accepted. In the first passage he treats قتل as passive, and as referring to 'Abd al-Rahmān, and الحاروري as his second 'Nisba'; in the second, he makes the verb to govern الحاروري, which he takes to mean the leader of that sect: the words of the first passage, ان يكون ذلك لعل عمل عليه, he renders "people were afraid that that had happened because he had been made its governor," and the ان يكون لذلك لعل of the second, "people were afraid that something terrible might thereby happen." But whatever be the meaning of لعل, that meaning must be the same in both passages.¹ To Ṭabari, indeed, with some aid from Leyden viâ Ibn al-Athîr, belongs the credit of having converted the corrupt text of Ibn Ṭaifūr into sense, using, it may be, some independent source. For Dr. Keller seems to forget that his author was not the sole nor necessarily the best authority for Ma'mûn's reign; it is by a chance merely that his work may be the best which has reached us. True, he was born early in that reign, but for the events preceding

¹ The meaning of the words لعل عمل عليه in the passage in Ṭabari has been declared from Leyden to be: "it was feared that this expedition of 'Abd al-Rahmān had proceeded on a plan on which he had acted," viz., of rebellion, as undertaken without the governor's leave. Professor Margoliouth points out that in Ibn Khaldûn, iii, 251, l. 6 a.f., the passage runs: فخشى أن يكون ذلك من المأمون, viz., that it was feared he had acted on secret instructions.

his manhood a writer must rely, as for those preceding his birth, on authority. And, be it observed, Ibn Taifūr is earlier than Tabari by only twenty years. Other historians there were—al-Haitham b. ‘Adi, for instance (Wust., Gesch. No. 44), whose work may have extended into Ma’mūn’s reign, for his death occurred in 207 A.H., and is indeed recorded in the translation, on p. 159, where ‘‘Adi’ is, by mistake, ‘Abdi.’ And Dr. Keller goes too far in presuming that matter present in this text which appears in later works was, therefore, derived from his author. For two cases can be adduced of its stories being told by a later writer in a fuller and, presumably, a more original form than his. The story of Abu Dulaf and Rashīd, pp. 115–16, MS. fol. 98^b, will be found set out *supra*, p. 455 (Extract C), from the Tadhkira of Ibn Hamdūn, and it is apparent that it was not derived from Ibn Taifūr’s version. Again, the story how Ma’mūn’s offer to purchase his own property from a slave, in preference to his stealing it, was closed with at once by that slave at an agreed sum of two dinars (p. 44, MS. fol. 38^b), appears also in the Tadhkira, Or. 3179, fol. 112^a, and in a fuller form, with a closing remark by the slave that the subject had been exhausted.¹ And a third instance can be adduced where

¹ قال : قُلْنَا فِيهَا كَفَايَةٌ إِلَى دَهْرِي. I append the story immediately preceding it in the Tadhkira, as also illustrating the Caliph’s extraordinary good nature. Both were probably taken by Ibn Hamdūn from the same source :—

قال عبد الله بن طاهر : كنت عند العمامون فنادى بالخدام : يا غلام . باعلى صوته فدخل غلام تركى فقال : لا ينبغي للغلام ان يأكل او يشرب او يتوضأ او يصلى ؟ كلما خرجنا من عندك تصبح " يا غلام " الى كم " يا غلام " ؟ فنكس رأسه طويلا فما شككت انه

Ibn Taifūr was himself an actor. For a life of him is contained in the recently published "*Irshād al-Arib*" of Yāqūt,¹ and at vol. i, p. 156, appears the story how Ibn Taifūr's conduct drove al-Mubarrad into showing him the door, a story which Yāqūt derived from al-Marzubāni (d. 384, Wust., No. 146), who had it from al-Sūli (d. 335, ib. No. 115). But the same story is given by Ibn Hamdūn, Or 3180, fol. 241^b, and he died some years before Yāqūt was born. Whilst giving the story in a form obviously abridged from that of Yāqūt, he gives it on the authority of Ibn Taifūr himself, and, but for this evidence, he would probably be assumed by Dr. Keller to have derived it directly from one of Ibn Taifūr's works.

As regards Ṭabari's supposed principles of selection from the Kitāb Baghdād, it is difficult to see why he should have been more concerned than Ibn Taifūr to uphold the reputation of the reigning house. And Dr. Keller's claim that his author was the first to attempt a '*Kulturgeschichte*' (p. xxiii), as distinct from mere annals, would be more properly advanced for Ibn Qutaiba or Mubarrad, both contemporary writers. All that Ibn Taifūr did was to adopt the Persian habit of an episodical form; under his headings he, like other historians, gives one detached story after another; and he seems, like them, to have had little notion of an ordered historical narrative.

يا مربي يضرب عنقه فتمثال : يا عبد الله ان الرجل اذا حسنت
اخلاقه سامت اخلاق خدمه واذا اسبامت اخلاقه حسنت اخلاق
خدمه فلا نستطيع ان ننسى اخلاقنا لتحسن اخلاق خدمنا.

Ma'mūn's dictum is attributed to Yahya the Barmecide by Ibn Khallikān, in his *Life*, de Sl. Eng., iv, p. 111.

¹ The volume abounds with interesting matter, and although but a part of the "*Irshād*" is known to be extant, that part will afford matter for four volumes. The work is being edited by Professor D. S. Margoliouth for the Gibb Memorial Series.

To come to the translation (pp. 1-159). In a story of the difficulties which beset Ma'mūn's head spy—for such were employed, too, by the better Caliphs—that official had to send his master a letter of expostulation. Summoned to an audience, Ma'mūn says to him: *رُتِعْتُكَ فِي ثُنَى وَبَادَتِي*, "your letter is in the fold of my cushion." This Dr. Keller has wholly misunderstood (p. 32), *و* being taken apparently for a copulative. And there are other mistakes in the translation of this story. The right understanding of Arabic is indeed no light task, and in the case of concise and idiomatic turns of speech is often almost unattainable. Yet it is well to proceed on the assumption that the phrase or anecdote should convey some point and to try and bring that point out in the translation. But Dr. Keller's rendering is sometimes a case of *ignotum per ignotius*. He may well be excused for not having grasped the purport of Tāhir's remark to Sa'īd when he brought him the dissatisfied official's petition (p. 51), a passage set out below as emended and interpreted by Professor D. S. Margoliouth,¹ but of some of Tāhir's subsequent remarks the purport is scarcely apprehended. In stating the difficulties which beset him as governor, Tāhir says that, being a native of the province, and sprung from its middle class—for such must be here the sense of *تَوَسَّطْنَا بَيْنَ الْقَوْمِ* rather than

(¹) قَالَ (وَتَنَجَّرُ بَعْدَ انْشِرَاحِ وَطَيْبِ نَفْسٍ مَعِي) : اَوْشَعَهَا [اَوْسَعَهَا MS.]

زَيْتًا وَاحْشِ بِهَا كَذَا مِنْ نَفْسِكَ . لَا يَكْتَبِي عَنِ السُّوءِ [السُّوءِ MS.]

مُغْصَصًا [مُغْصَصًا MS.] بِهَا B.M. Add. 23318, fol. 44b.

meaning, "He (Tāhir) said, changing suddenly after his cheerfulness and friendliness with me: 'Saturate it (the letter) with oil, and stuff your . . . with it,' using the plain Arabic word and no euphemism."

كَذَا is, literally, 'such and such a part of your person.'

The word, in fact, used was, probably, *مَحْشَتُكَ*, but there are many synonyms.

'vermittler spielen'—he found himself exposed on the one side to the exaggerated expectations of friends—'wali' not 'wālī,' nor particularly referring to the petitioner—and on the other to the covert satisfaction of enemies at his disparagement by reason of his friends' disappointment. And Tāhir's statement about the petitioner (p. 52) should be: "I want him (not 'he wants') to be satisfied, and to claim a post for which he is competent: were he to start forthwith for his actual post, and then put forward a claim, what he wants would be granted as soon as expressed. What is the meaning of this presumption and self-will now?" (the last words not forming part of the previous sentence). Tāhir's protest, again, when vinegar was thrown at his one remaining eye (p. 55), that that eye was *على يَدَيِّ عدلي*, means 'in great peril of destruction,' and has no reference to Tāhir's own hands. The saying is explained Lane, 1974^b. Tāhir's dictum on p. 56 must surely be that your choice of officials should be guided by whether their wealth or worldly fortunes (*نعمه*) rise and fall with your own. The translation has "dass er nicht froh ist, wenn es dir gut geht, sich aber wohl fühlt, wenn es dir wohl geht." Again, on p. 58, the sentence "Ihr Ende macht die Taten und die Ansdauer das Handeln, und das Ziel belohnt den Lauf des Rennpferdes," etc., is far from conveying the meaning of the words—

الأعمال بخواتيمها والصنعة باستدامتها وإلى الغاية ما جرى
 الجواد بحمد السابق وذم الساقط

which I take to be: Actions are judged by their results and acts of kindness by their being kept up, for it is the goal that a noble courser makes for amidst plaudits for the horse ahead and jeers at the one outdistanced. Tāhir's answer (p. 59) to the man who complained that his house had been burnt down, "Das Verfehlen deines Zweckes

kommt von deiner Absicht," **اخطاك من قصدك**, should be "Whoever it was aimed at you, has missed you," i.e. though you have lost your abode your life is safe. On p. 70 Tahir's son, 'Abd Allah, is irritated by a local governor's refusal to receive him, and **نصغر وجهه** (MS. **نصر**), i.e. spoke depreciatingly of him (the governor). This is rendered 'Verzog das Gesicht' (his own face). And it is evident that Dr. Keller's reading of a passage on fol. 62^a, p. 71, needs revision. The poet al-Attabi says of certain Persian books at Merv which he had copied, **مقطت الى ما هناك من يزد جرد**. Dr. Keller has failed to recognize the name. The phrase implies the idea of age, like the French "C'est vieux comme Hérode," or better here, "comme le roi Dagobert." The passage is interesting as giving the poet's appreciation of Arabic and Persian literature, to the effect that whilst for the former could be claimed the power of expression in correct and convincing language (inserting **و** between the words **الملائكة اللغة**), yet that 'ideas' (**المعاني**) must be sought for in the Persian.

The saying, too, of Ishaq al-Mansili, on p. 86, is a dark one—"Ich hoffe, dass tu es aufrichtig meinst, und dass auch jenes (Wort), dass, wenn ich gestorben bin, du niemand findest, dem du wie mir den Tod wünschest, eine Lüge von dir sei." Ishaq was ill and answered a message from Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as to visiting him in a way that Ibrāhīm complained of whilst protesting his wish that Ishaq might regain his health. To this Ishaq replied:

ارجو ان تكون صادقًا وذاك اني ان مئت لم تجد مثلي تستشهد

فيكذب لك

i.e., I hope you are sincere, and moreover that, should I die, you may not find some one ready, as I am, when appealed to, to incur falsehood out of courtesy towards you.

On p. 88, Ibrāhīm when in hiding insists on changing his quarters, and says to the man who is dissuading him *ان تركتني والّا شققت بطني*, i.e. let me go, or else, etc., which is rendered "Du verlässest mich nicht, sonst," etc., which seems to imply that Ibrāhīm wished him not to leave him.

In an anecdote of Ma'mūn's voracious vizier, Ahmad b. abi Khālid (p. 105), Ahmad is disclosing gradually to a needy friend that he had procured him a large gift from Ma'mūn, and he begins by saying that he had failed to get anything. Told that this came of his weak advocacy, he replies: *ما املت (افلت) منك على حال* (i.e. *افلت*), "I have by no means deserted you." This is rendered: "Ich habe von dir keine Schilderung eines Zustandes (keine Klarlegung der Verhältnisse) bekommen," which leaves Dr. Keller's reading of the verb quite uncertain.

In the above-mentioned story of Abu Dulaf (p. 116) the concluding words of the version in the *Tadhkira* show that by *كتب الي في احد* is intended, not a letter of recommendation, but a draft in a person's favour, and the rendering of the previous words in the passage "so tust du [i.e. the Caliph] unter seine Tauben einen grossen Schuss" is unintelligible. The words seem to mean that "he (i.e. Abu Dulaf) has a spirit beyond his years which will carry him far." And in the bold vindication by the poet 'Allawaih of his patrons, the Omeyyads (p. 128, and twice repeated in the *Aghāni*, iv, 97, and x, 131-2), the double meaning of 'Maula' might with advantage have been emphasized, for what the poet was, of course, contrasting was the position of the Abbasid dependant Ziryāb at the Omeyyad Court in Spain with his own lot at the Abbasid Court.

In conclusion, by way of tentative suggestion, and on the principle of forcing from a story an adequate point, may not the third form of *أكل* in the story of the poet Mukhāriq

and Ma'mūn, on pp. 145-6, require, not the usual sense of 'to eat with,' but rather 'to vie with in eating' ? The poet had, by command, joined Ma'mūn at table, and together they had disposed of a fowl and two rolls. The Caliph's displeasure became forthwith evident to his guest, and on his explaining the situation to his friends, one of these enquired whether he had not in the house a single roll he might have eaten beforehand. In a month's time Ma'mūn repeated his command, but the poet replied "Never again," at which the Caliph said laughingly: "Did you imagine I grudged the food? No,"

لكني اردتُ تأديبك لمن بعدي لأن الملوك والخلفاء لا يؤاكلها
 خدومها واحاف ان تتعود هذا من غيري فلا يحتملك عليه تعال
 الآن نكل في امان.

These last words seem to negative the idea that Ma'mūn's object was to point out the impropriety of princes eating with subjects, and the friend's enquiry points rather to the poet's offence having lain, not in his obedience to Ma'mūn's command, but to that obedience having been so hearty and entire.¹

There is, therefore, not a little occasion for improvement in Dr. Keller's translation, and the appearance of his text will be awaited with interest, coupled with some anxiety.

H. F. A.

¹ It has been suggested to me that لا يحتملك has no proper agent, and that by amending the passage فلا يتعود هذا مني فلا يحتملك عليه غيري the verb آكل can bear its ordinary sense.

THE IRSHAD AL-ARAB ILA MA'RIFAT AL-ADIB, OR DICTIONARY OF LEARNED MEN OF YĀQŪT. Edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." Vol. I, containing part of the letter A. Leyden, Brill; London, Luzac & Co.; 1907.

Professor Margoliouth, in his preface, expresses his well-founded hope that the Gibb Trustees, by opening their series for Yāqūt's Dictionary of Learned Men, have earned the gratitude of those who are interested in Arabic literary history. Even more thanks are due to Professor Margoliouth himself for the excellent edition of the first volume that now lies before me. Yāqūt is no stranger to us. His two works published by Wüstenfeld, his great geographical dictionary, and his book on homonymous geographical names proved him to be a man of great learning, who compiled with tact and talent, often adding useful critical remarks and supplying what he had seen or heard himself. As he consulted many books that have perished since his time, he is, for not a few geographical or historical problems, our only resource, and his extracts from works that still exist enable us often to restore corrupt passages in the latter. The present work shows the same qualities. Several of the books mentioned by Yāqūt in his introduction as the main sources of his biographical notes are lost to us. In several cases, where he quotes works that have come down to us, his text "provides more emendations for future editors of these texts than it obtains from them."

Professor Margoliouth had only one copy (MS. Bodl. Or. 753) on which to base the edition of this first volume. The copy is modern and not free from even serious faults. The editor had no other means of correcting these than the examination of works from which Yāqūt copied,

or works which borrowed from his. Of the latter the most useful was the dictionary of Ṣafadī, of which the Bodleian Library contains eleven volumes. The text having thus been constituted by the editor, the proofs were read at his request by more than one learned Oriental expert. The result is, as I said before, a really good edition.

In reading parts of the work I made some marginal notes which I submit to Professor Margoliouth—

P. ۴, 7. The words *إلا أنباء ظنه لذلك* seem to be corrupt. I have tried in vain to find the true reading; l. 10, in modern MSS. the mistakes in the gender of numerals are countless; the correction of *مجلد* in *مجلدة*, therefore, is not necessary.

P. ۶, 2. I see no reason whatever why the reading of the MS., *المثال*, should be replaced by *المثقال*.

P. ۷, 6 a f. *فيقتله*, r. *فيقتله*, for *علماً* means "he knew it thoroughly."

P. ۱۸, 3. *جزارات* must be corrupt.

P. ۲۳, ult. *محرر*, the reading of the MS., is also good.

P. ۲۴, note ۱. The same case, p. ۲۳, 6, 10; l. 3, *فراذه* perhaps to be read *فراذه*.

P. ۲۸, 8. Read *اجل جباية*, and perhaps *ابدأ*.

P. ۲۹, 5 a f. *بأن* seems to have fallen out between *راضي* and *يعلم*.

P. ۳۰, 1. *واللرجل* seems to be a variant of *القرشي*.

P. ۳۵, 7, and note ۲. The reading of the MS., *تبدى*, is doubtless to be retained, "he lived in the desert"; l. 8, r. with Tūsi's List *شواهد*, viz. of the *Gharīb*; l. 9, rather *فجمع بين*.

P. ۳۸, 2, and note ۱. The words of the MS. (r. *جار* for *جازر*) seem to mean: "and they used to call al-Ḥarbīya all that is on the other side of the old bridge."

P. ۴۳, 11. *عدا*, r. *عديما*, "if they are destitute of."

P. ۴۸, 1, 5. The reading of the MS., *مارومة*, may be preferable. Cf. the index to Tabarī, *sub* *مارومة* *أحمد بن*.

P. ١٠, 13. Read لا تفعل, "don't (say so)." See the glossary to Tabarī *sub* فعل.

P. ١٣٣, 11. مسكراً, r. متنكراً.

P. ١٤٢, ult. الإقاليم seems to have fallen out after سور. It is also missing in Šafadī's work, see Z.D.M.G. xxv, p. 55, ult. seqq. It is curious that Yāqūt has nothing to say in this interesting article about الكتاب المتنازع بين أبي زيد البلخي وأبي اسحاق الإصطخري في صفة البلدان (Mo'jam, ii, p. ١٢٢, 13).

P. ١٧٢, penult. والرد is a printer's error for والرد.

P. ١٧٣, 12. سنين must be read سنتين, coll. l. 15.

P. ١٩٩, 7. قطع يد السارق means قطع السارق.

P. ٢٠٠, 5. ولم, r. وكم.

P. ٢٠٧, 11. There is no reason for substituting خالص to خالصة.

P. ٢٠٨, 10. اكرهتهم قسراً, perhaps لاكارتهم.

P. ٢٩٣, 3. Read هارون بن غريب الخال, see 'Arīb, index.

P. ٣٩٩, 4. Read كارة, "in a bundle."

P. ٤٠١, 6 a.f. Read رأني.

Peculiarly interesting in this volume are the biographies of Abu Zaid Balkhī, of Ibrāhīm as-Šūlī, and Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl as-Šābī, the grandfather of that Hilāl as-Šābī whose history of the vezirs has been edited by Mr. Amedroz. Interesting also are the not very flattering character given to Ibn abī Tāhīr Taifūr (p. ١٥٢), a fragment of whose work has just appeared in a German translation by Dr. Keller; the correspondence of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri with the Upperdā'i in Egypt; the official writing of the Calif ar-Rādhi to Naṣr ibn Ahmed as-Samānī about Shalmaghānī (pp. ٢٩٨-٣٠٧).

The editor does not say which MSS. are at his disposal for the edition of the following volumes, nor whether the whole of the work is still extant. I wish him all success in the continuation of his deserving work.

M. J. DE GOEJE.

BEITRÄGE ZUR INDISCHEN KULTURGESCHICHTE. By RICHARD GARBE. Berlin, 1903.

In this interesting little book Professor Garbe has collected seven short sketches of Indian life and thought, most of which had already appeared in German periodicals, practically inaccessible to English readers. All of them are of value, but the most original are undoubtedly the first two, which treat of the part played by the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas respectively in the development of Indian philosophy, and of the leading features and historic relations of the six great orthodox philosophical systems of India. These essays supplement and explain the views expressed by the author in his *Sāṃkhya Philosophie* and in his translation of the Bhagavadgītā, and will form an essential factor in any discussion of the history of Indian philosophy.

It is possible that Professor Garbe's views as to the work of the Brahmin is somewhat affected by his decidedly unfavourable view of their part in the history of India, a view doubtless strongly supported by the record of their share in the extension of the practice of Sati and of Thuggee as described in the fourth and fifth essays in the volume. But despite all this it is somewhat perplexing to find that the Brahmins, whom we have been accustomed to regard as the bearers *par excellence* of Hindu culture, should be denied the credit alike of the Monism of the Upaniṣads, the morality of Buddhism and Jainism, and the theism of the Bhāgavatas, all of which faiths we are bidden to ascribe to the Kṣatriyas. This conclusion seems to Professor Garbe to follow necessarily from the evidence of the Upaniṣads, where, as is well known, princes are represented as disputing with and refuting and teaching Brahmins. It is argued, not without force, that the state of affairs represented must have been real or else priestly conceit would never have allowed it to be handed down.

Against Dahlmann's objection that already in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharva Veda* are to be found passages which are the forerunners of the doctrines of the *Upaniṣads*, Professor Garbe replies by asserting that the *Rg* and the *Atharva* are not mere priestly products; they belong to a time earlier than the sharp distinction of hereditary castes which we find in the later texts; even in the latter the three upper castes are permitted to study the *Vedas*.

The first remark that may be offered is that there is something paradoxical on the face of it to assert that to a warrior class is due the finest product of Hindu thought, the monism of the *Upaniṣads*. On Professor Garbe's theory we have these works arising at a time when a sharp distinction has been drawn between priest and warrior, a distinction only effected after great struggles between priest and noble, in which the latter was defeated. But the Vedic evidence for any such struggle is entirely to seek; we have only the fantastic legends of the Epic, which I confess seem to me without any value whatever. Nor can we admit the view which denies the existence of hereditary caste in the time of the *Rgveda* or the *Atharva Veda*. Both are essentially priestly collections, and whatever appears in them had found its way into the ritual of the priests, whatever its origin may have been.

Surely a much more plausible account of the whole matter can be given on the theory that the main philosophical activity of the period was that of the Brahmins, as is represented to have been the case in all the works preserved to us. The people who are represented to us as disputing and studying are normally Brahmins; the kings are few and far between, and much of their fame seems to have been due to their generosity in the way of prizes; the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (iv, 1), indeed, preserves a hint that Janaka's generosity caused Ajātaśatru much annoyance. Further, we must remember that in primitive societies such as those of the *Brāhmaṇa* period, the separation of the

castes as regards activities was not rigid. No doubt the Kṣatriya's first care was war and government, but in his spare moments a king might well amuse himself with the disputes of ritualists and philosophers; we need not deny that a king might be himself an originator of philosophic doctrine, but we cannot forget that flattery is both easy and diplomatic if cows are in question. But this alters in no way the fact that as a class the Kṣatriyas are not the bearers of an intellectual tradition; that task falls to the Brahmin's lot. And if a king is a philosopher it is not because he shares a different tradition from the priest, but because he is in some measure a partaker of the priestly tradition, as the three upper castes always share the Vedas.

We must, in fact, beware of minimising the differences of view within the priesthood itself. Professor Garbe's view of the Sāṃkhya illustrates neatly the curious effect of insistence on the spiritual emptiness of the priests. For it represents in his view a revolt, again by the Kṣatriyas, against the prevailing Ātman doctrine which we have seen to be derived in his opinion from Kṣatriyas. Now, it is true that the older Upaniṣads do not know the Sāṃkhya, but the younger ones from the Kāṭha onwards do, and without laying any stress on the details of Deussen's development¹ of the Sāṃkhya from the Vedānta view, it is certainly not hard to see how within the Brahmin circles the doctrine with all its strange illogicalities could arise, even if we accept the view that the system is essentially the work of one mind. On this point, however, both Professors Jacobi and Oldenberg have expressed their disagreement with Professor Garbe, and, in fact, the proposition is hardly tenable.

Professor Garbe, indeed, tries to show that this view is rendered necessary by the fact that Buddhism is derived from the Sāṃkhya, and that it adopts the negation of soul

¹ Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 490 seq.

as a deduction from the final view of the nature of the psychic processes held in the Sāṃkhya. This is certainly true, but it proves nothing for the definite creation of the system as a complete whole by one man. The question is, of course, one of degree, but the simplest and most probable view is that the system is the result of the activity of a school, though the doctrine itself must have first existed in a less fully defined form. To Professor Garbe the doctrine originated with one individual as a complete system; to us the main principles, viz., the relation of matter and spirit and the denial of god, were probably originated in Vedāntic circles by a natural process of development and criticism, and were only gradually reduced to the complete and dry system we now have. This is not, of course, to deny the early date of the fixation or to revive the theory of the Epic Sāṃkhya which Jacobi and Garbe have completely disposed of. On the other hand, such fixation need not be ante-Buddhist, as the Buddhist doctrine of the non-existence of the soul is merely a deduction from the principles, not the details, of the Sāṃkhya.

Indeed, if we are to judge the Kṣatriyas by their systems, Buddhism and Jainism, we will hardly be able to expect much intellectual fruit from them. The claims of Jainism to serious consideration will hardly be argued seriously by any one, while it is clear that the Buddhist simplification of the Sāṃkhya was merely confusion on the metaphysical side; the moral side is another matter on which opinions may legitimately differ.

More difficult is the question of the origin of the Bhāgavata sect. Professor Garbe has no hesitation in treating it as of Kṣatriya origin. The founder of the religion was, he says, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, who was later raised to divine rank or rather identified with the divinity, and, by his name and the legends attached to his name, a member of the warrior caste. Much of the cogency of this

argument disappears if we recognise in Kṛṣṇa a deity *ex initio*, and there seems little other evidence which supports the theory. It is, however, also the view of Dr. Grierson,¹ who cites with approval the work of Professor Garbe on the Bhagavadgītā. But I confess I cannot find any real support of the theory in that work, and in connection I would refer to Professor Hopkins' interesting review in this Journal.² We have no right to refuse to suppose that the Brahmins could and did originate more than one philosophic view; that of the Vedānta of Śaṅkara occurs to us as the most orthodox, but the well-known fact that the Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa does not really best accord with that interpretation, shows conclusively that a more realistic interpretation of the world had early found acceptance in Brahminic circles. To assume that at first this interpretation came from without these circles is rather paradoxical, and certainly has no external support.

The length of this review precludes discussion of the many other interesting points raised by Professor Garbe, and it must suffice to call attention to the evidence adduced (pp. 136-9) that the Milindapañha originally ended with the second book, the rest being a later addition, and to Professor Garbe's acceptance of Hillebrandt's theory of the significance of the verse (Atharva Veda, xviii, 3, i), which

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 606.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 384 seq. I am glad to be able to agree with Dr. Kennedy on one point, as regarding Kṛṣṇa as always divine (*supra*, p. 520). Dr. Kennedy's views and mine are too different to render further reply to his note (pp. 516-21) useful. But I must protest against the attribution to me of the view that the ox was Kṛṣṇa's totem (p. 520). I do not understand how a god can have a totem, and reference to my remarks on p. 174 will show that I have not even regarded Kṛṣṇa in ox-shape (assuming he was so conceived) as a totem, but rather as an incarnation of a vegetation spirit. It should be remembered that Dionysus was worshipped as a bull—I confess I find it difficult to make that bull into clouds—and Dr. Kennedy's own theory connects Dionysus and Kṛṣṇa. For the rest I fear I cannot accept the view that Apollo, or Herakles, or Osiris are sun-gods proper; as regards Paśan I am doubtful.

is usually and in my opinion rightly considered to refer to the ancient and disused custom of burning the widow. If the Brahmins later supported the custom, yet it may fairly be put to their credit that there was a period when they must have mitigated it, as appears to have been the case at the time of the Rgveda and the Atharva. Unhappily Indian history is, in too many matters, a history of regress rather than progress.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

A NEW BOUNDARY STONE OF NEBUCHADREZZAR I. FROM NIPPUR. By WM. I. HINKE, Ph.D., D.D., Assistant Professor in the Old Testament Department in Auburn Theological Seminary. With 16 half-tone illustrations and 35 drawings. Philadelphia: published by the University of Pennsylvania, 1907.

This book forms the fourth volume of Series D (Researches and Treatises) of "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania." The "Expedition," so ably conducted by the well-known Assyriologist, Professor Hilprecht, has already furnished us with a goodly number of excellent volumes of "Texts" (Series A) and "Treatises" (Series D). I need only mention Hilprecht's "Old Babylonian Inscriptions," Hilprecht-Clay's *Murashû Contracts*, and Ranke's *Hammurabi Documents* and "Early Babylonian Personal Names." Upon the last-named book follows now Dr. Hinke's treatise. It deals with an interesting class of Babylonian inscriptions, the so-called *kudurru* inscriptions. The *kudurrus* were stones set up for marking the property boundaries. Some of the *kudurrus* found are sale-contracts and some gift-documents. Most of them, however, contain royal grants to faithful officials or to temples. The study of these inscriptions was mainly furthered by Oppert, Delitzsch, Hilprecht, and

Belser. Dr. Hinke now continues these studies in this book, and he does it in a very thorough manner. He does not only deal with the new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar I, which was found by the Expedition in Nippur in 1896 and is now in the possession of Mrs. Hilprecht (p. xx). He devotes to the new boundary stone the second half of the book (which "was originally presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D."), and in the first half he discusses all the *kudurrus* thus far published. In the first half ("Babylonian Boundary Stones," pp. 1-115) the author deals with all the details of the *kudurru* inscriptions, as discovery, origin, contents, symbols, etc. Especially interesting is the chapter about the "Symbols of the boundary stones" (pp. 71-115). It has no less than twelve paragraphs. The symbols question is a very difficult one, and the attempts at solution made by Hommel, Zimmern, and others, have, as Dr. Hinke shows, not quite been successful. Dr. Hinke did not succeed either in giving a full explanation of the symbols in all their aspects. But some of the problems seem to have been finally solved by Dr. Hinke (see pp. 114-115). A very interesting chapter is that dealing with the "Curses of the *kudurru* inscriptions" (pp. 58-70). It would have been worth while to compare these curses with other passages in the Babylonian literature where calamities are mentioned (cf., e.g., *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, vol. vi, pp. 276, 278, 280, 296), and with the curses in the O.T. (cf., e.g., the phrase *bitu ippuku libel sanumma*—see p. 69—with Deut. xxviii, 30, **בֵּית תְּבַנָּה וְלֹא תִשָּׁב בוֹ**).

Another interesting point is the employment of irresponsible persons (as fools, idiots, deaf, or blind) to destroy or take away the *kudurrus* in the belief that in this way he (the instigator) would escape the effect of the curses (see pp. 49-50). But the responsibility is put on the

right shoulders (cf. p. 152). It may be mentioned that we find the same idea (of sending an irresponsible person to do the misdeed) in the Talmud. The irresponsible persons usually mentioned there are the deaf, the fool, and the minor (הרש שוטה וקטן). The first two correspond to the *sakku* and *sakla* on the kudurrus. Instead of קטן the kudurrus have *lā šemā* or *lā mūdā*. There, too, the responsibility rests upon the sender; cf., e.g., Talmud Babli Meila 21^a, Baba Mezia 10^b, and especially Baba Kamma 59^b. There is much material in the first half of the book, and there is evidence of much painstaking labour. The results attained may, though, not be quite in proportion to the labour spent.

The second part, in which Dr. Hinke gives a full introduction to, transliteration and translation of, and commentary on the new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar (pp. 116–187), and also the boundary stone of Marduk-še-erba (pp. 188–199), is in itself a valuable contribution to Assyriological research. The philological commentary might have perhaps been a little more exhaustive, especially seeing that what the author himself regards as “a general introduction” takes up half the book. It may also be that some explanations are not quite safe. Thus, for instance, I would prefer to compare *tabalu*, not with Heb. תבל (see p. 178), but with Heb. יבל, ‘canal’ (Jer. xvii, 8), and יבל, ‘watercourse, stream’ (Isa. xxx, 25; xlv, 4). It gives a much better sense than ‘dry land.’ Again, *naḥ mē*, translated by Dr. Hinke ‘water-pourer’ (p. 62, see also Glossary), is, as a comparison with the proverb in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii, p. 277 f., shows, equivalent to ‘son,’ ‘offspring’; cf. also Susa, 3, vii, 9–13 (p. 62), where *naḥ mē* is parallel to *pīru*, also London, 102, ii, 15–19 (ibid.). *Mē* is here equivalent to *zēru* (cf. the name Marduk-šāpik-zērim; see p. 208).

A concordance of proper names (pp. 200-230), a list of symbols (pp. 231-245), and a glossary (pp. 246-319) enhance the value of this industrious, well-arranged, and well-printed book. To every future student of this branch of Assyriology Dr. Hinke's treatise will be indispensable. One can only wish the "Babylonian Expedition" well and hope that more volumes will soon follow.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA, FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST. By VINCENT A. SMITH. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

MR. V. SMITH is to be heartily congratulated on this new edition of his history; congratulated not only on the popularity of the work, as shown by its sale, but still more on the improvements he has introduced in the second edition. It is an ambitious and an arduous task to write the history of Ancient India when the materials are so imperfect, the *lacunæ* so great, and so much is in dispute. By the history of Ancient India we virtually mean the history of Northern India; and even for this our materials are very incomplete and very capriciously distributed. The epigraphic evidence, which is much the most important, has been digested for two periods only—the age of Asoka and of the Guptas; with regard to the Śakas and the Kushāns, matters are still in dispute. The evidence of coins fails us altogether east of Allahabad, and the testimony of the Greeks and Chinese is limited to certain brief periods, while the Purāṇic legends and the chance references of native writers help us little. After the fourth century A.D. matters improve somewhat, and before the close of the mediæval era we begin to have some local histories; but, generally speaking, we have darkness illuminated by gleams of light,

and although the outlines are perceptible, the details are unknown. Thus any political history of Ancient and Mediæval India at the present time must be regarded as largely tentative; but the discoveries of the last 50 or 60 years have been so numerous that it was worth while making the attempt. Mr. Smith's preliminary studies on Alexander's campaigns, Asoka, the Indo-Scyths and Kushāns, the Gandhāra sculptures, and the coinage and geography of the Guptas have made scholars acquainted with his views, and these have not always met with acceptance. But Mr. Smith's merits as a collector and arranger of facts are undeniable; he has ransacked every recent publication bearing on his subject down to the end of 1907; his diligence is admirable, and his history maintains a uniform average of general excellence and seldom degenerates into a bald chronicle of names. He succeeds as a rule in giving the ordinary reader a succinct impression of what is surmised or known; and he has supplied the student with a storehouse of references to the recent literature. Few scholars have the good fortune to see a large edition of so serious a work exhausted in three years; fifty years have not sufficed to dispose of Lassen's monumental tomes; and although the rapid sale of Mr. Smith's book is due in part to its adoption by the Indian Universities, it argues a considerable public interested in the results of research, if not qualified to follow the preliminary discussions.

The improvements in the new edition of Mr. Smith's work are twofold. It has evidently been subjected to a very careful revision; verbal changes are fairly numerous, dates are altered here and there, and most of (although not all) the slips have been corrected. But the main feature of the present work is the addition of more than 70 pages of new matter, an addition really of one-sixth to the volume of the book. Most of the additions relating to the history of Ancient India proper, the period before 650 A.D., relate to matters of secondary importance, and

spring out of recent literature. A paragraph at the end of the long note on Aornos tells us that Dr. Stein's exploration of Mahābān completely disproves Colonel Abbott's theory. We have an interesting resumé of the recent papers in the *Indian Antiquary*, etc., on Chāpakya's revenue system; the much vexed question of Hiuen-tsiang's Mo-la-p'o is rediscussed; and evidence is adduced to show that Skandagupta had some liking for the Buddhists. Mr. Smith has added something in support of his views on Kushān chronology, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the so-called 'Chinese' hostages of Kanishka were petty princes of Kashgharia, a conclusion which is doubtless correct. So far we are only dealing with the details of old matter. As regards the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians, his views have undergone some modification. He still appears to hold that the main body of the Śakas entered India by way of Gilgit or Chitral, an opinion which is shared by many other scholars, and for which much may be said, although it is probably erroneous; but he recognises for the first time in some adequate fashion the influence of the Parthians in Western India, a point of capital importance, as it seems to us, which supplies the key to many things.

So far as the ancient history is concerned, we regard this acknowledgment of Parthian influence to be the chief contribution of the present volume. Before passing on, however, to greater matters, we may point out that in his account of S. Thomas and Gondophares, which is partially new and based on the latest discussions of the subject, Mr. Smith still quotes the Clementine Recognitions as the chief authority for the mission of S. Thomas. S. Thomas' apostolate among the Parthians and his visit to Gondophares are highly probable; but the insertion of the name of S. Thomas in the Clementines is demonstrably a dramatic interpolation (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 958, note). The chief feature of the present edition, the feature which

distinguishes it from its predecessor, is the treatment of mediæval India, including under that term the Chalukyas and Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan and the Pallavas and later kingdoms of the Tamil country. The treatment accorded to this period in the original work was meagre, lifeless, and inadequate; it evidently had no interest for the author. It has been rewritten for the greater part, and enlarged to double, so that it now forms nearly one-fourth of the whole history. For the chapter on the Chalukyas and Rāshtrakūtas of the Deccan Mr. Smith, of course, had excellent materials to start with, and here comparatively little has been altered. The history of the kingdoms of the South has been largely rewritten and considerably enlarged, the most noteworthy additions being the introductory sketch of the trade and civilisation of the South in Roman times, and the account given of the Pallavas. All this is well done. But the chief feature of the new edition is the mediæval history of Northern India. Sind and Assam are brought for the first time under review; we should expect more to be made of Nepāl and its age-long connection with Tirkhūt, with the help of M. S. Lévi's fascinating volumes, but that, after all, is only local history; the history of the Palas and Senas of Magadha and Bengal is much improved, and brought into accordance with the most recent lights. But it is in dealing with Kanauj, the Rājputs, and the Gurjaras that Mr. Smith is at his best. He now admits (for the first time, we believe) that the Hūna invasion really shattered the foundations of the Gupta Empire and changed the face of North-Western India: the recent speculations on the origin of the Rājputs and their connection with the Gurjaras and other barbarian invaders have fired his imagination; and he rightly insists that the Rājputs form an occupational caste composed of many elements, Aryan, aboriginal, or Central Asian, which were fused together and took shape in the anarchic centuries

that followed the invasion of the Hūnas. In all this there is, of course, nothing original, but we are glad to have him for a convert, and he tells the story well. The history of Kanauj is closely connected with that of the Rājapūts, and is related more fully than has ever been done before; indeed, it was impossible to do so until very recently. Of course, there are many points on which we venture to dissent. Take the first which occurs to us. We have certain reasons for thinking that both Ptolemy's Kanagora and Kanogiza refer to Kanauj, and we know no reason to the contrary (p. 347). Again, the obvious reason for the final abandonment of both Kāmpilya (Kampil) and Kanauj was their desertion by the Ganges (p. 348). But to omit all petty matters, let us come to the main point. Mr. Smith sometimes fails, we think, to see the wood for the trees; and he has overlooked the fact that the tradition of empire attached itself to Kanauj from the days of Harsha to the close of the mediæval period. What Rome was to the barbarians, and Byzantium to the mediæval world of Europe, that was Kanauj in a lesser degree to the upspringing tribes of the Rājapūts. The empire of Harsha was the last great empire which they knew of; the Doāb was the sacred land of the Hindus, and Harsha's capital, Kanauj, was the greatest and most magnificent of its cities; learning and the arts continued to flourish there in the eighth and ninth centuries, when they were almost extinct in the surrounding provinces. Thus Kanauj became the cynosure of the Rājapūts, the pattern of the purest Hindu civilisation, the inheritor of a great tradition and renown. None of the great Rājapūt tribes had their origin in this holy land, while all aspired to imitate its ways. Alone among the inland kingdoms of Hindustān the fame of Kanauj extended beyond the frontiers of India; it reached the ears of the Chinese and the Arabs. Emigrants from Kanauj were sought for to fashion the Hinduism of Bengal and to occupy lands in Gujarāt. The King of Kaśmīr

counted it his proudest boast to have defeated the army of Kanauj; and the alien monarchs who occupied the seat of Harsha assumed imperial titles, and seem to have occasionally exercised a vague suzerainty over territories which sometimes extended as far as the Hímalayas, and at other times to Gujarát. The celebration of the *asvamedha* by Rāja Jaichand, the last of the Kings of Kanauj, was an expression of this imperial claim, a claim out of all proportion to the reality, and contested in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages by Ajmír, Mahobâ, Delhi, and other famous homes of Rājput valour and Sanskrit learning.

We have dwelt at length on this point, partly because it is intrinsically important and is usually overlooked, and partly because it refutes an error which is in danger of becoming general. Philologists divide the Aryan vernaculars of Northern India into two great groups—an inner group allied to the classical Sanskrit, and an outer group of non-classical Aryan. The inner group, which is the speech of the Doāb, radiates outwards into the Eastern Panjāb and Rājputāna, and, as Dr. Grierson says, "it has burst through the retaining wall of exterior languages, and reached the sea in Gujerāt." East of Allahabad we have a vernacular which holds a middle place between the inner and the outer circle. This distribution corresponds exactly with the mediæval influence of Kanauj and the history of the Rājputā. But a theory has recently sprung up which we should call wild, if it were not advocated by some great authorities and adopted in the new Gazetteer of India. This theory assumes that there was a second invasion of Aryans speaking a vernacular allied to the later classical Sanskrit, who, without leaving any trace of their migration on the road, installed themselves in the heart of the country, and pushed the earlier Aryans north, south, east, and west. That such marked linguistic differences should survive after the lapse of

more than three thousand years, and the "drums and tramlings" of so many conquests, is scarcely credible, and certainly unparalleled; nor does it explain the anomalous linguistic survivals which lie outside the pretended ring fence. The Gazetteer, indeed, says that "the record of physical characters bears out the conclusions suggested by philology." If the Gazetteer means that the fair-skinned Aryans got the more mixed the farther they travelled east, no one doubts it. But this is no support to the theory. On the contrary, the ring-fence theory ought to show the survival of the fair-skinned Aryans in Bengal in contradistinction to the darker Aryans of mixed blood in the Doāb. Q.E.A., a veritable absurdity, as Euclid saith. Mr. Crooke sums up the ethnographical evidence very clearly: "While to the east and south we can recognise an Indo-Aryan race of overlords and a lower stratum of black menials, in the Punjāb, from the Rājput and Brahman at the top down to the scavenger at the bottom, the race type is uniform." The physical facts not only do not support the ring-fence theory; they are a direct refutation of it. The linguistic facts are undoubted, and the mediæval influence of Kananj and the Doāb on the Rājputs is their obvious historical explanation. When the Rājputs took the manners and civilisation of the 'Middle Country' for their standard, they largely adopted its speech, a speech which had been moulded by centuries of literary culture. The Brajbhāshā was to them what the literary language of the South of England was to the dialects of Britain. Pity it is that Mr. Smith lost so excellent an opportunity of giving the *coup de grace* to a speculation so impossible and misleading as this 'ring fence' theory.

J. KENNEDY.

THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.
New York and London, 1908.

Professor Bloomfield is to be heartily congratulated on the appearance in book form of the lectures delivered in 1906-7 as the seventh series of American lectures on the History of Religions. His sketch of the development of Vedic religion from the Rgveda to the Upaniṣads is unusually clear and satisfactory, and is distinguished by a most laudable absence of paradox. Conspicuous examples of his wise conservatism may be found in his treatment of Aryan and Indo-Germanic myths in the third lecture, "The Prehistoric Gods," in his adherence to the identity of Varuṇa and Ouranos (p. 136), against the theory of Varuṇa as the moon held by both Professor Oldenberg and Professor Hillebrandt; and in his refusal to accept as proved the very fascinating theory of Professor Hillebrandt of the real nature of the Indra-Vṛtra myth (pp. 179 seq.), while being prepared to regard it favourably if Iranian evidence can be found to support it.¹ I welcome also his emphatic refusal to accept the doctrine of Professors Deussen, Garbe, and Winternitz of the origin of the Ātman doctrine among the Kṣatriyas (pp. 220 seq.), and I may claim his support for the doctrine² not merely of the antiquity of Bhakti, but of its derivation from the same circles of thought as those in which the colder monism of the Upaniṣads rests. He points out (pp. 280, 281) that in the dialogue with Maitreyī, Yājñavalkya "does not really intend to expound to his beloved Maitreyī the extremes of super-sensual rationalism. In effect, he expresses the ideal of union with the supreme being, the ultimate endeavour of all religions that have

¹ Hillebrandt's view of Indra really refutes his own earlier theory of the date of the Mahāvratā (*Rom. Forsch.*, v, pp. 299 seq.), which, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, is in any case untenable.

² Cf. my notes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 493; 1907, pp. 463 seq., 490 seq.

evolved a supreme being worth uniting with. At a later period there comes out of the permanently untenable, cool intellectualism of the Upanishads the religion of the Bhāktas or 'pious devotees' . . . It comes to this finally, that knowledge of the Supreme is but a preparation for what we call the love of God."

There are but few points on which I would wish to take exception to Professor Bloomfield's exposition. On p. 10 there is the dictum "Mohammedanism fused with Hinduism in the hybrid religion of the Sikhs," but I confess a perusal of the Granth in its English version leaves me at a loss to find any substantial Mohammedan non-Indian element in Sikhism, taking the Bhāgavata faith in its later forms as Indian properly so called, though no doubt there are Christian elements in it. On p. 272 the word *padvīśaśāṅkūn* is rendered 'pegs of his (the horse's) tether,' in apparent forgetfulness of Pischel's conclusive argument¹ that 'hobbles' are referred to. Again, at pp. 12 and 20, Professor Bloomfield allies himself with the view of an earlier date for the Rgveda than is held, for example, by Professor Macdonell² or Professor Hopkins. The question is undoubtedly one of considerable difficulty, but it is hardly advanced far by the evidence on which Professor Bloomfield relies. This consists of the appearance of "cut and dried Iranian names" in Western Asia as early as B.C. 1600. The difficulty is that it is by no means certain that the names cited, Artashuvara and Artatama, from Tel-el-Amarna are really 'Iranian,' and not 'Aryan.' The only evidence for these being 'Iranian' is that Arta suits the Western Iranian rather than the Vedic *ṛta* or the Avestan *Asha*, but we are dealing only with a transcript, and that Arta could not represent the Aryan form seems very doubtful, while admittedly³ the

¹ *Vedische Studien*, i, p. 234.

² *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 12.

³ See Bloomfield, *A. J. P.*, xxv, pp. 8-12.

retention of *s* for *h* before vowels is contrary to all Iranian dialects. Nor do I feel satisfied that we can safely assume from Arta the existence of the concept *ṛta* in a moral sense. The whole question, too, of the relation of Avestan and the language of the Rgveda presents serious difficulties which are not lessened by assuming an Aryan split long before B.C. 1600.

It remains to note that Professor Bloomfield is to be added to the list of those who do not find totemism proved for the Veda, and to recommend his work to the perusal of all scholars who are anxious to have an account of Vedic religion at once clear, interesting, and accurate.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. OUTLINES OF MAHĀYĀNA
BUDDHISM. pp. vii, 420. London: Luzac, 1907.

I was recently struck by the following declaration, written by one of the contributors to that excellent magazine *The Brahmacharin*. Says Pandit S. C. Mukerjee, M.A.: "For the benefit of earnest enquirers I mention Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious* (3 vols.) as a work which will help them more to understand the Parambrahm [i.e. *parama brahma*] of the Bhagavat Gita than all the Sanskrit commentaries taken together. This work draws its conclusions from the facts of the various branches of physical science by inductive method, and is not the speculation or dream of a philosopher, or the chimerical [*sic*] idea of a modern Sannyasi . . ." ¹ I have no objection—as the clever Mahādeo of Sir Alfred Lyall has—to the Pandits or Japanese reading Hartmann, even in three volumes, and nourishing themselves, *ad instar Gandharvarum*, with

¹ *Brahmacharin*, September, 1907, vol. viii, p. 97.

the vapours of the German philosophic alembics; and that there may be great profit for any scholar from an exhaustive and intelligent knowledge of modern philosophoumena, the reader of "A Buddhist Psychology" by Mrs. Rhys Davids, or of Stecherbatskoi's essays on Dignāga's system of logic, is well aware. As a rule the Occidental scholars do not care for the true philosophical principles to be found in or elaborated from the Gītā or the Mahāyānist Buddhism, but only for the real and historical meaning of them; and although there is always some danger of discovering modern moods of thinking in the old Indian treatises, their disinterestedness, together with some critical *bon sens*, some philological training, preserves them from too monstrous anachronisms or anatopisms.

From this point of view, the very interesting work of Teitaro Suzuki must be severely criticised: his Mahāyānism is, beyond what is useful or admissible, tinged with Vedāntism and with German philosophy. I hope that he knows too well my high esteem for his learning to feel offended by my remarks. Of course, every reader will find many interesting and new documents in the "Outlines," admire the literary skill, and feel sympathy for the religious zeal of the author.¹

¹ I confess I am rather sensitive when absurd comparisons are made between Christianity and Buddhism, between the "*pain de la pensée occidentale*," as says A. Barth, and the "*narcotique*" of the Bhīkṣus. Against my friend Albert J. Edmunds, I would affirm that the "Lamb" of the Apocalypse is a better symbol than the "elephant" of the Jālitavistara: this last animal is not as kind and blameless as A. J. E. believes. Teitaro Suzuki, like his master in philosophy, Dr. Paul Carus, is very hard upon the "Christian critics" of Buddhism (p. 18). Everybody, I think, will admit that Colonel Waddell has rightly characterised Mahāyānism by the following phrase, "a mysticism of sophistic nihilism." Christian prejudices have no part in this opinion. But T. Suzuki feels indignant: "Could a religious system be called sophistry when it makes a close enquiry into the science of dialectics, in order to show how futile it is to seek salvation through the intellect alone?" Even if such were the case, the dialectical enquiry of the Buddhist is not only sophistic but

Before debating with the learned Japanese the real significance of some Mahāyānist tenets, I should like to call his attention to a few little details, which by themselves have no importance, but are troublesome to Sanskritists.

A very well-known term in Mahāyāna books and in the Occidental works on them is the word *pariṇāmanā*, *puṇyapariṇāmanā*, the 'application' or 'turning' of the personal merit to the spiritual or material welfare of one's self or one's neighbour; especially the application of merit to the acquisition of the Bodhi, *id est*, of the power and knowledge of a Buddha, in order to save one's fellow-beings. Our author has very good and just appreciation of the *pariṇāmanā*, but, as he uses Chinese translations and knows only the bad editions of the Buddhist Text Society of India, he has to invent a Sanskrit word for 回向, and finds *parivarta* (*parivartana* would have

nonsensical throughout. For instance, Nāgārjuna says that the walker (the man who is walking) is not walking, because two "walks" would be necessary—a first owing to which he is named "walker," a second owing to which the walker walks. Sophistry is not the exact name for such jokes: stupidism would do. T. Suzuki says again: "Could a doctrine be called nihilistic when it defines the absolute as neither void nor not-void?" I think that the Buddhists absolutely deny the existence of an absolute, or, rather, say that "truth is silence." But, even if we accept Suzuki's opinion, Colonel Waddell's definition would prove excellent: is it not "mystic nihilism" to find a *via media* between "being" and "non-being"? Monier-Williams was a good scholar, "but, unfortunately, as soon as he attempts to enter the domain of religious controversy, his intellect becomes piteously obscured by his preconceived ideas. . . . Bodhisattvas . . . are contented, according to his view, with their 'perpetual residence in the heavens, and quite willing to put off all desires for Buddhahood and Parinirvāṇa.' This remark is so absurd that it will at once be rejected . . . as . . . unworthy of refutation." Suzuki then quotes very sensible lines of Monier-Williams on the "celestial regions" and the "dreamy bliss in Heaven," which play an important rôle in Amitābha's worship. But Suzuki has supercilious marks of amazement, (!) (!), and the reader will feel sure that the *Sukhāvativyūha*, the *Karaṇḍavyūha*, the Lotus of the Good Law, and many other sūtras are *terra incognita* to our Outline of Mahāyāna; he seems to believe that the *devatoka* is the only heaven of the Mahāyāna.

been better). He has forgotten that in his translation of the *Mahāyāna Śraddhoṭpāda*¹ occurs the right word, *parināmanā*. It is also an error to write *sumvṛttisatya* for *sumvṛtisatya*. Clerical and unclerical misprints are numberless.²

As concerns the Buddhology and the metaphysics of the Great Vehicle, I must confess that the question is obscure and difficult. There are many kinds of Great Vehicle, and one cannot affirm that Suzuki's Mahāyānism is not really—with an uncompromising Occidental tinge—the Buddhism of some branch or sect. But the author omits to mention this diversity of schools and creeds, and gives us as true Mahāyānism a pantheistic system much more Vedāntic and Hegelian than Buddhistic. Christianity also is manifold, and every believer or unbeliever has some rights (humanly speaking) to make a choice between Arianism, Romanism, or Lutheranism: but it would be rather venturesome for a historian to forget St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Calvin, and to adopt as the historical centre of Christianity, let us say, the Charybdis of Father Tyrrell. In the same way, neither Nāgārjuna nor Asaṅga, neither the Sukhāvativyūha nor the Laṅkāvatāra will have civic rights in Suzuki's Buddhism, nor is his definition fully applicable even to the Tāntrik ideology.

That this misconception is supported by some texts, I willingly admit. There is Vedāntism in Buddhism. The *Gaṇḍapāḍakārikā* (*Alātāśānti*), if not a treatise from a Buddhist hand, is made up of Mādhyamika tenets. The

¹ Aśvaghoṣa's "Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna" (Chicago, Open Court, 1909), p. 146.

² For instance: p. 171, *survaṃ dharmam nīṣavabhūram, pratyapa-*
munutpāda, vyatirekena and vyatireṇa; p. 172, *tat tac jantam*—"Says
Piṅgalaka . . ." This *Piṅgalaka* is the so-called Nilacakṣa, alias
Nilanetra or Piṅgalanetra ("akṣa) or Āryadeva of Nanjio. His true name
is Bhāvaviveka or Bhāviveka (?) according to Watters: p. 173, *anigota*,
rather *anīṭya*, which cannot be a synonym for *pralīṭya*.

author of the *Śuklavaidarśanabhūmi* (Bendall MSS., to be published in this Journal) shows that a celebrated Buddha's saying, *cittamātram bho jīnaputra yad uta traidhātukam* ("this threefold world is only thought"), is equivalent to the Upanishadic *sarvaṃ khalv idaṃ Brahma* ("verily, all that is Brahman," Chând. 3, 14); that the verse of the "Father-and-Son's collection" (*Pitāputrīyasamhitā*)—

*guṇānāṃ paramaṃ rūpaṃ na dr̥ṣṭipatham archati
yat tu dr̥ṣṭipathaprāptam tan māyaiva sutucchakam*

("the supreme or real nature of the qualities or things does not come in the realm of sight or cognition; and what is visible or cogitable, that is illusion and absolutely void")—comes to the same as the well-known passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3. 8. 8. But if Buddhistic "voidness," owing to the congenital illness of our mental faculties (intoxicated from the beginning of ages with the wrong ideas of being, of non-being, of becoming), turns to be the *ens realissimum*, Nāgārjuna and all the orthodox affirm that the people who adhere to "voidness" or to "non-voidness" are lost for ever. Mahāyānism finally merges into Vedāntism, but it is not Vedāntism from the cradle, and it retains some characteristics owing to which it can be distinguished even when merged.

Mr. Teitaro Suzuki has "tout brouillé," because he has admitted, without reflection, that the *Dharmakāya*—*id est*, the "Body of Law," the true and unique body of the Buddhas and of all the saints who arrive at Nirvāṇa—of course a "non-body"—is the ultimate principle of the universe, the ontological substratum of movable phenomena: this is not true Mahāyānism. But T. Suzuki is not satisfied with this Vedāntisation of the Mahāyāna, and the three volumes of Hartmann are called to the rescue. The *Dharmakāya* is "the spontaneous Will that pervades everywhere and works all the time, which always manifests itself for the best interests of sentient creatures."

(Then Śākyamuni, Christ, Mahomet, and several prophets are respectfully enumerated.) Where did Mr. Suzuki discover this "spontaneous will"? Fortunately he gives us references.

The expression "will of Dharmakāya" does not, of course, occur anywhere, but will, or rather vow, resolution (*praṇidhāna*), is of frequent occurrence and of paramount importance in Mahāyāna. Every "future Buddha" (*bodhisattva*) resolves himself to become a Buddha for universal deliverance. T. Suzuki quotes texts where this *praṇidhāna* is fully developed, and he adds after the word 'will,' *between brackets*, the talismanic words "of the Dharmakāya." In the Avataṃsakasūtra, "in which we read the whole significance of Buddhism," a Bodhisattva explains that he must suffer the pains of hell in order to deliver the sinners. "Painful as those sufferings are, I will not retreat, I will not be frightened, I will not be negligent, I will not forsake my fellow-beings. Why? Because it is the will [of the Dharmakāya] that all sentient beings should be universally emancipated." It is certain that the Chinese text has been misunderstood, as the same *locus classicus* occurs in the Vajradhvaṃsāsūtra (Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 280): *aham duḥkhopādānam upādāmi, . . . na nivarte na palāyāmi nottrasyāmi na saṃtrasyāmi na pratyudāvarte na viśīdāmi tat kasya hetoh? avaśyaṃ nirvāhataḥ mayā sarvasattvānām bhāro; naiṣa mama kāmakāraḥ, sarvasattvottāraṇa-praṇidhānaṃ¹ mama . . .* = "I will not retreat . . . I will not be despondent.² Why? Because the burden of all the creatures is to be carried by me. It is not, for me, a matter of option: [since] I have taken the resolution of leading all the creatures to the other shore." I fear that the Chinese has omitted the words *avaśyaṃ* . . .

¹ Sic Bendall; rather 'uttāraṇa pra'.

² na viśīdāmi; has the Chinese translator read *pramāda*?

kāmakāra; and Suzuki himself is confessedly responsible for the bracketted "of the Dharmakāya."¹

T. Suzuki's views on *bodhicitta* are rather inexact. "*Bodhi*, though essentially an epistemological term, assumes a psychological sense when it is used in conjunction with *citta*, i.e. heart or soul. *Bodhicitta* or *bodhihrdaya*, which means the same thing, is more generally used than *bodhi* singly in the Mahāyāna texts, especially when its religious import is emphasised above its intellectual one. *Bodhicitta*, viz. intelligence heart, is a reflex in the human heart of its religious archetype, the Dharmakāya." Let us observe that the phrase *bodhihrdaya* is framed upon the Chinese 心 (*sin* = thought, heart), and is hitherto unknown to Sanskrit lexicography. I do not exactly realize the meaning of 'epistemological' and 'psychological,' but there is not much mystery in *bodhi* and *bodhicitta*. *Bodhi* is the 'enlightenment' by which one becomes a Buddha; it has no relation with any 'cognisable' being, the suppression of the 'veil of cognisable' (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). Therefore it is said that a Buddha knows in not knowing. *Bodhicitta* is the "thought of becoming oneself a Buddha," a thought or a resolve concerning *Bodhi*. The *anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta* is not an 'amplification' of the *bodhicitta*, is not "intelligence heart that is supreme and most perfect," but the "thought of becoming a perfect Buddha."²

When possessed of *bodhicitta* a man can be said to be an "embryo of Buddha," a *Buddhagarbha*. This phrase occurs in Śikṣāsāmneca, p. 103, where the elements of the spiritual progress towards enlightenment are compared with the successive states of embryonic development: "A germ or embryo of Buddha has for

¹ But the brackets are wanting at p. 208, l, where is celebrated "the universal love of the Dharmakāya."

² The *Prajñāpāramitā*, the mother of the Bodhisattvas, and also the *çakti* of the Tāntrik Buddhas, is not *bodhicitta*.

kalala the thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), for *arbuda* pity, for *peṣī* benevolence; it is *ghana* by immovable resolution . . ."

Synonymous with *Buddhagarbha* is the much more important expression *Tathāgatagarbha*; but it can be translated sometimes 'womb of Buddha,' and many pantheistic speculations are connected with it. Teitaro Suzuki has dealt with this abstruse topic in many pages of his book, and sometimes usefully.

According to him "the womb of Tathāgata is the transcendental soul or pure intelligence [= *tathatā*, *bhūtakoti*; *dharmakāya*] influenced by the principle of birth-and-death, and subjecting itself to organic determinations. . . . The Womb works under the constraint of particularisation: the essence of Tathāgata-hood, however, is here preserved intact, and, whenever it is possible, our finite minds are able to feel its presence and power." So far as concerns the psychological point of view; as concerns the cosmos, the ultimate reality is named Womb of Tathāgata "when it is thought of in analogy with the mother earth, where all the germs of life are stored, and where all precious stones and metals are concealed under the cover of filth."

These last words refer probably to the simile of the Laṅkāvatāra.¹ Bhagavat says that the Tathāgatagarbha,

¹ Laṅkāvatāra, pp. 80-81 (Buddhist Text Society). Let us observe, *en passant*, that T. Suzuki is unfortunate enough to make worse the already disastrous reading of this edition. I hear that Mr. Sakaki is preparing an edition of this important text. According to Mahāyāna, we are Buddhas because (1) we can become Buddhas; (2) in absolute truth, we do not exist, and the Buddhas too are only names, therefore the Buddhas and all the beings are identical according to the logical argument $a = c$, $b = c$, $a = b$. In the same way saṃsāra is void, nirvāṇa is void, ergo saṃsāra = nirvāṇa. So far the Mādhyamikas. The Vijñānavādins go a little further. There is only 'thought,' without object, subject, and act of thinking. The Buddhas have dispelled all the veils that envelop the 'absolute thought': we have not. Monist or pantheistic speculations may grow on this principle, and such has been the case.

i.e. the embryo of a Tathāgata, lies inside the body of every being, just as a precious jewel covered by filth: *sarvasattvadehāntarṅgato mahārghamūlyaratnam malina-vastupariveṣṭitam iva*. This embryo is not to be looked upon as illustrating the future Buddhahood of every being, since it bears the thirty-two marks (*dvātriṃśallakṣaṇadhara*), since it is always the same, propitious, eternal, pure from the beginning owing to its essential purity and brightness (*nitya, dhruva, śiva, śāsvata, prakṛtiprabhāsvareviśuddhyādiviśuddha*). I doubt whether Teitaro Suzuki could quote a more effective text to uphold his theory that there is a thing in itself, whatever be its name. But, fortunately, the *Laṅkāvatāra* informs us that Mahāmāti was astonished by the strange sayings of his master, and thus manifested his anxiety: "If it be so, how can the doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha differ from the doctrine of Ātman supported by the heretics? The heretics, O Lord, explain the doctrine of Ātman in this sense, that Ātman is eternal, non-active, exempt from qualities, omnipresent and undestructible?" The Lord, being a good Buddhist, agrees with his far-seeing disciple. "The Buddhas," says he, "teach the doctrine of the Tathāgatagarbha in order to dispel the fear inspired by the negation of the reality, in order to conquer the heretics who believe in Ātman." Therefore, according to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the teaching of Tathāgatagarbha as the 'immanent reality' is provisional, a means designed to 'introduce' the unbelievers and the low-minded into the absolute truth: that there is nothing to be known, no knower, no knowledge.

In fact, T. Suzuki's book seems to be inspired by the views of the 'school of the mantras' (*Shin-gon-shu*), which agrees with the theosophical principles of the Tāntrism, and, according to the Japanese, is to be studied in the *Mahāvairocanaḥisambodhisūtra* (Nanjio, 530, translated 724 A.D.), the *Vajraśekhara* (Nanjio, 1039,

1427, 1430), the *Susiddhikāramahātantra* (Nanjio, 533). Here the cardinal axiom is that everyone is a Buddha in disguise, and can easily 'realize' Buddhahood by theurgical processes. Several quotations of our author are Tāntrik, for instance: "If we do not dive deep into the mighty ocean of passion and sin, how could we get hold of the precious gem of Buddha-essence?"

I should like to examine many other points of interest; but what precedes is enough to show the deficiencies of method of T. Suzuki.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

THE OCEANIC LANGUAGES: THEIR GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE, VOCABULARY, AND ORIGIN. By D. MACDONALD, D.D., of the New Hebrides Mission. London: Henry Frowde, 1907.

To pass an unfavourable verdict upon a book that was evidently undertaken and composed as a labour of love, is an unpleasant and unwelcome task, but it must on this occasion be faced. Dr. Macdonald has devoted a great deal of obviously honest endeavour in an attempt to prove that the Oceanic languages belong to the Semitic family. To say that he has entirely failed to make out his case would not, perhaps, in itself necessarily imply an altogether adverse criticism of his work; for the examination of the relations between different families of language with a view to the discovery of their possibly cognate origin is a legitimate (if not very promising) sphere for the labours of the comparative philologist; and there is probably no better way of investigating such a question than to set up a provisional hypothesis and endeavour to the best of one's ability to test and, if possible, establish it. In the present instance it seems that the attempt was bound

to fail, as the fundamental thesis to be proved appears to be in fact incapable of proof: it would seem that there is no ascertainable connection between the two families of language in question. That, however, is not the real ground of objection against Dr. Macdonald's work: the main point is that the process whereby he attempts to prove his case is incapable of proving anything. Dr. Macdonald appears to have not the slightest idea of what constitutes proof in the domain of comparative philology, and his book is entirely devoid of scientific method. Even if his main thesis were true, the reasoning whereby he tries to establish it would remain equally worthless and nugatory.

This, I am aware, is harsh language, and not to be used without good and sufficient reason. I propose presently to justify it, but in the first place I intend to devote a few words to the preliminary part of Dr. Macdonald's work, wherein he propounds the problem to be solved, namely, "What is the origin of the Oceanic languages?" Under this name he includes the Malayan (or Indonesian), the Polynesian, and the Melanesian groups: these three, as he quite rightly observes, are branches of one family, which he calls Oceanic, and which has usually been termed Malayo-Polynesian. Professor Schmidt has recently renamed it Austronesian. The name does not really matter very much, the essential fact being that these three groups are members of one family, which (as Dr. Macdonald says) is as perfectly defined a family of languages as is the Semitic or the Indo-European. Further, I think one must agree with his view that this connection implies an original common Oceanic mother-tongue, and that "to establish the Asiatic relationship of the Oceanic is to establish that that mother-tongue was originally carried by its speakers from the Asiatic Continent into the Island world." Nor do I propose to quarrel with his proposition that "the question as to whether the Asiatic relationship

of the Oceanic can be established is a purely linguistic question, which can only be answered from a due investigation of the available linguistic data." This principle is sound enough in itself, but unfortunately, instead of adhering to it, Dr. Macdonald has attempted to correlate his linguistic conclusions (in themselves erroneous because based on very imperfect investigation) with racial data that will not square with them.

When, however, Dr. Macdonald tries to set up an *a priori* presumption in favour of his theory that the original Oceanic mother-tongue was brought to the Eastern islands from the Arabian Peninsula, I beg to differ from him entirely. His statements, briefly put, are the following. First, that "the Negro element in the Oceanic race is older than the Mongol": to which the answer is that from whatever part of Asia the speakers of the Oceanic mother-tongue may have come, they must have reached Indonesia before they arrived in Melanesia; but in Melanesia alone, of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic area, is the "Negro" (or rather, Papuan) type found. In Indonesia it is conspicuous by its entire absence, the Negrito races, of which sparse remnants are found there, being of a quite distinct racial type from the Papuan, and speaking languages which in some cases are altogether alien and in others are directly borrowed from their more civilised Indonesian neighbours. Therefore the "Negro" type of race can in no wise be correlated with the Oceanic form of speech, if the latter (as is now generally agreed by all competent authorities) was brought to the islands from the Asiatic mainland. In fact, it is now as good as proved that the Papuan type of race must be correlated with the peculiar languages styled "Papuan" by their discoverer, Mr. S. H. Ray. That disposes of Dr. Macdonald's facile hypothesis that this racial type was brought into the island world by Semitic colonists with a large negro element in their blood, a view

untenable on anthropological grounds also, for the Papuan and the African Negro are quite distinct racial types.

The fact is that Dr. Macdonald's first proposition is really beside the point. Whether the Mongoloid element in Indonesia (which need not necessarily, and probably should not, be correlated with the Oceanic form of speech) is, or is not, prior to or older than the Negroid element in Melanesia, is a question that has no bearing on the alleged relationship between the Oceanic and Semitic families of speech. Dr. Macdonald, while recognizing that the speakers of the Oceanic languages are descended from several distinct races, attempts to discount their fundamental physical differences by postulating for them a mental, social, and religious unity which does not, in fact, exist among them, and would not, if it did, affect the linguistic problem he has set out to solve. The truth is that the diversity of race in the Oceanic linguistic area is in glaring contrast with its unity of speech, and the latter can only be explained on the assumption that throughout a great part of that area the languages now spoken are not the original languages of the races that now use them, but have been imposed from without by foreign colonists or conquerors. Though it would be highly interesting to learn what race of men these immigrant speakers of the old Oceanic mother-tongue belonged to, it is from the purely linguistic point of view a matter of indifference whether they were black, white, yellow, or brown. Dr. Macdonald would have done well to avoid complicating his linguistic question by the introduction of matter which, on his own principles, must be pronounced irrelevant to the issue he proposes to decide.

His next argument is that the Indonesian alphabets are not Indian in origin, but directly derived from the Phœnician. Apart from the fact that it has been proved up to the hilt that these alphabets are derived from a Southern Indian form, one does not see how this

contention helps his case : for these alphabets are confined to the western islands of Indonesia, which show abundant other traces of Indian influence, and they are entirely absent from the Melanesian and Polynesian regions. When he goes on to assert that "from whatever point the Oceanic race migrated into the Island world, they did so in sea-going vessels," one is tempted to wonder whether he has ever looked at a large-scale map of the Eastern Archipelago. He makes much of King Solomon's Phœnician fleet and so forth, but overlooks the simple fact that from the Indo-Chinese Peninsula to Australia and Melanesia the sea is covered with a multitude of islands situated so close together that these waters are practically landlocked. One could, at certain seasons of the year, drift with ease and safety from one end of this vast archipelago to the other in a "sea-going vessel" hollowed out of a single tree-trunk by the simplest and most primitive means ; and it may be regarded as certain that the coast-dwellers of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula possessed the means of making such 'dug-out' canoes long before any Semitic fleet adventured on the long voyage to the Far East. In fact, it is obvious that if we must assume an Asiatic origin for the inhabitants of the Eastern islands, all *a priori* considerations point to Indo-China, the nearest part of the Asiatic mainland, as their centre of dispersion. The real issue, however, is not the origin or bodily peculiarities of the Oceanic races, but rather the point of departure from which the Oceanic languages were introduced into the island world of the South Seas. Some twenty years ago Professor Kern, by a skilful comparison of purely linguistic data, showed that the Oceanic languages must have been brought into their present locations either from one of the great islands of Indonesia or, more probably, from the east coast of Indo-China, where several cognate languages (e.g., Cham, Jarai, Radeh, etc.) are spoken to this day. More recently

Professor Schmidt has linked the Oceanic languages up with a number of language groups extending right through Indo-China into Central India. Of these researches Dr. Macdonald appears, however, to be entirely unaware; for he makes not the slightest allusion to them, though their conclusions are in direct conflict with his own.

The weak point in Dr. Macdonald's equipment, apart from his want of appreciation of the nature of evidence in matters of linguistic research, is that he has no sufficient acquaintance with the work of his predecessors in the domain of Oceanic comparative philology. If he had studied the writings of Neubronner van der Tuuk and Kern, to say nothing of other workers in this field, his book would never have been written. He writes purely from the standpoint of a member of the New Hebrides mission, to whom Efate is, as it were, the hub of his linguistic universe: than this, he avows that, in his opinion, no better standpoint could be chosen from which to make a study of the whole Oceanic family. I cannot but think that this pardonable preference for the sphere of his own missionary labours has disqualified him in his philological researches.

The fact is that Melanesia is a singularly bad starting-point for such researches. In the first place, because the Melanesian languages in all their leading characteristics are derivative and secondary, blurred and garbled copies of an original which is far better represented by the Indonesian ones. Therefore anyone who would thread his way through their intricacies should be well grounded in Indonesian philology, which is the only clue to this maze; and that is just where Dr. Macdonald is deficient. Secondly, although a few individual members of the family have been carefully investigated, the Melanesian languages have not as yet been scientifically studied in their entirety: their phonology, for instance, is such a complicated jumble that several competent authorities

have had to admit themselves baffled in their efforts to discover the laws that underlie it. Dr. Codrington, one of the most eminent of Melanesian scholars, has pointed out that in these island languages the same word will appear in various forms and no one can determine which form is original, no order of change can be asserted, and it is generally impossible to find a law of change. He accounts for this, very plausibly, by supposing that the various languages have been brought irregularly into their present seats, not in successive and considerable migrations from one quarter or another, but by chance and petty movements of people whose language, though belonging to one family, was already much broken up and diversified. Mr. S. H. Ray, the most recent authority on the subject, entirely endorses this view.

Whatever may be the reason of this peculiarity, it is obvious that it makes the Melanesian languages a very unsuitable point of departure for comparative studies: until their anomalies have been explained and set in order by a careful and exhaustive investigation, linking them up with the already relatively well-ascertained principles of Indonesian comparative philology, they will only be a snare to the etymologist, as they have been to Dr. Macdonald. Because Melanesian phonology is extremely variable and (in outward seeming) subject to no rules, he apparently imagines that any sound may be assumed, as between any two languages, to change into or correspond with any other sound, just as it may happen to suit his etymological requirements. He never attempts to establish anything analogous to Grimm's law in Indo-European linguistics or Van der Tuuk's laws in Indonesian: his Phonology chapter is a wilderness of unregulated and purely arbitrary changes of sound, unsupported by anything that could fairly be called evidence.

Many of these assumed changes and correspondences are demonstrably wrong. For instance, in order to prove

that *t* changes into *n*, Dr. Macdonald gives, *inter alia*, Mahri *itit* = Malagasy *enina*, 'six,' and Syriac *m-istuta* = Malagasy *m-inuna*, 'drink.' Now here it can be proved to absolute certainty by a comparison of the various Indonesian languages *inter se*, that the Malagasy forms are secondary, the final *-na* representing an original Indonesian *-m* and the words having formerly been *ēnēm* and *minum* respectively. We should have, therefore, to suppose (if Dr. Macdonald's view were tenable) that though the first *t* in these words became *n*, the second one somehow changed into an *m*, which in its turn has (like all final nasals, by a regular law of Malagasy phonetics) to appear as *-na*. When Dr. Macdonald wrongly contends that it is *n* that has here become *m*, he merely displays his ignorance of the elements of Indonesian comparative phonology. It is a further detail that the Semitic word for 'six' originally had an initial *s-* (as in the Arabic *ṣ-*), which Dr. Macdonald arbitrarily assumes the Indonesian equivalents to have dropped, though, in fact, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they ever possessed it. Obviously it is no use attempting to bridge over irreconcilable primary forms like *ṣ-* and *ēnēm* by means of decayed and secondary ones such as *itit* and *enina*. Similarly, in the other pair of words, *m-istuta* and *m-inuna*, the initial *m-* is unessential and the former word is given in Dr. Macdonald's vocabulary in various forms such as *s'ta'*, *'is'to'*, *saka'*, etc., which have nothing whatever in common with *inum*, the stem of *minuna*.

Again, Dr. Macdonald mixes up purely phonetic changes with morphological ones. Thus he asserts that *m* is often pronounced *f*, and gives as an instance the Malagasy *mati*, *fati*, 'dead, corpse.' These two words are not, however, mere phonetic variants of one another: *mati* is the result of a formative process analogous to inflection, whereby the initial *f-* (originally *p-*) is nasalised to *m-* in order

to express certain verbal functions. One has only to compare the equivalents in the other Indonesian languages to satisfy oneself on that point.

A few more specimens of Dr. Macdonald's wild etymologies must be given, in order to show the sort of phonological evidence on which he bases his thesis of the Semitic origin of the Oceanic languages. He makes out that the Arabic *موز*, Malay *pisang* and Malagasy *unti* (*sic*, really *untsi*), 'banana,' are all one. He identifies the Malay *bini*, *pěřempuan*, *pěrawan*, and some half a dozen words in various other languages, meaning 'woman,' 'wife,' 'female,' and the like, and asserts their connection with the Arabic *مراة*. *Pěřempuan* and *pěrawan* he styles reduplicated forms, though in what conceivable manner they can be considered reduplications of *bini* or *مراة* is not clear. But Dr. Macdonald has very loose ideas about reduplication: to him *dělapan*, 'eight,' and *salapan*, 'nine,' are both reduplicated forms of the same word, and he pours scorn on Bopp and Max Müller, who (supported therein by the general consensus of Indonesian scholars) held that the initial syllables of these words embody the numerals 'two' and 'one' respectively. He identifies the Malay *bintang*, 'star,' with the Mahri *kabkob*; Malay *lima*, 'five,' with Arabic *خمسة*; Malay *tujuh*, 'seven,' with the general Indonesian *pitu* and Arabic *سبعة*; Malay *dělapan*, 'eight,' with Indonesian *walu* and Arabic *ثمان*; Malay *sěmbilan*, 'nine,' with *salapan*, and Indonesian *siwa* with Arabic *تسعة*; Malay *puluh* (*sapuluh*), 'ten,' with Arabic *عشر*. One could fill a number of this Journal with similar stuff culled from Dr. Macdonald's dissertations and vocabulary: I will give a few specimens from the last-named source. Efate *kandō*, 'child' = Arabic *walada*; Efate *maturu*, 'to sleep' = Arabic

wasina; Efate *mitu*, 'to look at' = Arabic *'āna*; Efate *uose*, 'oar' = Malay *dayong* = Arabic *mīḡḡaf*; Efate *mannu*, 'bird' = Malay *burong* = Arabic *farḡu*; Efate *mauri*, 'to live' = Malagasy *veluna* = Arabic *'āḡu*; Efate *tau*, 'season' = Arabic *zaman*; Efate *rau*, 'leaves' = Arabic *hadab*; Efate *fatu*, 'stone' = Hebrew *eben*; Efate *un*, 'fish-scale' = Hebrew *ḡalas*, 'to pull out'; and (best of all, perhaps) Efate *uota*, 'chief,' 'lord' = the name of the Phœnician deity Baal! These are fair specimens of Dr. Macdonald's etymologies; and I think it will be admitted on all hands that they do not bear the stamp of axiomatic certainty or self-evident truth. It is not sufficient to pick out two words in two distinct languages and assert their identity, merely because they happen to agree more or less closely in meaning. It is the business of the comparative philologist to show analytically, letter by letter and sound by sound, that the one word corresponds exactly with the other. One is almost ashamed to state what has been a commonplace for the last century or so; but Dr. Macdonald has made no attempt to comply with this recognised rule of linguistic proof. His etymologies are a mere string of unsupported and improbable guesses; to put them down in a book is no addition to the sum of human knowledge, but at most an exhibition of misdirected, though imaginative, ingenuity, such as the etymologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were wont to indulge in.

It must not, however, be imagined that Dr. Macdonald confines himself to the mere comparison of words. He essays to go further and to establish analogies between the structures of the Semitic and Oceanic families of speech respectively. Now, as everyone knows, the Semitic languages are inflectional and their system is highly characteristic and peculiar, consisting as it does of the modification, by internal vowel-change and the

addition of syllables, of the roots, usually trilateral, which constitute the fixed element in the language. The Oceanic languages, on the other hand, are agglutinative, using prefixes, infixes, and suffixes to augment stem-words which, broadly speaking, remain otherwise unchanged. In a considerable number of cases (possibly in all) these stem-words appear to have been built up from monosyllabic roots, which, as a rule, no longer exist as independent words. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between the structures of these two families of speech. But it so happens that the Oceanic stem-words are usually of two syllables, and as the phonetic system of the Oceanic languages does not tolerate the heaping up of consecutive consonants (except to a very limited extent), it follows that in a large proportion of cases the general type of such a stem-word is $XaYaZ$, a formula wherein X , Y , and Z represent any consonant, and a any vowel. One sees at a glance what a close resemblance there is between such an Oceanic stem-word and a Semitic trilateral root with the first two consonants vocalised and the final vowel elided. That, however, is by no means all. Not only are the Semitic languages very rich in synonyms, but Semitic inflection, particularly in the verb, is extraordinarily varied, and offers a large number of forms to choose from. Dr. Macdonald is therefore never at a loss. When *fa'l* will not fill the bill, he falls back on one of its variants, *fa'lat*, *mafa'al*, *mafa'ulat*, or whatever form out of a score or more seems to answer best. When it suits him he adds terminal vowels, nunation, prefixes, and suffixes *quant. suff.* (without any regard for their grammatical functions), and in this way he usually contrives to find a Semitic form bearing some more or less plausible resemblance to some Oceanic stem-word or derivative of somewhat similar meaning. His leading instance is a series of words meaning 'to bend,' 'fold,' 'involved,' and the like, and his method consists

in simply putting together a group of Oceanic forms such as *lipat*, *lifa*, *lofa*, *lapis*, etc., without distinguishing between those that (like *lipat* and *lifa*) are simply the same word in different languages, and others that are distinct words having merely more or less resemblance to one another. These words he then identifies with such Arabic forms as *laḥḥ*, *liḥḥat*, *loḥḥa*, etc., which apparently mean much the same thing. He runs in the same way through nearly a hundred Semitic trilateral roots and their derivatives, real and imaginary. When the Oceanic equivalents happen to have an open final syllable, they are conveniently referred, according to their vowels, to one of the forms *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l*, etc., in their respective variants *fa'lu*, *fa'li*, *fa'la*, *fi'lu*, etc., and one of the Semitic radicals is assumed to be doubled (as in *loḥḥa*) or elided. When the ending is consonantal, as in *lipat* (and no Semitic root can be found whose three radicals fit in conveniently), one or other of the numerous derivative forms in *-at* is called in to explain matters; and it does not seem to make much difference whether the Oceanic word ends in *-t*, *-p*, *-n*, *-s*, or even *-k*, *-r*, *-m*, or *-ñ*; they all, seemingly, derive from *-at*, which also sometimes loses its final *-t* and forms vocalic endings!

Dr. Macdonald next proceeds to identify the Semitic inflexions with the Oceanic affixes. Here, too, his identifications are absolutely arbitrary and capricious. Because there is a Semitic prefix *ma-* and an Oceanic one of similar form (but different force), it does not follow that they are of the same origin. One might just as well identify the Malay prefix *për-* with the Latin *per-* or the Achehnese *gě-* with the German *ge-*. Dr. Macdonald's capacity for treating of the Oceanic affixes may be gauged by the fact that he sets up a series of Malay suffixes *-tkañ*, *-rkañ*, *-pkañ*, etc., which is much the same as if, in English, one were to deduce such suffixes as *-ation*, *-ition*, *-otion*, and *-ution*, the

first letters being in both series the terminations of the stem and no part of the suffix at all.

I do not propose to follow Dr. Macdonald through his identification of the Semitic and Oceanic pronouns and particles: suffice it to say that his procedure here differs in no way from that which he uses elsewhere, and leads to equally inconclusive and improbable results. In short, all this part of his work is altogether a most unfortunate performance, of no service from the point of view of scientific research, but eminently likely to mislead any unwary student into whose hands it may fall.

It is a relief to turn from these vagaries to the Melanesian material embodied in Dr. Macdonald's book. His vocabulary, so far as it represents the language of Efate, cannot, it is true, be adequately appreciated by anyone who has not lived in that island; but so far as a mere outsider can judge, it has been carefully and intelligently put together, represents much labour, and is a valuable contribution to Melanesian lexicography. At any rate, it is pretty full, and it certainly contains a good deal of very interesting information. Apart from the Semitic etymologies which disfigure it, though they are no essential element in it, and except in certain cases where the original meaning of Efatese words appears to have been deduced from these imaginary Semitic etymologies, the Efatese vocabulary seems to be a creditable piece of work. The suggested Indonesian equivalents are, however, very often unconnected and misleading. It is impossible to identify Efate *kasi*, 'sweet,' with Malay *manis*, Efate *taku*, 'brothers-in-law,' with Malay *tiri*, Efate *toko*, 'to rest,' with Malay *dudok* (the true equivalent here would appear to be Malay *tunggu*, cf. *soko*, 'true,' Malay *sunggoh*), or Efate *kamkam*, 'scissors,' with Malay *chubit*; and there are scores of similar cases.

In conclusion, I can only express my regret that

Dr. Macdonald should have allowed himself to be led astray by his Semitic will o' the wisp. If he had worked out the relation of Efatese to the other Oceanic languages he might have produced a less ambitious but far more valuable book. But this assumes a radical change of method and point of view: which is, perhaps, too much to expect of anyone.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

STUDIES ABOUT THE KATHĀSARITSĀGARA, by J. S. SPEYER.

[Verhandeligen der Koninglijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel viii, No. 5.] Amsterdam, Johannes Müller; Januari, 1908.

It is well known that the Kathāsaritsāgara, "the great store-house of tales and stories of all kinds," which we owe to the Kāśmīrī poet Somadeva, is one of the few Sanskrit works the date of which can be approximately fixed. The late Professor Bühler showed that it was composed between 1063 and 1082. But Somadeva expressly affirms that his poem is a reproduction in a condensed form of an older work called the Brihatkathā, written in the Pāisācī dialect. The Brihatkathā itself has not been found, and for some time scholars seemed to have believed that Somadeva was guilty of excessive modesty in disclaiming originality for his work. But the discovery by Burnell and Bühler of manuscripts of the Brihatkathā-mañjari of another Kāśmīrī poet, Kshemendra, who was almost coeval with Somadeva, and the subsequent publication of the work in printed form, have placed beyond doubt the fact that the two poems are based upon a common substratum, which can be no other than the work ascribed by Somadeva to Guṇāḍhya. There cannot be the least doubt about the existence in Kāśmīr in the

eleventh century of that vast encyclopædia of tales in the Paśāci dialect, which is acknowledged as the common source of both the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The question would appear to be a little complicated by the discovery by Paṇḍit Hara Prasād Śāstri of a third redaction of the *Bṛhatkathā*. This work is being edited by a French scholar named M. Lacôte, but as yet little is known about it. The little that is known tends to show that it does not cover precisely the same ground as the two other poems.

Professor Speyer in the first section of his studies deals with the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, considered as reproductions in Sanskrit of the Paśāci original. He shows that the former poem, though it has been so carelessly edited that passages are found out of their proper connection, contains, when rearranged, practically the same matter as the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. But even after this textual redistribution has been made, we are face to face with the fact that Kshemendra's arrangement of the divisions of his poem breaks the thread of the main narrative. The main narrative, or "frame-tale" as Professor Speyer calls it, on which all the other stories are strung, is the history of the life and exploits of Naravāhanadatta, who, born as the son of a human king, attained the lofty position of emperor of the *Vidyādharas*, or spirits of the air. As an introduction to the story of Naravāhanadatta, the life of his father Udayana, king of *Vatsa*, is related. It is shown by Professor Speyer, by means of a careful analysis of both poems, that the main narrative is more carefully evolved in the work of Somadeva than in that of Kshemendra. The latter, too, takes greater liberties with the original in the way of condensation, as his poem contains only 7,561 distichs, whereas the work of Somadeva contains, according to Professor Speyer, 21,388 distichs. The conclusion reached is that, on the whole, Somadeva has more nearly reproduced

the original than Kshemendra, though in some passages Kshemendra may have the advantage in this respect.

It seems chimerical to hope that, by comparing the two poems, we can recover the actual words of the *Paiśāci* substratum, even allowing for the difference of dialect, but a few instances are adduced by Professor Speyer, in which coincidences between the two writers, in words or in the turn of phrases, may lead us to think that we have before us the language of the original. He even goes so far as to apply the rules of the grammarians to certain words common to both poems, in order to convert them into the *Paiśāci* dialect, but, as he himself observes, the "result is meagre."

Professor Speyer passes a high eulogium upon the literary merits of Somadeva. He observes that "he displays in a high degree *l'art de faire un livre*. His narrative captivates both by its simple and clear, though very elegant style, and by his skill in drawing with a few strokes pictures of types and characters drawn from real everyday life." On the other hand, he finds in the poem of Kshemendra aridity, a love of rhetorical ornament, and a generally inflated style. But he draws attention to the great help which may be derived from Kshemendra's work in the textual criticism and interpretation of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

I have already adverted to the fact that the date of this poem may be considered as established. But no such certainty can be reached with regard to the date of the *Bṛīhatkathā*, on which it is founded. The enquiry is a fascinating one, and Professor Speyer devotes to it the third chapter of the first section of his book. Assuming that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* represents pretty faithfully the *Bṛīhatkathā*, he points out that the famous Buddhist theologian *Nāgārjuna* is mentioned in the *lambaka Ratnaprabhā* as possessing supernatural powers. This theologian is generally supposed to have lived about

150 A.D. It seems to Professor Speyer that the wonderful story told about him in this *lambaka* cannot have assumed its present shape until a century at least had elapsed since his death. "Accordingly our *terminus ex quo* for the date of the Brihatkathā advances to the latter half of the third century A.D. at the utmost, and it begins to be likely that its composition cannot be dated before 300 A.D." The use of betel, which in the *lambaka* Śaśāṅkavatī brings Mṛigāṅkadatta into trouble, appears not to be mentioned by writers before the sixth century of our era, unless Suśruta can be placed before that date. The Brihatkathā is praised in the Harṣacarita in a passage in which Bāṇa seems to be referring to authors of a date but little anterior to his own. On these and other grounds Professor Speyer decides that the Brihatkathā cannot have been composed before the fifth century, but was certainly in existence about 600 A.D.

This date, thus roughly settled, is applied by Professor Speyer to fix the date of the Mudrārākṣasa. A *śloka* in *tarāṅga* 60, being 119 in Brockhaus's edition, 118 in that of Durgāprasād, appears to be an imitation of a *triṣṭubh* in the Mudrārākṣasa, which is also found in the Tantrākhyāyika, the oldest form of the Pañcatantra known to us. This stanza is stated in the Pañcatantra to be a quotation, and it will be evident to anyone who reads over the scene of the Mudrārākṣasa in which the stanza occurs "that both the contents and the wording of it are in perfect agreement with the peculiar situation of the context and have their original home there. Hence it follows that Viśākhadatta and his admirable drama are to be placed many centuries earlier than is generally done." It is highly satisfactory to have the antiquity of this interesting play rendered so highly probable. With regard to the author of the Brihatkathā, Professor Speyer does not venture to dogmatize. He declines to decide whether Guṇāḍhya, who, according to Somadeva, wrote

the Brihatkathā in the Paśāci dialect with his own blood, was a historical or a mythical person. "The only conclusion permitted to us, and this at least is more than nothing, is this, that a celebrated work, the author or authors of which are half mythical persons, must be ancient."

The second section of Professor Speyer's book, occupying 114 out of a total of 174 pages, is concerned with the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara. The first chapter of this section deals with the two editions. The *editio princeps* of the work was published by Brockhaus in three parts: the first, containing *lambakas* i-v, came out in Devanāgarī characters in 1839; the second, containing *lambakas* vi-viii, in Roman characters in 1862; and the third, containing *lambakas* ix-xviii, also in Roman characters, in 1866. But the authority of Brockhaus's text has now been superseded by the edition of Durgāprasād printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press (first impression 1889, second impression 1903). Professor Speyer shows at great length, by a careful examination of many passages in the Kathāsaritsāgara, how superior the text of Durgāprasād is to that of Brockhaus. Brockhaus is convicted of many errors in grammar and also in metre (at least one per cent. of the verses in his edition being defective or redundant), and his trustworthiness as a "transmitter of the tradition of manuscripts" is altogether shaken. There can be no doubt that the edition of Durgāprasād gives a good sense in many passages where Brockhaus gives an unintelligible or inferior reading. But Professor Speyer is careful to point out that, though Brockhaus must be deemed to have failed egregiously as an editor of Somadeva's poem, he lived in a time when Sanskritists had not at their disposal the appliances which they now enjoy. "Sanskrit studies encompassed a very limited area, and could be neither broad nor deep." The great Petropolitan dictionary was not completed in 1866, when

the last part of Brockhaus's text was published; in fact, the fourth volume of that thesaurus of the Sanskrit tongue is dated 1865-8. Unfortunately, that dictionary is very much indebted to the text of Brockhaus, and though Böhtlingk detected and corrected many of his errors, Professor Speyer has been able to draw up a formidable list of corrections, which will have to be made in the Petropolitan dictionary, both in its larger and more abridged form. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that this part of Professor Speyer's treatise is of the utmost importance from the point of view of Sanskrit scholarship. After all, it cannot be admitted that either the edition of Brockhaus or that of Durgāprasād is critical in the European sense of the term. Neither is furnished with an *apparatus criticus*, and we are left in the dark in most cases as to whether a reading is to be found in one or more manuscripts or is the result of conjecture. In this connexion it is satisfactory to observe that many of Dr. Kern's conjectures which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N.S., Vol. III, Pt. 1) have subsequently been found in manuscripts, and, as a matter of fact, many of Durgāprasād's improved readings can be supported by manuscripts in the India Office and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta.

No doubt Professor Speyer has succeeded in showing that, when the readings of Durgāprasād and Brockhaus conflict, those of the former editor are, as a rule, to be preferred, as yielding a fuller and better sense, and being in many instances grammatically more correct. I should be inclined to accept the Professor's authority as final in all cases of grammatical construction. It would, I suppose, be absurd to suggest that Somadeva may, like Homer, have nodded occasionally. But in cases where the decision must turn upon a point of taste, or of Somadeva's favourite forms of expression and way

of regarding the universe, I think we may be allowed occasionally to prefer Brockhaus's reading, if not against manuscript authority. For instance, in *tarāṅga* 120, śl. 67, for the *upādānam* of Brockhaus we find in Durgāprasād's text *upamānam*. This latter reading is actually found in one of the India Office manuscripts, though another supports Brockhaus's text. According to Brockhaus's text, Somadeva praises the famous king Vikramāditya in the following words: "Surely his glory furnished the Creator with the material out of which he built up the White Island, the Sea of Milk, Mount Kailāsa, and the Himālayas." Here Professor Speyer remarks: "Conceding ever so much to the habits of exaggeration and anachronism, which are proper to Eastern poetry, it is hard to set to the credit of an Indian poet that he should be supposed to make his readers accept such an enormity as the Sea of Milk and the Himālaya created after the pattern of King Vikramāditya's glory. Durgāprasād's text conveys something more reasonable. According to it, the Creator or Dispenser (*Vidhi*) surely used the Śvetadvīpa, the Sea of Milk, etc., as his model when he brought Vikramāditya's glory into being." In order to understand either version it is necessary to assume that, according to the canons of Sanskrit Poetic, glory is always white. Assuming this, I confess that I prefer the "lusty hyperbole" of Brockhaus's text. Indeed, Durgāprasād's reading seems to me to give a somewhat frigid sense. In support of my view I would refer to *tarāṅga* 108, 82, where Professor Speyer approves the translation "That Śiva still retains his crescent and Viṣṇu his *kaustubha* jewel, they have to thank for it, I am sure, that they did not fall into the clutches of a *kuṭṭanī*." This seems to me to carry exaggeration and disrespect for deities as far as the reading of Brockhaus, to which Professor Speyer objects. Moreover, I think that no one, who has

read the truly Aristophanic story of the gambler *Ṭinṭhākarāla*, will find any difficulty in the hyperbolical or profane character of either passage. This worthy makes the Mothers play with him, compels them by threats of personal violence to pay what they have lost, tries to catch the great god Śiva in the same trap, compels one of the Apsarases, whom he has captured, to take him to heaven, beats Indra's goat-faced mime, and eventually outwits Indra himself, much to his amusement and that of Brihaspati.

In chapter iii of the second section of his book Professor Speyer puts forward some conjectures of his own. Nearly all of them seem to me very probable, and of some of them it may be said that, if Somadeva did not write what the Professor supposes him to have written, he ought to have done so.

In taraṅga 17, 156, Yaṅgandharāyaṇa advises his master to return to Kauśāmbī, as there is nothing to fear from the King of Magadha, "For he has been completely gained over by the negotiation termed 'giving of a daughter.'" This is the obvious meaning of the passage. Here Brockhaus reads *sa mādhitah* to express "he has been gained over." Durgāprasād reads *sa bādhitah*, but Professor Speyer proposes *sa sādhitah*, which, considering the similarity in Sanskrit manuscripts of *s* and *m*, must be the phrase required. The substitution of *na cāti sa nisevyaṣ te* for *na cāti te nisevyante* in taraṅga 27, 148, seems to me equally happy. The proposal to read *varam* for *param* in taraṅga 32, 135, will, I think, be universally approved. It would be easy to multiply instances.

In taraṅga 29, 91, Professor Speyer disapproves of the reading *śaśrūprasādāt*, rejecting very properly the translation "thanks to my mother-in-law." He proposes *śaśrūpasādāt*, "because of that accursed mother-in-law." No doubt *apasada* is confounded, in a sense nearly

resembling this, with the words *vākṣasa*, *brāhmaṇa*, *rājan*, etc. Böhtlingk and Roth translate it by "ein Ausgestossener." But the gentle Kirtisenā would no more have indulged in this emphatic denunciation than she would in the ironical utterance "thanks to my mother-in-law." I venture to propose *śvaśravaprasādāt*, "owing to the displeasure of my mother-in-law."

In conclusion, I beg to congratulate the Professor on the fact that his linguistic acquirements have enabled him to write this long treatise in English, which will make it intelligible to the educated classes of our Indian fellow-subjects. The value of the treatise is much enhanced by the *conspectus metrorum* and the index of notable Sanskrit words, which will be most useful to students of a text which, in addition to its merits as a classical poem, is, there is every reason to believe, a trustworthy reproduction of "that immense mass of fairy tales which was collected many centuries before the eleventh century A.D.," and is also "a faithful picture of Indian society at the time when that collection was made."

C. H. T.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1635-1639. By ETHEL B. SAINSBURY. With an Introduction and Notes by WM. FOSTER. Oxford, 1907.

The four volumes of *Calendars of State Papers—East Indies and Persia* of the late Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury form a perfect treasure-house of information on the early history of the English in the East; and it has long been matter of regret to students that after Mr. Sainsbury's death the work came to a conclusion. The last volume, published by the Public Record Office in 1892, calendared the various documents to the end of 1634. In the volume

under notice Miss Sainsbury carries on, to a certain extent, the work begun by her father. I say "to a certain extent," for, except for a document here and there, the calendaring is confined entirely to the Court Minutes of the East India Company. As contrasted with Mr. W. N. Sainsbury's calendars, the most notable omission in his daughter's book is that of the letters received by the Company from its various factories. The letters from the factories in India are being edited by Mr. Wm. Foster of the India Office (see *Journal* for 1907, p. 442); but there seems to be no intention on the part of Government (the more 's the pity) of publishing abstracts of the letters from Persia on the one hand and Malaysia on the other. The present volume, however, does contain summaries of two letters from the East, one from the president at Bantam and the other from the president at Surat, both addressed to Edward Sherborne, secretary to the Company. These are inserted, apparently, because they happen to be in the Public Record Office, and are in the nature of semi-private communications. They seem, however, rather out of keeping with the rest of the documents, and might, I should have thought, have been reserved for publication in one of Mr. Foster's future volumes. Owing to the lamentable fact that the volume of Court Minutes for two whole years—July, 1637, to July, 1639—is lost, information regarding that period has had to be supplied from other sources; but this attempt to make good the deficiency only shows more vividly how irreparable is the loss of the minutes. To prove this, it is sufficient to mention that while the abstracted documents relating to the year July, 1636, to July, 1637, occupy over a hundred pages, those dealing with the next *two* years cover less than nineteen pages! The matters chronicled in these minutes are, naturally, of varying importance and interest, and much of the details might be considered very small beer. But there is a great deal that is valuable as

well as interesting, and in his admirable Introduction Mr. Foster has dealt with the chief topics in a most lucid manner. The dominant note throughout the minutes is a very minor one, the Company being in low water owing to Dutch competition, loss of vessels, unlicensed trade on the part of their servants, etc., aggravated by the double-dealing of Charles I (such as in the matter of the Courteen expedition under Captain Weddell, of which we read a good deal here), and the continual annoyances of one of their own members, a certain Thomas Smithwick, whose behaviour ultimately became so outrageous that he had to be turned out of the committee-room neck and crop by the beadle. Two projects that came to nothing are referred to in this volume—one, the settlement of a colony in Madagascar, with young Prince Rupert as leader; the other, the colonization of Mauritius proposed by the Earl of Southampton. Though, as I have said, there is a despondent tone running throughout those minutes, at the end of the volume this is changed to one of jubilation, owing to a better condition of things and brighter prospects. We read in the concluding pages of the return in the *Mary* of William Methwold, the Company's late president at Surat, accompanied by the young German traveller Mandelslo ("Herr Mantelowe" he is here called), who was entertained by the Company at dinner, but made to pay for his passage! That the Company could play the game of double-dealing as well as Charles is seen by the record on p. 327, where we find the Court, to show its gratitude to the King of Bantam for favours received, resolving "to dispatch fifty muskets and 200 iron shot in the *Advice*, and (to avoid any quarrel with the Dutch) to request the president to supply the said king privately, under pretence of sale, with as much powder as can be spared from that now sent, with promise of more by the *Jonah*." On p. 261 is an abstract of a Latin document relating to the poisoning of a foreign gen

merchant by the English surgeon of the East Indiaman on the homeward voyage. No light is thrown on this tragedy by Mr. Foster. On the previous page we read that at a court of committee, on 28th April, 1637, "Mr. Younge, lately returned from France, relates that a ship called the *St. Loïs*, of 250 tons burden, with sixty-seven men aboard, has lately come to Dieppe from the Indies, where she has been fifteen or sixteen months, and during that time has taken and robbed three junks from Cambaya, and brought home gold, silver, and goods worth £30,000." From the *Batavia Dagh-Register* for 1636 we learn that on the arrival at Batavia, on 25th July, of Antonio Caen, who left Holland as commander of a fleet at the end of 1635, he reported "that having arrived with his fleet of 9 ships under the equinoctial line, he had encountered a certain small French ship, about 100 lasts burden, carrying 24 guns and 100 brave men, wherewith she had sailed from Dieppe, in order, according to her commission, to sail to the Red Sea, the coast of India, etc., and attack and plunder the Moorish ships, as well as the Spaniards and Portuguese." Apparently this pirate had succeeded well in her nefarious mission. On p. 159 we have a mysterious reference, which Mr. Foster elucidates in a footnote, to a Colonel Alexander Annand, who made persistent attempts to get to Persia with some fifty or sixty soldiers to serve the Shah in his wars. Whether he succeeded or not is unknown. The writer of the *Batavia Dagh-Register* for 1637 says (under 6th May)—"By advices from Suratte his excellency [Governor-General van Diemen, who was then at Amboina] had not learnt that mention was made regarding the Scots colonel Alexander Aurant [*sic*], who (according to the writing of our masters the principals) had designed to equip for Persia, so did not suppose that we in ours through Coromandel to Suratte (written to Sr Barent Pietersen) had made mention thereof." In connection with the Courteen expedition, I may point out

that in this same volume, on p. 77, is given the Dutch translation of a letter in Latin, dated 20th February (O.S.), 1635(6), from Charles I to "our well-beloved general, governors, captains, and subjects of the United Netherlands provinces and countries of East India." If the original document is extant, why is there no mention of it in Miss Sainsbury's book? On p. 283 is a passage that puzzles me. It is stated that at a quarterly general court held on 28th June, 1637, "Mr. Governor informs them that Mr. Cramporne, of Plymouth, has written to notify the arrival of a Danish ship at that port from the Indies, which has been out nine or ten years." Now, the only Danish ship that returned from India that year, as far as I can find, was the *St. Anna*, which left Tranquebar on 16th January, and reached Copenhagen on 4th November. But, so far from having "been out nine or ten years," the *St. Anna* had gone out to India for the first time in 1635 (or 1636) in company with the *St. Jakob*, both ships arriving at Masulipatam on 2nd or 3rd September, 1636. By the former vessel there returned to Denmark the founder and head of the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, the Dutchman Roelant Crape, who had left Denmark for the East eighteen years before, and had now been ennobled by the king in reward for his services. Mr. Foster's footnotes are, I need scarcely say, of much value, explaining what would often be otherwise unintelligible to the general reader. In connection with the note on p. xv of the Introduction, and the doubtful entry in the Index, "Bonneale,," I may say that the two men referred to in this volume, who in the Index are entered as "Bonneale, Daniel," and "Bonnell, Samuel," were the brothers (cf. p. 62) Daniel and Samuel Bonneel or Bonnell, sons of Daniel Bonneel of Norwich, where they were both born, the former in 1601, the latter in 1608. Samuel, though the younger, was evidently the more able. He was admitted as a member of the Dutch church in London on 26th February,

1626, when he was described as "at Sir William Courten's," a position which we find him occupying in this volume. On p. 62 we read of his "being now in the way of preferment by marriage," a statement which I cannot explain. As a fact, he married (when, I do not know) Rebecca Sayer, of Norwich, by whom he had a son James, born in Genoa 14th November, 1653, and brought to England in 1654. Samuel was an ardent royalist; and on the restoration of Charles II he was appointed Accountant-General of Ireland in 1662. He died in 1664, and his son James succeeded to the post in 1684, holding it until his death in 1699. A sister of Samuel's, Hester, married Strype, the historian, and another sister, Abigail, married Captain Robert Knox, who died a captive in Ceylon, whence his eldest son and namesake, after nearly twenty years' captivity, escaped to write one of the most fascinating and accurate accounts of the island ever penned. Owing to the loss of the minutes from July, 1637, to 1639, we do not get, in this period, reports of the arrivals of ships from the East. In his Introduction Mr. Foster has largely made good this deficiency, but he has omitted to record when the *Hopewell* returned. Before parting with this interesting book I must not omit to call attention to the amusing episodes connected with the Persian ambassador in London, "Ally Bally," whose house was stoned by hooligans, on whom his servants retaliated, and whose return passage seems to have been settled only after a long series of very undignified haggings and wranglings. As a mirror of life in London in those days, apart from its special purpose, this volume is of much value.

DONALD FERGUSON.

MATA-HARI, oder WANDERUNGEN EINES INDONESISCHEN
SPRACHFORSCHERS DURCH DIE DREI REICHE DER
NATUR. Von Prof. Dr. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER.
Luzern: E. Haag, 1908.

Under the above, somewhat fanciful, title Dr. Brandstetter has just issued a little book (the fourth number of his second series of Malayo-Polynesian Researches) which forms, in a manner, a continuation of his "Prodromus zu einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch der malaio-polynesischen Sprachen." As this last was reviewed in Part III of this *Journal* for 1907, on which occasion Dr. Brandstetter's methods were discussed in some detail, it will not be necessary to recur to the points there noticed. In the present work he deals with the principal Indonesian equivalents of fifty-seven common names of natural objects, beginning with the words for 'sun,' 'moon,' and 'star,' and going through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. The words are well chosen for the purpose in view, which I take to include *inter alia* the illustration of the essential unity of the Indonesian group of languages, the discussion of the phonetic laws of change therein prevailing, and an exhibition of the geographical distribution of a number of important words which run through many of its different idioms. To this last question a special section is devoted, in which it is shown that a considerable proportion of the words selected extend from the Philippines to Madagascar.

In the present work the author has not selected any particular set of languages (as in his "Prodromus"), but chooses his examples wherever they are most typical from the very large number of Indonesian languages with which he has a scholarly acquaintance. Some of these idioms are decidedly 'out of the way,' being the obscure languages of remote and almost unknown tribes inhabiting insignificant islands in the great Eastern Archipelago;

but they are none the less important on that account, for it often happens that precisely these out-of-the-way languages have preserved archaic forms that have been lost in most of the better known members of the family.

There is an interesting section on the words for 'spirit,' 'life,' and the like. Here, by way of exception, the author makes a comparison with the analogous phenomena to be found in the Indo-European family of languages. Just as in the latter, so in the Malayo-Polynesian family, these words are usually derived from words meaning 'wind' or 'breath,' but occasionally the Indonesian words are connected with the idea of 'water,' where the transition in meaning is less obvious. Dr. Brandstetter thinks that this analogy, amongst others, should be considered an argument against the easy assumption that the Indonesians are inferior to the Indo-Europeans in point of mental capacity. This is hardly the place to discuss such a very complex question; and bearing in mind how many different races have at various periods of the world's history stood at the head of the civilisation of their time, one may well hesitate to forecast what the future may have in store for the so-called lower races of mankind. But although it may well be the case that in the remote past when the ancestors of the Indo-Europeans and the Indonesians, independently of one another, hit upon the simple transition of ideas that connects 'spirit' with 'breath,' they were all on much the same intellectual plane, yet it is certain that the Indo-Europeans have since then shown a much greater capacity for progress than the Indonesians. The latter have not, up to the present, displayed much intellectual vigour, and highly interesting and in many ways charming though they may be, they are not, in actual practical or speculative activity, the equals either of the Indo-Europeans, or of the Chinese, Dravidians, and Arabs, with whom they come into direct competitive contact.

Another section of the work deals briefly with certain euphemistic and periphrastic words and expressions peculiar to religious, poetical, and other special forms of diction, which form such a curious and important feature in many of the Indonesian languages. All these matters are treated by Dr. Brandstetter with his usual scholarly accuracy, acumen, and wealth of appropriate illustrative material. There is throughout a strict adherence to sound scientific method; as a rule, no etymology is suggested that cannot be supported on the phonological side by several parallel instances. If anything unusual, any variation from the regular laws of phonetic correspondence, appears to occur, the fact is duly pointed out. In such a work it is difficult to find matter for criticism. If I venture to make a few observations on minor details, I put them forward rather as queries than as corrections.

The Ilokano *urimaung*, 'a species of cat,' should, it seems to me, go under the heading 'tiger' (*arimong*, etc.), not 'cat' (*neyong*); both, it is true, are mere onomatopoeies, but the Ilokano word is clearly identical in form with the 'tiger' series. The 'tiger' words, though no doubt primarily applicable to the 'royal tiger,' are used in some of these languages to denote the lesser wild felines, such as the leopard, wild cats of various species, etc., as well. The Dayak *harimaung*, unless it is a loanword from some other Indonesian language, must (I imagine) be used principally of these smaller felines, for the tiger does not exist in Borneo (nor, I believe, in the island where Ilokano is spoken, but this last point I have at present no means of verifying). Dr. Brandstetter illustrates the Old Javanese *hantiga*, 'egg,' by a comparison with the Mentawai *tigā*; but the sense of the latter is not very apt, and the further comparison with the Toba *pira* and the Sumbanese *tilu* is not very convincing, because the secondary meaning of

these words evidently has reference to the form, not the function, of the organ in question (cf. the Malay use of *buah* and *biji* in this connection). Another possible explanation seems to me more probable. The ordinary Old Javanese word for 'egg' is *hantělá*, and the stem of this is almost identical in form with the word for 'three' (the common Indonesian *tělu*). Now in Javanese ceremonial language (Krama), as also in Malay and some other Indonesian languages, *tiga* means 'three,' so that *hantiga* would be a very obvious artificial modification of *hantělá*, and such artificial modifications of words are frequent in the Indonesian languages and particularly so in Javanese. It is rather surprising that among Dr. Brandstetter's words for 'cocoanut' there is no mention of the common Malay *kělapa*, of which the word *kělanbir* (which is mentioned) has been regarded, rightly or wrongly, as an artificial modification. Similarly, to the words for 'tree-trunk' the common Malay *pokok* (conceivably in like manner related to *pangkal*, which Dr. Brandstetter gives) might well have been added. So also might the very widespread Indonesian word *awé*, 'rattan,' a jungle product of great practical importance, which has not, however, been included in the author's selection.

May not the Old Javanese *luah*, 'river,' be identical with the Malay *lurah*, 'ravine'? The words appear to be phonetically coincident. Might not the Toba *aek*, Madurese *aeng* on the one side and the Old Javanese *wuai* on the other be 'variations' of the Old Javanese *air*, 'water'? Here the phonetic correspondence is not exact, of course. Might not *anai-anai*, 'white ant,' be derived from *anai*, 'sand'? To anyone who knows the results of the creature's operations by sad practical experience, the connection in meaning will not seem far-fetched, and the forms appear to be phonetically identical. May not the Menangkabau *bija*, which Dr. Brandstetter gives as an

artificial modification of *biji*, 'seed,' have taken this form by conscious imitation of the Sanskrit *vīja*, which occurs in Malay titles under the form *bija*? The explanation of the Javanese *lintang* (for *wintang*) and the Sundanese *chaah* (Old Javanese *wāh*), as having had their initial sounds modified on the analogy of *langit* and *chi* respectively, seems to me (though possible) hardly convincing. Might not the *l* be a formative prefix, and what about the other anomaly in the words for 'star,' the Malagasy *kintana*, which is not mentioned? As for the Sundanese word, Sundanese has an eccentric fondness for *ch* where other languages have labials (e.g. *sancha*, 'python,' for the ordinary and normal *sawa*). The forms for 'star,' with two vowels in the termination, seem to represent a primitive *wituŋ*, which looks like a derivative in *ŋ* from a stem **witu*. Does not this assumed stem *witu* bear the same formal relation to the forms of the other series (type *wintang*) that Javanese Ngoko words bear to the corresponding Krama ones, and Malay *alu*, 'pestle,' to *antan*, Javanese, etc., *asu*, 'dog,' to Malay *anjing*, and the like? These are matters that appear to me to require further investigation.

Dr. Brandstetter has written an excellent little volume, the small size of which bears no sort of relation to the large amount of research that it must have involved, and one looks forward to seeing something more from him in the near future. It was hardly necessary for him to insist on the fact that his book is the fruit of his own personal research; no one at all acquainted with the sphere of his labours can long remain ignorant of that fact, and even those who are entirely unversed in the subjects with which he deals can hardly fail to be struck by the note of individuality, happily blended with a strict observance of sound general principles, which is characteristic of all his work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE CHRISTIAN PURANNA OF FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS,
S.J. Edited by JOSEPH L. SALDANHA, B.A. Mangalore,
1907.

This is a worthy memorial of a remarkable man, regarding whose life strangely little is known. In a very interesting "biographical note" Mr. Saldanha has collected from various sources all the information that he could gather regarding Thomas Stephens, and has corrected some erroneous statements made by previous writers, among them even Mr. A. F. Pollard, whose brief notice in the supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* is, however, mainly accurate. It is certainly no credit to Englishmen that to so few of them is even the name of Thomas Stephens known. As an example of this, I may mention that the British Museum Library possesses not a single copy of any of the original editions of Stephens's works, and the solitary book of his that it owns, a modern reprint of his grammar of the Konkani language, is entered only under the Portuguese equivalent of his name, "Thomaz Estevão," his real name being absolutely ignored! And yet Thomas Stephens was, as Mr. Albert Gray puts it in his translation of Pyrard (Hakluyt Society's edition), "of all Englishmen *primus in Indis*," and during the forty years that he lived and laboured there was on several occasions of service to his fellow-countrymen (such as Fitch and his companions in 1583) and to other Europeans (such as Pyrard in 1608). Stephens's very birthplace is a matter of dispute, though Mr. Saldanha gives it as Bulston, in Wiltshire, which seems the most probable. He was born about 1549, and according to Hakluyt, was educated at New College, Oxford, but of this there is no proof, and it is probable that Hakluyt has confused Thomas with his brother Richard. I pass over other details of his early life, and only mention that, having joined the Jesuit order at Rome in 1578, Stephens sailed for India in one of the five Portuguese ships that

left Lisbon on 4th April, 1579, and reached Goa on 24th October of the same year. Of this voyage he wrote (on 10th November, 1579) a long and most interesting account in a letter to his father (a leading merchant in London), which Hakluyt fortunately got hold of and printed in his *Principall Navigations*, etc. (By the way, Mr. Saldanha and other writers do not seem to have noticed what a narrow escape this document had of being lost, for in a letter to Hakluyt, dated "Alepo, the 28. of May, 1583," John Newbery wrote: "The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from Mr. Thomas Steuens in Goa . . . I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed.") This letter, which Mr. Saldanha reprints in full (the spelling, unfortunately, modernized) is said by some writers to have exercised a great influence in calling the attention of the English to the importance of trade in India, though there seems to be no proof of this. At any rate, Hakluyt seems to have considered the details it contained regarding the variation of the needle, etc., of such value that in his dedicatory epistle to Sir Robert Cecil he specially calls attention to them. Except for a few lines at the end, this letter contains no observations on India, but the writer doubtless gave these in his next communication to his father. Unhappily, however, all his other letters have disappeared, except one in Latin, addressed to his brother Richard, then a doctor of theology in Paris, and dated from Goa on the 24th of October, 1583. Only a copy of this, however, and a mutilated one at that, exists in the National Library of Brussels. Of this letter Mr. Saldanha gives an English translation; and its perusal makes us regret all the more keenly that we have not had preserved to us, in epistolary or book form, the great mass of information concerning the people and things in India that this acute observer must have stored up during the forty years of

his residence there. The bulk of the letter gives an account (the first part of which is missing) of the massacre in 1583 of five Jesuit fathers at Cuncolim, containing details not mentioned in *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, by Father Francis Goldie, who does not seem to have known of the existence of this document. In the last paragraph Stephens, in response to a request by his brother, makes a few observations on the climate of India, and gives a brief description of the coco palm. Among other things, he says: "It yields oil, wine (*vinum*), milk (*lac*), syrup (*mel*), sugar, and vinegar." Mr. Saldanha, however, translates *vinum* by 'liquor,' and, more oddly still, *lac* by 'toddy.' Less than a month after the above letter was written, there arrived at Goa from Ormuz Ralph Fitch and his three English companions, who had been arrested as spies, and were now straightway clapped into prison, where they would have remained, perhaps for years, had it not been for the good offices of Father Stephens, through whose influence they were released on bail, three of them soon afterwards making their escape. Of the doings of Father Stephens during the remainder of his life we know very little, only that, as Mr. Saldanha says: "Having, for a time, been Minister of the Professed House at Goa and Rector of Salsette College for five years, and temporary Socius to the Visitor, Fr. Stephens, or Padre Estevam, as he was henceforth to be known, spent the remaining forty years of his sacred ministry chiefly among the Brahmin Catholics of Salsette." Of his death we have no record; but it is presumed to have taken place in Goa, in 1619, since the governor Fernão de Albuquerque, writing to the King of Spain on 14th February, 1620, casually refers to a statement said to have been made by "an English priest of holy life, while on his death-bed in the Professed House of the Society in this city." That he was buried in Goa it is reasonable to suppose, but the place of his sepulture is unknown.

Thomas Stephens appears to have acquired a thorough mastery of Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī, and probably also of Sanskrit. Mr. Pollard, in his notice of Stephens in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, says that the learned father "was the first to make a scientific study of Canarese, the vernacular Malabar tongue [*sic*!]," that he also learnt Hindūstānī, and that in both these languages he published manuals of piety and grammar. But there is no evidence of Stephens's having had any knowledge of Hindūstānī, or of his having written any books in that language. And, with regard to the first part of the statement quoted above, it is a blunder (into which various writers have fallen, including Mr. Albert Gray, in his *Pyrard*, ii, 270, note), founded on a misapprehension of the meaning of the words of Ribadaneira—"Primus Canarinum idioma in regulas ordinemque digessit." There is no reference here to Canarese, but to "the dialect of the Canarins," a very different matter, for, as is duly recorded in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. "Canarin," this word was applied by the Portuguese to the Koṅkaṇī inhabitants of Goa and their language. As a fact, Father Stephens translated into 'Bramana-Canarin' a catechism of Christian doctrine, which was published at Rachol in 1622; and wrote a grammar of the Koṅkaṇī language, which, after lying in manuscript for many years, was added to by Father Diogo Ribeiro, S.J., and was published at Rachol in 1640. (In his *Tentative List of Books*, etc., Dr. A. C. Burnell enters this work with a Latin title under the name of "Busten, T. S. de, S.J.," and with a Portuguese title under "Estevaõ, P. Thomas, S.J.," in ignorance, apparently, of the fact that "T. S. de Busten" was identical with "P. Thomas Estevaõ," and that the author's real name was Thomas Stephens.) A reprint of this grammar, with a lengthy introductory essay on the Koṅkaṇī language, by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, was published at Goa in 1857, only two copies of the original edition being now in existence. (This reprint is registered

in Burnell's *List* under "Grammatica," with no reference to either of the preceding entries, though under "Estevaõ" the reprint is recorded.) Of this work Mr. Saldanha says: "This first grammar of an Indian tongue by a European must be regarded as a highly creditable attempt, and is undoubtedly a most interesting performance."

With neither of the above works, however, are we at present concerned, but with a third and literally monumental production of Father Stephens's, namely, his so-called "*Christian Puráña*." This is an epic, divided into two parts, the first dealing with Old Testament history and the second with the life of Christ. It is written in four-line verse, the *Pailem Puráña* (First *Puráña*) consisting of 36 cantos containing, in all, 4,181 strophes, and the *Dussarem Puráña* (Second *Puráña*) of 59 cantos, arranged in four subdivisions, and containing 6,781 strophes; or a grand total of 10,962 strophes. The first edition of this enormous poem appears to have been published in 1616 at Rachol, a second edition in 1649 (where, is not known), and a third in 1654 at Goa. And yet (and this is the most extraordinary fact in connection with this work), "barring a few manuscript copies, prized as heirlooms in the ancient families in South Canara, and, perhaps, a few more in Goa and thereabouts, no printed copy of *The Christian Puráña* is known to be extant in India or in Europe." Surely such a wholesale disappearance of three editions of a printed book is unique in the history of literature? The explanations tendered by Mr. Saldanha in his lengthy and most interesting Introduction are not very satisfactory, and he is strangely at fault in conjecturing "that possibly the so-called printed editions were no more than lithographed ones—lithography was certainly cheaper and more common than printing in those days—and, for this reason, necessarily few and rare." I would simply remark that lithography was not invented before the

end of the eighteenth century! Fortunately, however, manuscript copies of the work have been preserved here and there on the west coast of India; and a suggestion having been made a few years ago by Mr. J. A. Saldanha, sub-judge of Alibagh, that the epic should be reprinted, the idea was taken up by some enthusiasts, manuscripts were obtained and collated, the text was copied, the editing was undertaken by Mr. J. L. Saldanha of St. Aloysius's College, Mangalore, other scholars gave their willing help, the expense of printing was guaranteed by Mr. Simon Alvares of Mangalore, and as a result we have this handsome, well-printed quarto volume of some 700 pages, 600 of which are occupied by the text of the epic and a glossary, the other 100 pages containing the Contents, Biographical Notes, Introduction, etc. In the Introduction, besides giving an outline of the poem, Mr. Saldanha deals at length with the language in which the poem is written and the system of transliteration adopted by the writer. To discuss these here would occupy too much space, and I must therefore refer those interested in the subject to the book itself, which is certainly a most interesting one, creditable to all concerned in its production.

DONALD FERGUSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING (*May 12th, 1908*).

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 12th, 1908, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Miss Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita).

Mr. Robert Arnold Beecher.

Mr. K. K. Chakko.

Professor August Fischer.

Mr. S. C. Ghatak.

Mr. M. V. Subramania Iyer.

Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai.

Sultan Sayyid Saadat Husain.

Mr. Charles Henry Jopp.

Rai Brij Behari Lall.

Mr. William Warren.

Sir Raymond West proposed the Council's List of Nominations for seats on the Council for 1908-9, which was carried unanimously.

The Annual Report of the Council for the year 1907-8 was read by the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1907-8.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of the following eleven members :—

H.E. Ali Asghar Khan, Amines

Sultan,

Professor T. Aufrecht,

Mr. D. G. Barclay,

Mr. H. Beauchamp,

M. Henrik Borgström,

Mr. E. L. Brandreth,

Mr. Girindranath Dutt,

The Right Hon. Sir James

Fergusson, Bart.,

Major-General Sir Frederic J.

Goldsmid,

Professor J. Gray,

Rev. Walter H. Stapleton,

and by retirement of the following nine :—

Mr. Claude Delaval Cobham,	Mr. W. H. Nicholls,
C.M.G.,	Mr. C. H. Oertel,
Mr. Walter Lupton,	Mrs. Plimmer,
Mr. A. J. May,	Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E.,
Mr. Rustam J. J. Modi,	Major F. Webb Ware.

Under Rule 20 one gentleman ceases to be a Member of the Society :—

Maulavi Abu Musa Ahmad al-Haq.

Under Rule 21 the following twenty-six cease to be Members of the Society :—

Mr. Amir-uddin Ashraf,	Mr. H. M. A. Husein Khan,
Mr. Boris Brandbender,	Babu Ramani Mohan Mallik,
Babu Kali Kumar Das,	Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon,
Mr. Lala Banarai Das,	Professor Muliya! Krishnam,
Mr. M. N. Dutt,	Hon. P. Rama Nathan,
Mr. Théodore Ferriën,	Mr. M. R. Ry. Apat Krishna
Miss W. Gray,	Paduval,
Mr. John de Grey-Downing,	Mr. Harry Price,
Mr. Hardevram Nanabhai	Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sen,
Haridas,	Professor Kishan Singh,
Moung Tha Hnyin,	Mr. Abdullah al - Mamun
Mr. Sri Kanti Ayyer,	Sohrawarthy,
Mr. Mirza Jalal-uddin,	Mr. Z. R. Zahid Sohrawarthy,
Mr. M. R. Jayakar,	Sri Raja Mrityunjaya Nissenka
Mr. C. Sri Kanta,	Bahadur Garu.

The following sixty-six new Members have been elected during the year :—

Mr. Shah Muniruddin Ahmad,	Mr. C. Raymond Beazley,
Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali,	Mr. R. Grant Brown, I.C.S.,
Mr. Muhammad Anwar Ali,	Mr. Chisholm Dunbar Brunton,
Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali,	Mr. Tirjugi Narayan Chadha,
Saiyid Ibn Ali,	Mr. Alexander Smith Cochran,
Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S. (ret.),	Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.,
Mrs. Nalini Banerji,	Miss Shaila Bala Das,

The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer	Mr. Maung May Aung,
Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,	Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.D.,
Mrs. Blanche Eleanor Dutton,	Colonel John Pennycuik, R.E.
Professor Julius Eggeling	(ret.),
(Honorary),	Rev. Herbert Pentin, F.S.A.
Sir C. A. Elliott, K.C.S.I.,	(Scot.),
Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S.,	Mr. T. B. Pohath-Kehelpannala,
Captain M. L. Ferrar,	Mr. Mahabir Prasad,
Mr. Charles I. Fraser,	Mr. Narsingh Prasad,
Mr. Lovat George Fraser,	Shaikh Abdul Qadir,
Mr. Bipin Bihari Ghosal,	Mr. Mallinath Ray,
Khan Bahadur Saiyid Aulad	Mr. George Robb, Egyptian
Hasan,	C.S.,
Mrs. Herringham,	Sri Surendra P. Sanyal,
Mr. R. C. Hobart, I.C.S.,	Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri,
Mr. Gustav Theodore von Holst,	The Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong
Maulvi Sakhawat Husain,	Tulku of Sikkim,
Mr. Qazi Tajammul Husain,	Sirdar Kahan Singh,
Mr. Qazi Talammuz Husain,	Sirdar Sundar Singh, Ram-
Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo,	garhia,
Raja of Kanika,	Mr. Surendra Nath Sinha,
Mr. Maung Ba Kyaw,	Mr. Vishwanath Sahay Sinha,
Sir John James Digges La	Mr. E. B. Soane,
Touche, K.C.S.I.,	Mr. H. E. Stapleton, Indian
Mr. George Barclay Leechman,	Educational Service,
Mr. M. A. C. Mahomed,	Mr. J. P. Thompson, I.C.S.,
Mr. Charles W. McMinn, I.C.S.	Sriman Muttusvami Sivanandi
(ret.),	Vaidyesvara, Mudaliyar,
Rev. H. Anderson Menden,	Professor Krishna Pada Vidya-
Captain S. Morton, 24th	ratna,
Panjabis,	Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, I.C.S.,
Hon. Mr. Justice Asutosh	Mr. H. D. Watson, I.C.S.,
Mukhopadhyay, D.L.,	Rev. Edward Carruthers
Mr. R. Narasimhaachar,	Woodley.
Mr. Maung Tun On,	

Thus there is a very satisfactory increase of members; the number elected (66) is not only high, but has not been approached before since the foundation of the Society, except in 1883, when the number elected was 72.

A pleasing feature is that the Resident Members, of whom for many years past there has been a regular falling off in numbers, have this year increased by 14. The Non-Resident Members show a net increase of 13, and although there is always a steady increase in this class of members this is the highest for some years.

Not only is this satisfactory, but so also is the subscription to the Journal. This year there are 12 more annual subscribers than last year. There are now 139, as against 104 in 1902, i.e. an advance of 35 in the five years, the increase in the preceding five years being only 8. These figures are interesting, as they show the steadily growing interest evinced in the Journal, 200 copies more of which are now printed than were required four years ago.

During the year the Council have undertaken, for the Oriental Translation Fund, the publication of the "Memoirs of Jahangir," translated by Mr. A. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. This work is in the press, and will, it is hoped, be published before the close of the present year.

The last consignment of the "Languages of the Northern Himalayas, being studies in the Grammar of 26 Himalayan Dialects," by the Rev. Grahame Bailey, has just reached the Society, and will presently form Vol. 12 of the Society's Monographs. These Notes, Vocabularies, and Grammars were written for the new edition of the Punjab Government District Gazetteers now in course of publication. It is intended that the account of each dialect should be published separately in the Gazetteer of the District in which it is spoken. In this condition they would be, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to students, and the Punjab Government has, with great liberality, reprinted a number of complete sets of the whole series, and placed them at the disposal of this Society for publication in a collected form. In addition to the obligation to the learned author and the Punjab Government, the thanks of the Society are due to Dr. Grierson, whose endeavours to bring

this valuable work from its comparative obscurity in separate volumes of an official publication have been so successful.

The Indian Texts Series has seen the publication of the third volume of Mr. Irvine's translation of "*Manucci's Storia do Mogor*," and sanction has been received from the Government of India for the inclusion of the following works in the Series :—

"The Provenance of Indian Coins," to be edited by Professor Rapson.

"Index to the Pali Tripitaka," by Professor Rhys Davids.

"A Translation of the *Sikshasamuccaya*," commenced by the late Professor Bendall, and completed by Dr. Rouse of the Perse School, Cambridge.

These with the "*Index to the Names and Subjects of the Vedic Texts*," by Professor Macdonell and Mr. Keith, will form the ten volumes sanctioned by the Indian Government.

The Public School Gold Medal for 1907 was won by Westminster School, and was presented on May 29th by Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, to Mr. A. P. Waterfield, for his essay on Warren Hastings.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors, Mr. Keith, Mr. Sturdy, Mr. Baynes, and Mr. Windus.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1908-9, are as follows :—

Under Rule 28, Lord Reay retires from the office of President. The Council recommend his re-election.

Under the same rule, Sir Robert Douglas and Sir Charles Lyall retire from the office of Vice-President. The Council recommend their re-election.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				761	18	0
Resident Members—85 at £3 3s.	267	15	0			
Advance Subscriptions	18	18	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
254 at £1 10s.	381	0	0			
10 at £1 1s.	10	10	0			
1 Subscription compounded	22	10	0			
Advance Subscriptions	34	5	0			
Arrears received	22	10	0			
Library Members—3 at £1 10s.	4	10	0			
	761	18	0			
RENTS RECEIVED				221	5	0
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE				210	0	0
JOURNAL				262	13	3
Subscriptions	208	10	0			
Additional copies sold	43	3	9			
Sale of Index	0	5	0			
Sale of Pamphlets	5	4	9			
Advertisements	5	8	9			
	262	13	3			
DIVIDENDS				44	10	10
New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock	30	10	0			
Midland 2½ per cent. Stock	5	0	10			
Local Loan Stock	9	0	0			
	44	10	10			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				16	1	4
Lloyds' Bank	12	0	8			
Post Office Savings Bank	3	11	8			
	16	1	4			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				6	18	1
				1523	6	6
Balance as at January 1, 1907				374	1	9
				1897	8	3

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent.
 £212 8s. Midland 2½ per cent. debenture.
 £300 3 per cent. Local Loans.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1907.

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House				421	15	11
Rent	350	0	0			
Insurance	10	13	11			
Repairs	6	15	3			
Gas and Water	27	12	11			
Coal	4	13	0			
Other Expenses	22	0	10			
	421	15	11			
SALARIES AND WAGES				294	18	0
JOURNAL				438	15	9
Printing	412	15	9			
Illustrations	26	0	0			
	438	15	9			
LIBRARY				48	15	2
New Books	28	16	10			
Binding	19	18	4			
	48	15	2			
DONATION TO PALL DICTIONARY				10	10	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				54	16	4
Ordinary Expenditure	20	15	4			
Special	34	1	0			
	54	16	4			
POSTAGE				72	0	0
SUNDRY PAYMENTS				40	19	8
				1382	10	10
Balance as at December 31, 1907				514	17	5
				£1897	8	3

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
for the Council.
E. T. STURDY,
HERBERT M. BAYNES,
for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

RECEIPTS.

PAYMENTS.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

1907.	£	s.	d.	1907.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1. Balance	Dec. 31. Vol. XVII, cont of production, including printing, illustrations, etc. ...	75	2	7
Dec. 31. Sales	Vol. VIII, Binding ...	6	18	9
Interest	Balance carried to Summary	70	1	4
					265	9	2
					<u>£341</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
Balance	Balance carried to Summary ...	...	...	...
Subscriptions		55	3	4
Interest				
					<u>£55</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

MEDAL PUBLICATIONS AND MONOGRAPH FUNDS.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
Balance	Vol. IX and X ...	30	0	0
Liverpool Arch. Inst., share of rent, Vol. XI	Covers, Vols. IX and X ...	6	15	6
Sales	Vol. XI, Printing, etc. ...	57	6	0
Dividends	Balance carried to Summary	74	1	6
Interest		112	3	4
					<u>£186</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>

FUNDS.—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable Stock, £600.

SUMMARY.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	£	s.	d.	Lloyds Bank Deposit Account ...	£	s.	d.
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND	Do. Current Account ...	...	...	...
MEDAL PUBLICATIONS AND MONOGRAPH FUNDS		306	12	6
Balance as at 31st December, 1907		125	3	4
					<u>£432</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>

We have examined the above Statement and Summary with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock }
investment and bank balances. }
A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY
HERBERT M. BAYNES, for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

MEDAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance as at January 1, 1907	18 13 11	Balance as at December 31, 1907	28 19 9
Dividends	9 15 0		
Interest	10 10		
	<u>£28 19 9</u>		<u>£28 19 9</u>

PAYEE—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable Stock, £325.

Public School, Michal, Tunis.

Balance as at January 1, 1907	...	...	17	12	9
Dividends	...	...	19	7	4
Donation, A. N. W.	...	...	1	8	...
School Contributions	...	...	4	0	0
Interest	...	...	7	0	...
			£11	8	0

Foras—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable Stock, £543 14s. 2d.

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the investments above described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct,

	{	A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Comant.
	{	E. T. STURDY, for the Society,
	{	HERBERT M. BAYNES,

A. N. WOLLASTON.
January 1, 1908.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
E. T. STURDY, }
HERBERT M. BAYNES, } for the Society.
A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

Under Rule 29, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from the respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 43, the following ordinary members of Council retire:—

Professor Blunhardt,
Mr. Ellis,
Mr. Frazer (does not desire re-election),
Dr. Hoey,
Professor Margoliouth.

The Council recommend the election of

Professor Browne,
Mr. Dames,
Mr. Ellis,
Professor Margoliouth,
Mr. Thomas.

The Council regret to announce the loss by death of three Honorary Members—Professor Kielhorn, Professor Barbier de Meynard, and Baron von Rosen.

The Council recommend the election in their place respectively of Professor Hermann Oldenberg, Professor Gaston Maspéro, and Professor Carl Salemann.

PROFESSOR MACDONELL: Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Annual Report which has just been read, and copies of which are now available. I have been a member of the Society since the year 1882, and am therefore able to judge of its progress from a personal experience of more than twenty-five years. The membership has increased from 438 to 632, that is, about 44 per cent. The quality of the *Journal* has also steadily increased, as well as the number and variety of its articles. In 1883 it contained 18; in 1907 it published

34. The editing was less carefully supervised twenty-five years ago, and the publication was not so punctual. Two valuable features have been added to the contents of the *Journal*, namely, short miscellaneous articles and notices of books. The latter are particularly valuable, as they give members in out-of-the-way places useful information about new books, and the reviews are entrusted to scholars with special knowledge of the various subjects dealt with. In former days the articles appearing in the *Journal* were not always of the highest merit; but now there is nothing that should be excluded. The *Journal* of the Society is now the best Oriental periodical published so far as Indian scholarship in all its aspects is concerned. The number of members has increased since 1906 by 23; that of subscribing libraries by 13; the total number of the latter is now 85. This progress is most satisfactory, because it must be remembered that every single library added to the list means a greater number of readers and a considerable extension of influence.

The progress made is thus eminently satisfactory; but the *Journal* is the chief link of Oriental scholarship between East and West, and, as such, should attain to a much larger circulation. There are hardly more than 300 members furnished by this country, and considering our relations with India that number is very small.

Having just returned from a six months' tour in India and Ceylon, in the course of which I covered over 10,500 miles, I should like to say something now about the membership of the Society in the East.

I have carefully examined the list of members for 1907, and find there are 139 Indian members besides 10 Indian libraries that take the *Journal*; that is to say, there are altogether 150 Indian subscribers. This number represents about 25 per cent. of the total membership—a large proportion for an expensive journal not published in India. Of English members there are only just over

50 in India, or only 8 per cent. of the total membership. Not more than 30 of these are members of the Civil Service, including Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Burma; that is, only about 3 per cent. of the civilians on active service in the East.

The stimulating effect of the *Journal* on Asiatic studies would be much greater if the circulation could be increased among Anglo-Indians and Indians. As to Anglo-Indians, there are now at least 120 civilians, missionaries, and members of the educational service in India who are old pupils of mine, and many of them, I know, are interested in the antiquities, the religions, the customs, the history, and the heart of India, yet very few of them are members of the Society. Most of them know vaguely about the Royal Asiatic Society, but only a few have seen the *Journal* or had it brought to their knowledge. Yet it is just the kind of publication which would interest collectors who are in out-of-the-way places beyond the reach of libraries, and may be writing for the "Gazetteer" or collecting information for official and other publications. I think the membership of the Society might be largely increased in the Civil Service, especially if measures were taken to bring it and the *Journal* to the notice of such men.

Then, with regard to Indians: I found everywhere that they were eager to be in touch with Western Orientalists; they feel the want of guidance, as few of them have been trained in the methods of Western research. I was able to give advice in this respect to a number of Indians in Calcutta, Madras, and several remote places. For instance, in the State of Cochin on the Malabar Coast the Raja is an excellent Sanskrit scholar, learned in Indian philosophy, and takes a great interest in the advancement of Sanskrit studies. He has in his State, he told me, 3,500 Brahmins who can each repeat a whole Veda. At his suggestion I made various proposals to him for

the promotion of Sanskrit learning on progressive lines in his State. Here I also met a former correspondent who was eager to engage in research. I accordingly suggested a piece of work on which he is now engaged, and which I think he intends soon to offer as a paper to the *Journal*. At Trivandrum I met a young man who is an enthusiast on the subject of the antiquities and early history of Travancore, but felt unable to do much without guidance. I urged him to try and secure a travelling scholarship in order to undergo a course of training in archaeology under Mr. Marshall. At Madura I became acquainted with a pleader who was particularly interested in the preservation of local monuments. I encouraged him (as well as others whom I met later) to persevere in endeavouring to create a strong public opinion to prevent the present method of defacing old sculptures by covering them with whitewash or paint, and to arrest the destruction of old shrines, many of which contained sculptures of inscriptions of great historic value. Many old shrines are being pulled down and replaced by new ones, and much that is of value is thus lost. A temple to Vishnu at Madura I found was being rebuilt by a rich chetty; here I saw a fragment of a pillar lying on the ground; it contained a very old inscription; the other part of it had disappeared, and the rest of the inscription is probably lost for ever.

At Gaya I stayed with Mr. Bell, the Collector; his Chief Clerk, an Indian, has made a complete study of the archaeology of the region, with plans and copies of inscriptions. He has worked under great difficulties, having been obliged to borrow all the necessary books from individuals or libraries. At Muttra (Mathurā) there was an engineer, a Brahmin, who had hunted out antiquities built into the walls of native compounds, and these he procured for the museum, which no one but an Indian could do. He also took me to see a valuable

Indian library, unknown to Europeans, which contained 2,000 Sanskrit MSS. I suggested that these should be catalogued with the help of the Government of the United Provinces, with the proviso that if they are offered for sale it should be to the Government.

To such men as these the *Journal* would be very stimulating; it would supply them with notes of the latest discoveries and matters of interest to them. There are such men in all parts of India, and I feel sure that many would be glad to join the Society if they knew the conditions. There are many Maharajas and Rajas — about 800, I believe — and many of them are very liberal in encouraging Sanskrit research; I think quite a number would be willing to become members of the Society.

With regard to sending notes to the *Journal*, I would make one suggestion. Last year the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey, Mr. Marshall, contributed an article on the results attained during 1906–1907. I hope he will continue to do so each year, for the articles would be of great value, and keep Orientalists in the West in touch with what is being done in the East. Correspondents in other parts of India might be asked to send reports which would focus up-to-date information about the world of research in India. By taking action in the directions I have suggested I consider the membership of the Society might be raised to one thousand. Then it is not unlikely that an event may take place before the next three years are over, namely, the holding of the Oriental Congress in India, which should have considerable influence in raising the membership of the Royal Asiatic Society. I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

DR. GASTER: My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to be called upon to second the adoption of the Report. Professor Macdonell has already done justice to the work of the Society and to the *Journal*, and he has

drawn attention to the great importance which it has in making scholars and officials in India better acquainted with the literary work done in the West, and of showing how, through the instrumentality of the *Journal*, more work of a similar kind and more subscribers to the Society could be got in India.

I will now turn to the other side of the work of the Society, for happily the Royal Asiatic Society is not only Indian, but embraces the whole of the Oriental world. One has only to look through the pages of the *Journal* to find contributions of Semitic Philology, Hebrew, Arabic, Assyrian, etc. We have articles on Persian and other Eastern literatures which have made our *Journal* to be the exponent of a very high level of English scholarship. But the importance and the real aim of the Society lies in a different direction—not so much to bring the West to the East, as, on the contrary, to bring the East to the West. To make us better acquainted with the thoughts, feelings, hopes, the philosophical speculations, and the poetical compositions of the untold millions in the East. To give us an insight into the forces which are there at work and to make us sympathetic appreciators of all that is best and loftiest in the Oriental mind.

I know full well that our Society eschews political questions, but we are living in stirring times. A great change is coming over the East, therefore our *Journal* performs the invaluable service of making the men at the helm of affairs in England better acquainted with the spirit that is moving and enabling them to read the signs of the times with greater accuracy than before. No one will gainsay that it is of utmost value that we should have a better insight into the hearts and aims of the people of the East, for no one can touch them or elevate their lives unless we are able to get at their hearts. And the Royal Asiatic Society renders excellent services in revealing the true aspect of things about the

East and about the forces which dominate action among the Orientals.

I congratulate, then, the Society on the success of the past year in two practical directions—(1) in the increase of the number of subscribers, (2) in the increase in the scholarly contributions to the *Journal*. But all this could not be done unless the Editor is closely identified with the aims and work of the Society and of the *Journal*, and gives unstintingly time and thought to the work. I am sure you will all agree with me in conveying our appreciation and congratulations to Miss Hughes for the able way in which she carries out the work of the Society. There must be some centre from which the impulse is to come. It is only by the continuous, untiring, scholarly, and regular work done by Miss Hughes, and through her unfailing tact and kindness, that so much has been accomplished. I desire, therefore, in seconding the adoption of the Report to couple the name of Miss Hughes, and to express the satisfaction to the Society on its continued progress and prosperity.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen, the adoption of the Report of our Society has been moved and seconded in such interesting speeches that I might almost refrain from speaking. But you have been kind enough to renew your desire that I should still occupy this chair, and I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity of expressing my obligations to you and of congratulating the Society on its successful year, as shown by the Report. For many years past we have been able to note a gradual improvement, but this year we may feel more than ever satisfied. The number of elected members is, with the exception of the year 1883, the highest of any one year since the Society was founded in 1823. Hitherto we have had to regret the regular decrease in the number of resident members, and last year I drew special attention to this fact. We have, however, recovered lost ground, and our

resident members now number more than they have done since 1903. We are obliged to Professor Macdonell for his suggestion to-day of a new field of recruitment, for we must not rest content with what has been retrieved, or even with what we have gained. For the work of the Society to be as effective as we would wish, a wider interest must be taken by members and more support given by them in drawing the attention of others to the Society and its work. The increase in the circulation of the *Journal* is also a matter of congratulation, and is to be attributed to the continued excellence of the quarterly numbers, which can bear comparison in scholarship and variety with any Oriental journal, whether published on the Continent or in the East. I desire to associate myself with what Dr. Gaster has said about our indebtedness to Miss Hughes for the admirable way in which she has carried out the duties of the editorship and also those of Secretary to the Society.

The *Journal* is not the only publication of the Society; the Translation Fund brought out last year its seventeenth volume. The "Memoirs of Jahāngir" is now passing through the press, and since the report was drawn up the Council have accepted one work more for the series, the translation of the "*Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*," by Mr. Keith. The Monograph Series is also to be enriched shortly by Mr. Bailey's valuable addition to our knowledge of the Himalayan dialects. The number of volumes for the Indian Text Series is now complete, Government having sanctioned the full number of works chosen by the Society. I should like to congratulate Mr. Irvine on the successful completion of his great work. The work on all these volumes is laborious, involving great research and the expenditure of much time and labour. They are now on their way to completion, and each year we may expect to see one volume at least issued.

I have much pleasure in announcing that this year the Public Schools Gold Medal has been won by Harrow, the recipient being Hugh Kingsmill Lunn. We have asked an old Harrow boy and ex-Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, to present the medal, and he has kindly consented to do so.

We have been able to chronicle an increase in our membership this year, but we have as always to note with regret the loss by death of those who have been our supporters and friends in the past. In the *Journal* will be found an appreciation of the life of Mr. Brandreth, of Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and of others who have passed away during the last year. And I should like to make a reference to a distinguished member of our Society of twenty-six years' standing, I mean the late Duke of Devonshire. As Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, as President of the Board of Education, he took a great interest in everything connected with the development of learning in this country. We are all aware of his merits as a statesman and of the unique position he occupied in public affairs, also of his independence of character, his soundness of judgment, which rendered him a power in the political world. His is a loss which we all sincerely deplore.

During the year the Society has lost three of its distinguished honorary members. Perhaps Professor Kielhorn was best known to most of us here, especially to those who knew him personally in India, where he did valuable service and received well-deserved honours. A German by birth, he came to Oxford as a young man and worked under Professor Monier Williams at his Sanskrit Dictionary. From Oxford he went to India, where for sixteen years he was Professor of Oriental languages at Poona. For the last twenty-five years he has held the post of Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen. His speciality was grammar, particularly in

connection with those most difficult works the "Mahābhāṣya" of Patañjali and the "Paribhāṣendu ṣekhara" of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, both of which were edited by him, the latter also with a translation. But he also contributed very largely to our knowledge of everything connected with the department of Indian Epigraphy. I propose that a very sincere vote of sympathy be sent by this meeting to his widow.

The second loss we have to deplore is that of Baron Victor von Rosen, who died in January last at the age of 59. He was of German descent, and began to busy himself with Arabic studies in 1871. He was widely read in Arabic literature, and among his works are large numbers of descriptions of important collections of Arabic MSS. in Russia and other countries. He took part in the great edition of "Tabari's History," published at Leiden, and edited vol. iii of Series III. The great Catalogue of Oriental MSS. at St. Petersburg was his work.

Professor Barbier de Meynard was the only one of the three distinguished scholars who had reached an advanced age; he was over 80 at the time of his death, his early published works going back to the year 1861. He was chiefly a geographer and historian, and among his publications are extracts from Arabic histories. He edited and translated al-Mas'ūdī's "Meadows of Gold," an important historical work dealing with the Crusades; he also published in the *Journal Asiatique* several Arabic texts of a literary character. Professor Barbier de Meynard held the appointments of Professor of Arabic Literature at the Collège de France, Professor of Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and was a Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

The Council place before you for election in their places respectively the names of Professor Hermann Oldenberg, Professor Salemann, and Professor Maspéro. The Council

always bestow the greatest care on the names proposed for honorary membership of the Society, because they know how much the appointments are appreciated abroad. I am personally aware how highly they are valued by Oriental scholars of distinction; even more than those they receive in their own country.

It is now more than thirty years ago since Professor Hermann Oldenberg won a secure place for himself in the front rank of Indian scholars by his edition of the "Vinaya Pitaka," and by his work on Buddha, in which for the first time was given the true meaning of the concept Nirvana. Since that date he has broken fresh ground, and won distinction in many fields of knowledge; in particular, he has devoted himself to a study of the "Rigveda," and has handled with equal success the question of the history and constitution of its text in his "Prolegomena," its translation in his rendering of the hymns to Agni in the "Sacred Books of the East," and its interpretation in his "Religion des Veda," and numerous contributions to the Journals of learned Societies. He has a peculiar claim to honour at the hands of our Society, in that so much of his best work has been done in English, and that his writings are marked not merely by that solid erudition which we find in all great German scholars, but also by an originality of conception and marked power of literary expression more common perhaps here than in Germany.

Professor Maspéro's name, too, is well known to you all. Professor of Egyptian Philology and Archaeology at the Collège de France and the Sorbonne, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and Director of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities at Cairo, he is also the author of numerous works on Egyptian Antiquities and especially of the dawn of civilisation in Egypt and Chaldaea.

Professor Salemann, on whom the choice of the Council

has fallen to replace Baron Victor von Rosen, is the Director of the Asiatic Museum and of the Foreign Section of the Scientific Institute of the Academy of St. Petersburg. The works he has published since 1871 are too numerous to mention here, but they deal with matters Persian, Zend, and Pehlevi. He also (with von Rosen) catalogued the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic MSS. in the University Library of St. Petersburg. I put to you the names of these three distinguished scholars for election as honorary members of the Society. (The names were unanimously approved.)

I have only to add a few words about a matter of great interest, namely, the Committee on Oriental Languages appointed last year by the late Prime Minister. Next year I hope to be able to allude to it in greater detail, for I trust that the report will be available before then. To-day all I have to say is that the evidence gathered by the Committee have been of extraordinary interest. I personally am surprised by it, and I need not say that if, after the publication of the Report, nothing is done to organise Oriental Studies in London, I do not know what will move the authorities.

The Report was carried unanimously.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

May 26th, 1908.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The Revised Rules were submitted to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

June 16th, 1908.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Mon Chow Dhaninivat.
 Mr. Maung Po Han.
 Mr. Maung Ba Kin (2).
 Qazi Abdul Latif.
 Mr. Priya Krishna Majumdar.
 Mr. Maung Ba O.
 Mr. A. R. Pillai.
 Mr. Shrinant Sadushiva Rao Powar.
 Mrs. Shrimati Parvatibai Powar.
 Mr. J. Sen.

Dr. Gaster gave a paper "On the Newly Discovered Samaritan Book of Joshua."

In the discussion which followed Mr. E. N. Adler spoke.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. lxii, Heft 1.

- Goldziher (I.). Zur Geschichte der hanbalitischen Bewegungen.
 Langdon (S.). Derivation of *šabattu*, and other notes.
 Mahler (E.). Der Sabbat, seine etymologische und chronologisch-historische Bedeutung.
 Ungnad (A.). Die Grundform des hebräischen Artikels.
 Leumann (E.). Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühern Mittelalter.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxii, No. 1.

- Müller (D. H.). Strophenbau und Responsion in Ezechiel und den Psalmen.
 Bartholomae (Chr.). Zu den altpersischen Inschriften von Behistun.
 Musil (A.). Zwei arabische Inschriften aus Arabia Petraea.
 Zachariae (Th.). Handschrift.

III. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome xi, No. 1.

- Gaden (H.). Note sur le dialecte Foul parlé par les Foulbé du Baguirmi.
 Açem (B. Oglou Nedjib). La Versification nationale turque.
 Chabot (J. B.). Discours de Jacques Bar Salibi à l'intronisation du patriarche Michel le Syrien.
 Thureau-Dangin (Fr.). Notes pour servir à la chronologie de la dynastie Kassite.

IV. T'OU'NG PAO. Série II, Vol. ix, No. 1.

- Laufer (B.). Die Bru-za Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava.

V. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. i, Fasc. 3.

- De Goeje (J.). Kitāb al-Imāma Wa-'s Siyāsa.
 Griffini (E.). Intorno alle stazioni lunari nell' astronomia degli Arabi.
 Ballini (A.). Il Vāsupūjyacaritra di Vardhamānasūri.
 Puini (C.). Le Origini della vita (Pratitya samutpāda sūtra—Śāli sambhava sūtra).

VI. JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. xix, No. 59.

- Ferguson (D.). The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY. Vol. iv, Part 2.

- Peck (F.). Note sur le régime légal de la Cochinchine.
 Irwin (A. J.). Some Siamese Ghost Lore and Demonology.

VIII. GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA. Vol. xx.

- Rocca (V.). Lavoratori e schiavi nell' India.
 Sualì (L.). Contributi alla conoscenza della logica e della metafisica indiane.

Zanolli (A.). *Fabellae olympianese.*

——— Singolare accezione del vocabolo armeno 'Tirakan.'

Pavolini (P. C.). *I manoscritti indiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.*

Patrono (C. M.). *Bizantini e Persiani alle fine del vi secolo.*

Ciardi-Dupré (G.). *Intorno ai numerali indogermanici.*

IX. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.
Vol. xxx, Part 3.

Pinches (T. G.). *The Legend of Merodach.*

Legge (F.). *The Titles of the Thinite Kings.*

Jones (Rev. F. A.). *The Ancient Year and the Sothic Cycle.*

Johns (Rev. C. H. W.). *The Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.*

Ayrton (E. R.). *Recent Discoveries in the Bibân el Molâk at Thebes.*

Part 4.

Crum (W. E.). *Place-Names in Deubner's Kosmas und Damian.*

Sayce (A. H.). *Greek Inscriptions from Upper Egypt.*

Thompson (R. C.). *An Assyrian Incantation against Rheumatism.*

Nash (W. L.). *Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.*

Hollingworth (E. W.). *The Hyksos and the Twelfth Dynasty.*

X. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY. Vol. xxix,
First half.

Friedländer (J.). *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.*

Oertel (H.). *Contributions from the Jaininiya Brâhmana to the History of the Brâhmana Literature.*

Haupt (P.). *Xenophon's Account of the Fall of Nineveh.*

——— *The Etymology of Cabinet.*

——— *The Name Istar.*

- Hopkins (E. W.). The Sniff-kiss in Ancient India.
Clay (A. T.). The Origin and Real Name of Nin-ib.
Langdon (S.). An early Babylonian Tablet of Warnings
for the King.
Metheny (J. R.). Road Notes from Cilicia and North
Syria.
Montgomery (J. A.). Report on an Aramaic Boundary
Inscription in Cilicia.
Prince (J. D.). Hymn to Nergal.
Yohannan (A.) & Jackson (A. V. Williams). Some Persian
References to Zoroaster and his Religion.
Gottheil (R.). Mohammed Abdu, late Mufti of Egypt.

XI. JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.
Vol. xxxvii, July-December, 1907.

- Rose (H. A.). Hindu Birth Observances in the Punjab.
————— Muhammadan Birth Observances in the Punjab.
Knocker (F. W.). The Aborigines of Sunjei Ujong.

XII. THE GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL. Vol. xxxi, No. 6.

- Rickmers (W. R.). The Climatology of West Turkestan.
Kizloff (Captain P. K.). Through Eastern Tibet and Kam.
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OBITUARY NOTICES.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN, C.I.E.

IN the person of Professor Franz Kielhorn, who died suddenly at Göttingen on the 19th March, there has passed away a great scholar, whose loss will be felt in every line of Indian research. Born at Osnabrück in Westphalia on the 31st May, 1840, he was educated as a boy in the Gymnasium at Bernburg, Duchy of Anhalt. He subsequently studied under Benfey at Göttingen, under Stenzler at Breslau, and under Weber at Berlin. And he took his Doctor's degree, at the age of twenty-one, at Leipzig. He then proceeded to England, and worked during four years, 1862-65, with Professor Monier-Williams, in helping that scholar to compile his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. He then accepted an appointment under the Government of India, to the Educational Department in the Bombay Presidency; and he remained in that service from February, 1866, to December, 1881. Leaving India on account of indifferent health, he was then appointed by the Prussian Government to the Professorship of Sanskrit at the University of Göttingen. And he retained that post, working with intact intellect and energy on the duties connected with it and on everything else in which he was engaged, up to the time of his death.

During Professor Kielhorn's service in India, his substantive appointment was always that of Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Deccan College, Poona; but he was also in charge of the College as Principal for some eight years; and for about six months he acted as

fact, chiefly devoted to epigraphic work. He edited a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions, from all parts of India, in the *Indian Antiquary*, in the journals of various Societies, and notably in the *Epigraphia Indica*, the official journal of the Government of India: and, in illustration of what his wide knowledge of Indian literature enabled him to do in this line, we may point in particular to his treatments of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. dated in A.D. 634-35 (EI, 6. 1), of the Talgund inscription of Kākusthavarman (EI, 8. 24), and of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman dated in A.D. 150 (ibid., 36). He also applied himself largely to elucidating the subject of the various Hindū eras and other reckonings, chiefly in articles which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* from 1888 (vol. 17) to 1896 (vol. 25); and there is probably not an important date of any inscription, capable of being tested, which was not, in the course of that work, subjected by him to a searching critical examination. In this department, we may further point to his Lists of the Inscriptions of Northern and Southern India, published as Appendixes to vols. 5 and 7 of the *Epigraphia Indica*: these Lists, with their Supplements and the Synchronistic Tables of the Dynasties in vol. 8, must always form the basis of work for anyone applying himself to deal with the history of India from the fourth century A.D. onwards.

We have lost, in Professor Kielhorn, not simply a great scholar who will not easily be replaced, but one who was esteemed and loved by everyone who had the privilege of coming into personal contact with him. He was the beau-ideal of both a scholar and a teacher: in the former capacity, painstaking, complete, and accurate in everything that he took in hand: in the latter capacity, equally thorough, generous, and kindly in communicating his knowledge to everyone who applied to him for assistance.

He has left a large circle of private friends to mourn the loss of him, in Great Britain as well as in his native land. And his labours and attainments did not fail to meet with public as well as private appreciation. The Academies of Berlin, Munich, and Göttingen, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the American Oriental Society, enrolled him amongst their Corresponding and Honorary Members. The Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen conferred on him the Honorary Degree of LL.D., and the University of Oxford that of D.Litt. From his own Sovereign he received the title of Geheimer Regierungsrat. And by Her Majesty Queen Victoria he was invested in 1886 with the distinction of a Companion of the Indian Empire.

J. F. FLEET.

J. FRANCIS HEWITT.

MR. HEWITT, a member of our Society for twenty years, and at one time on the Council, died on the 14th March last at Holton Cottage, Wheatley, in Oxfordshire. He had an attack of influenza, and this being followed by pneumonia, he passed away, after a short illness, and in the 72nd year of his age. Some years before this he had a disastrous accident when cycling which resulted in the loss of a foot. He was the son of a clergyman, the Hon. J. P. Hewitt, and was born in Ireland, but was educated at Westminster and Christ Church. He had lived much in Warwickshire, near Coventry, and I remember his telling me nearly fifty years ago, when there were still doubts about the authorship of the "Scenes of Clerical Life" and of "Adam Bede," that he had recognised the house described in Mr. Gilfil's "Love Story," and had often played cricket with the original of the "Vicar of Shepperton." Mr. Hewitt entered, by

competition, the Indian Civil Service, and when I first knew him was stationed at Krishnagar and was living with the Magistrate, Sir William Herschel. This was the beginning of a lifelong friendship between the two men, both of whom were gifted with great activity of mind and body. In 1863 Hewitt went to Chota Nagpore as Deputy Commissioner, and soon became deeply interested in the wild tribes of that country. That excellent officer, Colonel Dalton, whom Hewitt justly calls the pioneer of aboriginal ethnology in Bengal, had continued in Chota Nagpore the researches which he had made in Assam, and Hewitt became fired by his example. He eventually became Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, and during his long stay in the province he accumulated a store of information about the manners and customs of the Mundas, the Gonds, and other aboriginal tribes. After his retirement he set himself to reduce into writing his observations and speculations on Indian folklore and prehistoric man, and published several volumes on those subjects. "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times" appeared in two volumes in 1894 and 1895; "The History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age" in 1901; and "Primitive Traditional History," in two volumes, in 1907. He also contributed articles on his favourite subject to our Journal and to the *Westminster Review*.

It is quite beyond my power to judge of the value of his researches. Folklore is a subject which has come up since my day, and to one who is a book-man, or *ahl-kitāb*, as the saying is, folklore is about as mysterious as the Röntgen rays or wireless telegraphy. Certainly, some of Hewitt's etymologies seem strange and doubtful. One hardly likes to hear that the many-wiled Ulysses—*adversis rerum immersabilis undis*—was a wandering sun-god, and his Penelope the weaver of the web of Time, or that the silver-footed Thetis was the mud

goddess of the southern cauldron of life. Even Cinderella and Nala and Damayanti are not spared. Nala becomes a god of rain, though in the tale he is recognised as a man by his casting a shadow, and Damayanti typifies the earth's being gradually brought under cultivation. To read such things gives a shock such as one experienced when he had to give up Diana and accept in her stead a waterless and volcanic waste. But this abandonment was required by truth, and it may be that we shall also have to abandon other pleasant tales. They may have to pass away like the legends of King Arthur and William Tell.

But whatever scholars may think of Hewitt's etymologies and theories, no one can refuse admiration for his enthusiasm and for his hard work. He spared neither time nor expense in expounding his views, and as he had the great advantage of not being merely a closet-student, we find here and there in his books interesting observations which could only be made by one who had lived among aboriginal tribes. In these respects he reminds us of James Tod, who, along with much false history and many erroneous dates, has given us a vivid picture of Rajasthan. As instances of Hewitt's observations I may refer to the statement at p. 50 of the "Ruling Races," that in Chuttisgurrh he learned to discriminate about forty kinds of rice, and could distinguish them while growing, and to that at p. 52, where he tells us that neither the Munda nor the Hokal tribe drink milk. Apparently, this is a characteristic of many of the Indian hill-tribes, for I remember being told by Colonel Macculloch, of Manipur, that some of the Nagas regarded milk with abhorrence, as being the excrement of the animal. See also his account of the Akra or village dancing-ground at p. 233 and elsewhere, and his note on musical instruments at p. 205. He speaks of the word Akra in a note to p. 52 as being

a Munda word, but if so it also occurs in Hindustani under the form Akhâra, and is used to mean a wrestling-ground, and also a troop of dancers.

In private life Mr. Hewitt was a man of most amiable character, and he had many friends. Long ago, when he was yet a young man, his kindness to a brother-civilian who died young was commemorated in a memoir of the latter in a little book entitled "Crushed Hopes Crowned in Death." He has left a widow, two sons, and two daughters.

His old friend Sir William Herschel has written me a letter about him, from which I venture to make the following extract:—"No one could talk with Hewitt about his subject without feeling that it was a keenly attractive one in proportion as one studied it, and that he had gone deeper than any other old Indian into the folklore of the tribes with whom he had got into such close contact . . . He was also a dear, good fellow. One of his friends at the funeral dwelt much on the invariable 'charity' of his judgments of other people, and I confirmed it by an episode of his latter days when he had met with that frightful accident. A heavily laden farmer's cart passed over his ankle as he dismounted from his bicycle to avoid it. The driver was deaf, and swerved, without hearing the warning given, and he went on without knowing what he had done till he got home. Neither he nor his employer ever took the smallest step to express sorrow or even knowledge of it, yet Hewitt never expressed the least vexation with them, any more than with the accident."

H. BEVERIDGE.

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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

ˆ (Anusvāra) m	‡ (Aragraha) ‡
˜ (Anandāsika) ñ	Udātta ˆ
ː (Visarga) ḥ	Scarita ˘
˘ (Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ	Anulātta ˘
˙ (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit ;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere <u>ـ</u> or <u>ـِ</u>	ل l	إ ī
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش <u>s</u> or <u>sh</u>	و ū
ث <u>t</u> or <u>th</u>	ص <u>s</u> or <u>z</u>	و w or v
ج j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط <u>t</u>	ي y
خ <u>h</u> or <u>kh</u>	ظ <u>z</u>	ؤ au
د d	ع <u>ʿ</u>	wasla <u>ʿ</u>
ذ <u>d</u> or <u>dh</u>	غ <u>g</u> or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS. hamza <u>ـ</u> or <u>ـِ</u>
ر r	ف f	<u>ـ</u> a
ز z	ق q	<u>ـِ</u> i
		letter not pro- nounced . . . <u>ـِ</u>

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	پ or ت t	پ ts
چ c or <u>ch</u>		چ or د d	چ g
ژ <u>z</u> or <u>zh</u>		ژ or ز r	ن n
گ g	ن n		ش <u>ksh</u>



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

Great Britain and Ireland.



CHARTER AND RULES.

RULES AS REVISED ON

MAY 26, 1908.



RULES.

I. CONSTITUTION.

1. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is formed for the investigation and encouragement of science, literature, and the arts, in relation to Asia; and no dividend, division, or bonus in money shall be made unto or between its Members.

2. The Society is and will be composed of persons who heretofore have been and hereafter shall be elected or admitted as Members of it under the Charter.

II. ELECTION, ADMISSION, AND RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS.

3. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes:—

(1) Resident Members; those who usually reside or have a place of business within fifty miles of Charing Cross;—

(2) Non-resident Members; those who usually reside beyond, and have not a place of business within, the above-stated radius;—

(3) Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members admitted as hereinafter provided:—

(b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted.

5. (a) The nomination shall be laid before the next Ordinary Meeting of Council held not less than seven days after the receipt thereof;—

(b) If the nomination be accepted by the Council, it shall be announced at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society, and a notice giving the particulars furnished by the nominating Member shall be posted in a conspicuous position in the Library of the Society, and shall remain so posted until the election or withdrawal of the candidate.

6. Any objection to a nomination shall be made in writing, duly signed, addressed to the Secretary; such objection may be made up to the time of election, and shall be laid by the Secretary before the Council at the earliest opportunity.

7. The decision of the Council on the claims of a candidate nominated for election as an Ordinary Member, and on any objection made thereto, and as to the class to which he should be admitted, shall be final.

8. The name of any candidate proposed for election as an Ordinary Member and approved by the Council shall be submitted for election at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society following after such approval by the Council and not less than fourteen days after the Meeting of the Society at which the nomination was announced under Rule 5.

9. Foreigners of eminent attainments, rank, or situation, or any persons who have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society, may be admitted by the Council to be Honorary Members: provided that the total number of Honorary Members shall not at any time exceed thirty.

10. Foreign potentates or distinguished officials of Oriental Powers may be admitted by the Council to be Foreign Extraordinary Members.

11. An Honorary Member and a Foreign Extraordinary Member shall be entitled to all the privileges of an Ordinary Member, excepting that he shall not be eligible to be made a Member of the Council or to attend any Special General Meeting, and shall have no voice in the election of the Council or Office-bearers of the Society or in any matter affecting the property or financial concerns of the Society: provided that an Honorary Member who shall have been an Ordinary Member at the time of his selection to be an Honorary Member shall be entitled to the privileges of an Ordinary Member in all respects.

12. The nomination required by Rule 4 shall not be requisite in the case of Honorary Members and Foreign Extraordinary Members.

13. The selection of Honorary Members shall in every case be made by ballot; if there be more nominees than there are vacancies, the selection shall be determined by absolute majority of votes.

14. (a) Every newly elected Ordinary Member shall be promptly informed of his election, and of the category and class in which he has been placed, and he shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of these Rules, and with an Obligation-form in Form A. hereinafter appended, which, when received back duly signed, shall be filed in a special register to be kept for that purpose;—

(b) The admission of such Member shall not be complete unless and until the said Obligation-form, duly signed, shall have been received by the Secretary, and until such Member shall have paid his annual subscription for the current year or compounded for the same as hereinafter provided, unless such payment or composition shall be waived or remitted pursuant to rule.

15. (a) To every newly selected Honorary Member or Foreign Extraordinary Member there shall be promptly sent a letter, signed by the Secretary, with a copy of these Rules, informing him of his selection and asking whether he is pleased to accept it;—

(b) The admission of such Member shall be complete when he shall have accepted his selection; and there shall then be sent to him a diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, the Director (if there be such), and the Secretary.

16. (a) Any Member may resign his membership by sending to the Secretary notice in writing to that effect;—

(b) The resignation of a Member shall not take effect until he shall have discharged any sums or liabilities due by him to the Society pursuant to Rule 99 or otherwise, unless the same shall be waived or remitted by the Council;—

(c) If the resigning Member be a Member paying annual subscription, then, further, unless his notice of resignation shall reach the Secretary before the 1st January of any year, his resignation shall not take effect until he shall have paid the subscription due from him for that year.

III. SUBSCRIPTIONS.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Resident Members	3	3	0
Non-Resident Members	1	10	0

18. (a) The Council shall have power to reduce, remit, or postpone the payment of, the subscription payable by any Ordinary Member whose circumstances render such a course necessary or desirable;—

(b) A register shall be kept of those Members in whose favour any such orders may at any time have been passed; the said register shall be laid before the Council each year at its Ordinary Meeting in October; the Council shall thereupon reconsider each case therein entered, and may cancel or otherwise alter the terms of any previous order; and notice of any new order passed by the Council shall be sent within ten days thereof to the Member concerned.

19. Ordinary Members may compound for their subscriptions at the following rates:—

In lieu of all future annual subscriptions, both as Resident and as Non-resident Members	45 guineas.
In lieu of all future annual subscriptions as Non-resident Members	22½ guineas.

20. If a Resident Member, who has not compounded for his subscriptions, shall become a Non-resident Member, he shall, from the expiry of the year then current, and for as long as he continues to be non-resident, pay the annual subscription of thirty shillings, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Non-resident Member.

21. (a) If a Non-resident Member, becoming a Resident Member, has not made any payment of composition in lieu of subscription, then, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Resident Member, he shall, for as long as he continues to be a Resident Member, pay the annual subscription of three guineas, from the beginning of the year then current if he has not already paid his non-resident subscription for that year,

or from the beginning of the next year if he has already paid such subscription for the year then current;—

(b) Should such a Member have compounded for his subscriptions as a Non-resident Member, then, from the beginning of the next year and for as long as he continues to be a Resident Member, he shall pay an annual subscription of thirty-three shillings as the difference between three guineas and the amount of annual subscription for which he had compounded, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Resident Member by making payment of such additional sum as shall, with the amount of composition already paid by him, make up the amount of forty-five guineas.

22. All payments made in composition shall be credited to capital, subject in each case to the deduction of an amount equivalent to one year's subscription, which shall be treated as revenue.

23. The first payment of subscription is due on election; but, if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year; and, if any Member fail to pay the annual subscription due by him before the end of that month, the Secretary shall apply to the said Member for payment.

25. (a) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid on the 31st March, all his privileges of membership shall be in abeyance until he shall have paid the amount due from him, and the Secretary shall promptly address him by letter informing him to that effect;—

(b) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid on the date of the Anniversary General Meeting, the Secretary shall address the Member by letter, and shall demand payment, and shall inform him that, if his subscription remain unpaid after the lapse of two months from the date of the said letter, his name will be posted as that of a defaulter;—

(c) If the subscription so demanded be not paid within the time aforesaid, the name of the Member so addressed shall, subject to the orders of the Council, be posted in the Society's Library as that of a defaulter;—

(d) Should the subscription remain unpaid on the 31st December following, the case shall then be laid before the Council.

and, unless the Council shall otherwise decide, the defaulter shall cease to be a Member of the Society, and shall be so informed.

IV. THE COUNCIL.

A.—Constitution and Election of the Council.

26. At each Anniversary General Meeting the Society shall, subject to the following Rules, elect a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the Society for the period commencing with the day immediately after such Meeting and ending with the day of the next such Meeting; the term year in the ensuing Rules 27 to 34 inclusive and 46 signifies the aforesaid period.

27. The Council shall be elected from among the Ordinary Members of the Society and Honorary Members qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11, and shall usually consist of a President, a Director, four Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Librarian, and sixteen Ordinary Members: provided that—

(a) the office of Director may be left unfilled, and there may then be elected one more Vice-President, but so that the number of Vice-Presidents shall not exceed five;—

(b) the office of one Vice-President may, if a Director is elected, be left unfilled;—

(c) the office of Honorary Librarian may be combined with the office of Honorary Secretary;—

(d) the number of the Council may be increased or diminished, but so that there shall not be more than twenty-four or less than five other Members besides the President;—

(e) no one shall be appointed to be a Vice-President who has not already had not less than one year's service on the Council.

28. If any vacancy on the Council or in any office on the Council shall occur in the course of any year, the Council may appoint one of its number or any other eligible Member of the Society to perform the duties of such office or otherwise act in such vacancy for the remainder of such year.

29. The President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years from the date of his election, and shall be elected under Rule 26 only on any occasion when

a vacancy occurs; a retiring President or Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election either to the same office or to any other position on the Council.

30. The senior Vice-President in order of longest continuous service as such, and having had not less than four years service as Vice-President, shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election as Vice-President until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election, but shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity; if there shall be two or more Vice-Presidents with equal periods of longest continuous service, it shall be decided by mutual consent or by drawing lots which of them shall retire.

31. The Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian shall be eligible for re-election to these offices respectively from year to year; if not so re-elected, a retiring Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity.

32. An Ordinary Member of Council who shall have had four years continuous service on the Council shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election to the Council, unless elected President or Director or Vice-President, until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election.

33. The period of continuous service of a Vice-President and of an Ordinary Member of Council shall be reckoned from the date of his first election to the Council as Vice-President or as Ordinary Member, respectively, whether under the present Rules or under any Rules hitherto in force: provided that, if any Vice-President or Ordinary Member shall have retired and been re-elected after an interval of not less than a year, the period of continuous service shall be reckoned from the date of such re-election.

34. At the Ordinary Meeting of Council held in March, there shall be prepared a list, which—

(a) shall show the names of all persons then being Members of the Council, and the particular position on the Council held by each of them;—

(b) shall indicate those Members of the Council who are not eligible for re-election at the next Anniversary General

Meeting, and shall make clear the reason for each of the entries so made;—

(c) shall show any impending vacancies on the Council created by resignation or any other cause;—

(d) shall present the recommendations of the Council for constituting the number and personnel of the Council, and for filling the offices on it, for the ensuing year.

35. Not later than ten days after the Ordinary Meeting of Council held in March, a copy of the said list prepared under Rule 34 shall be sent to every Ordinary Member of the Society and to every Honorary Member qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11, having an address in Great Britain or Ireland, together with a notice that every such Member is entitled, subject to the provisions of Rules 29 to 32, to nominate any Ordinary Member of the Society or any Honorary Member eligible under Rule 11, other than himself, for election to any position on the Council, by a written communication, signed by himself and by a seconder who is a duly qualified Member of the Society, and accompanied by a written statement, signed by the nominee, expressing willingness to act if elected, which must reach the Secretary not later than the 4th April.

36. The list prepared under Rule 34, and any nominations received under Rule 35, shall be laid before the Council at its Ordinary Meeting in April, and the Council may then modify any of the previous recommendations made by it under Rule 34; and a revised list, showing the final recommendations of the Council and showing separately, as contingent amendments, any valid nominations received under Rule 35 which are not incorporated in the proposals made by the Council, shall be prepared for submission to the Anniversary General Meeting.

37. A copy of the revised list prepared under the preceding Rule shall be sent with each notice of the Anniversary General Meeting.

38. (a) At the Anniversary General Meeting, the list of recommendations made by the Council shall first be put to the Meeting as a whole, and, if it is carried, the contingent amendments, if any, shall not be put;—

(b) If such list shall not be so carried, it shall be in the discretion of the Chairman to put the recommendations of the Council and any of the said amendments in several parts and in

such order as to him shall seem appropriate; and, if no candidate or candidates shall have been nominated under Rules 35 and 36 in excess of the number required for the particular office or offices to be filled, the candidate or candidates nominated to such office or offices shall be deemed elected: otherwise, the election to such office or offices shall be determined by ballot, each Member present at the Meeting to be entitled to one vote in respect of each office to be filled.

B.—Meetings of the Council.

39. An Ordinary Meeting of Council shall be held once in each month from October to June, both months included.

40. The President, or the Director, or in the absence of both of them a Vice-President who is a Member of the Council, or in the absence of all of the preceding any three Members of Council acting concurrently, may summon a Special Meeting of Council, by a circular notice which the Secretary shall prepare and send out on being required to do so.

41. At all Meetings of Council, any five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum, and the chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by the senior Vice-President present, or, failing these, by the senior other Member present; seniority being determined by the order of names in the official list of the Society, which shall be drawn up annually and kept by the Secretary.

42. Excepting in cases which are prescribed by these Rules to be determined by ballot, the decision of the Council on any matter shall be determined by vote by show of hands, unless in any particular case a ballot be demanded; and in any case of equality of votes the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

V. OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

A.—Honorary Officers.

43. *The President.*—The President shall have the general supervision of the affairs of the Society; he will preside at Meetings of the Society and of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force.

44. *The Director.*—The Director shall have all the powers of the President, to be exercised in subordination to him, or independently in any case of emergency.

45. *Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council.*—The Vice-President who is a Member of the Council, with whom the Secretary can most expeditiously communicate, shall have power to act for the President or the Director in all cases of emergency.

46. *Honorary Vice-Presidents.*—(a) The Members assembled in Anniversary or other Special General Meeting may elect any Member who has for three years held the office of President, Director, Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian, or who has as an ordinary Member of the Council for not less than three years rendered special service to the Society or to the cause of Oriental research, to be an Honorary Vice-President; and anyone so elected shall continue to be an Honorary Vice-President as long as he continues to be a Member of the Society and is not re-elected to be a Member of the Council;—

(b) An Honorary Vice-President shall not as such be a Member of the Council; but he may be re-elected a Member of Council, and he shall, if so re-elected, cease to be an Honorary Vice-President.

47. *Honorary Secretary.*—(a) The Honorary Secretary shall be responsible for seeing that the minutes of proceedings of Meetings of Council and of the Society are duly recorded in the Minute-book, and shall be the general adviser of the Secretary in respect of secretarial work and the editing of the Society's Journal; and, in the absence of the President, the Director, and the Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council, he shall, subject to the control of the Council, direct the executive details of the Society's business;—

(b) If at any time the Honorary Secretary holds also the office of Honorary Librarian, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 49 (a).

48. *Honorary Treasurer.*—The Honorary Treasurer shall supervise the collection of all money due to the Society, and shall see that every sum is duly paid to the Society's Bankers and entered in the Society's Passbook; he shall see that no bill exceeding the sum of five pounds shall be paid without the previous order of the Council, except in the circumstances defined in Rule 52; all cheques issued by the Society must be signed by him, or for

him in his absence by a Member of Council acting by direction of the Council; he shall supervise the keeping of the Society's accounts in the manner directed by the Council, and shall submit them to such Auditors as may from time to time be appointed; and he shall prepare, for presentation at the Anniversary General Meeting, a report which shall show the general financial position of the Society for the preceding year, with the receipts and disbursements and the balances in hand, and which shall previously have been audited by the said Auditors.

49. *Honorary Librarian*.—(a) The Honorary Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, pictures, memorials, and other objects of learning, curiosity, or interest, of which the Society is or may become possessed; keeping any of the same, when such an arrangement is practicable, in apartments, specially appropriated, in which such objects can be safely deposited and preserved;—

(b) If at any time the Honorary Librarian holds also the office of Honorary Secretary, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 47 (a).

50. *Honorary Auditors*.—There shall be two Honorary Auditors, elected annually under the provisions of Rule 81.

51. *Honorary Solicitor*.—The Council may elect an Honorary Solicitor.

B.—Salaried Officers.

52. *Secretary*.—The duties and functions of the Secretary, who shall also be the Librarian, shall be as follows: he shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, and of Committees when required to do so, and record their proceedings; he shall conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council; he shall, subject to the direction and control of the Council, superintend the persons employed by the Society; he shall superintend, under the direction and control of the Council, the expenditure of the Society; he shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the sum of five pounds shall, except in cases of urgency, be previously submitted to the Council, and shall, if passed, be paid by an order of the Council entered on the minutes; he shall countersign all cheques issued by the Society; and he shall have the charge, under the direction and control of the Council, of editing the Journal of the Society, and of superintending the printing and publishing of it.

53. *Assistant Secretary.*—The Assistant Secretary shall act under the orders of the Secretary; and, if at any time the latter shall be prevented by illness or other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act for him.

54. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary shall be elected by, and shall hold office during the pleasure of, the Council.

55. In the case of a prolonged absence of the Secretary or of the Assistant Secretary, the Council shall make such special arrangements for the discharge of the duties of the absent officer, and for the remuneration of the officiator or substitute, as may seem adequate and expedient.

56. *Auditor.*—There shall be elected annually a paid Auditor, to act in conjunction with the Honorary Auditors, under Rule 81.

VI. MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

57. The Meetings of the Society shall be termed General Meetings, and shall be convened by the President; they shall be either (a) Ordinary General Meetings, (b) Special General Meetings, (c) Anniversary General Meetings, or (d) such Public General Meetings as may be summoned for any purpose connected with the Society not being such as may according to these Rules be only considered by a Special General Meeting.

58. At all Meetings of the Society except the Anniversary and other Special General Meetings, each Member shall have the privilege of introducing one or more visitors, either personally or by card, subject to any special regulations which may be made by the Council as to the admission of visitors to any Meeting; the name of any visitor or visitors shall be notified to the Chairman of the Meeting.

59. At all Meetings other than Special General Meetings, ten Members shall form a quorum; at Special General Meetings, twenty-one members shall form a quorum.

60. The chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by a Vice-President, or, failing the latter, by some other Member of the Council.

61. Notice of every Meeting shall be sent to every Member of the Society entitled to attend that Meeting; and, in the

case of a Special General Meeting, not less than fourteen clear days' notice shall be given.

62. No proposal to alter, add to, or amend the Rules of the Society, or relating to the property or financial concerns of the Society or affecting its management or constitution save in the ordinary conduct of its affairs, shall be dealt with except at a Special General Meeting.

63. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority of the Members present and having a right to vote; and in any case of equality of numbers the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

64. The minutes of proceedings of each General Meeting shall be read at the next General Meeting, and, if accepted as correct, shall be signed by the Chairman of that Meeting.

A.—Ordinary General Meetings.

65. Except in May, an Ordinary General Meeting shall usually be held in each month from November to June, both months included, on the second Tuesday of the month; when that day is found inconvenient, the Meeting may be convened for such other day as shall be determined by the Council.

66. The course of business shall be as follows :—

(a) The minutes of the last preceding General Meeting shall be read, and, if accepted as correct, shall be signed by the Chairman ;—

(b) There shall be announced (1) the name of any candidate for ordinary membership accepted by the Council under Rule 5; (2) the name of any person newly admitted to be an Honorary Member or a Foreign Extraordinary Member under Rules 9 and 10; (3) any provisional appointment to the Council under Rule 28 ;—

(c) Any recommendations of the Council under Rule 8 for the election of new Ordinary Members shall be disposed of ;—

(d) Donations or presentations made to the Society shall be announced and (if practicable) laid before the Meeting ;—

(e) Papers and other communications shall be read, and discussion may follow ;—

(f) Except by the special permission of the Chairman, no resolution other than a formal motion arising on the matters here mentioned shall be proposed.

B.—Special General Meetings.

67. The President or the Council may at any time convene a Special General Meeting, to consider any matter which such a Meeting is authorized to deal with; and such a Meeting shall at any time be convened by the Council on a written requisition signed by ten Members of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made or subject to be discussed.

68. The notice of a Special General Meeting shall contain a clear statement of the circumstances in which it is summoned, and of the proposals to be made or the matter to be discussed.

69. Proceedings shall be commenced by reading the notice convening the Meeting: the matter, proposal, or subject mentioned in the notice shall then be discussed and dealt with; and no topic apart from, or not arising out of, such matter, proposal, or subject, shall be introduced, discussed, or dealt with.

70. If not less than one-third of the Members present and voting shall vote against any resolution, whether original or by amendment, other than one relating to matters under Rules 38 and 46, proposed at a Special General Meeting, such resolution shall, on the requisition of five or more Members forthwith made in writing to the Chairman, be referred for consideration and final disposal to a second Special General Meeting which shall be held not less than fourteen clear days and not more than thirty days after the date of the said Meeting.

C.—Anniversary General Meetings.

71. On such day in May as may be fixed from time to time there shall be held an Anniversary General Meeting, which shall be considered to be a Special General Meeting; but Rule 69 shall not apply thereto, and Rule 70 shall apply thereto only in the case of any matters under Rule 62 other than the annual election of the Council or in the case of any matter under Rule 107.

72. The following shall be the business:—

(a) The minutes of proceedings of the preceding Anniversary General Meeting shall be read:—

(b) The Report of the Council and Auditors shall be read, and the acceptance of that Report shall be moved and seconded, and any recommendations made in it shall be considered and dealt with;—

(c) The President shall, if he wish, deliver an Annual Address, or he may deliver the same at a Public General Meeting;—

(d) The Meeting shall then make appointments to the Council, in the manner laid down in Part IV. of these Rules;—

(e) The Meeting shall then elect the Auditors for the ensuing year;—

(f) The Meeting shall then dispose of any other business of which due notice shall have been given, or which shall be admitted by the Chairman as a matter of urgency.

D.—Public General Meetings.

73. Public General Meetings of the Society may be held at such times and for such purposes as the Council may appoint, subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained.

VII. COMMITTEES.

74. The Council shall, as it may deem advisable, appoint Members of the Society to form Standing Committees to advise in connexion with Finance, the Library, and any other branches or departments of the Society's operations, and may, at its discretion, at any time alter or vary the numbers and the personnel of the Committees so appointed.

75. The Council may at any time appoint Members of the Society to be a Special Committee for the consideration of any matter or matters specifically stated in an order of reference, and the Special Committee so appointed shall report to the Council.

76. Standing Committees shall be convened by the Secretary, at the request of any Member thereof; in appointing a Special Committee, the Council shall name a Member of such Committee as the convener thereof.

77. The President, the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary

Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian shall *ex officio* be Members of all Committees.

78. Three Members of a Committee, whether Standing or Special, shall form a quorum.

79. The Members of any Committee, whether Standing or Special, may be authorized by the Council to consult any person being or not being a Member of the Society.

VIII. AUDIT.

80. The Council shall cause proper accounts to be kept of the income and expenditure of the Society; and the accounts for the year ending on the 31st December shall be delivered before the end of February following to Auditors, to be examined, audited, and signed by them.

81. (a) There shall be three Auditors, of whom one shall be a Member of Council other than the Honorary Treasurer, a second shall be an Ordinary Member of the Society not a Member of Council, and the third shall be a Public Accountant not a Member of the Society; and all of them shall be elected annually at the Anniversary General Meeting;—

(b) The outgoing Auditors shall be deemed to continue in office till the day after the Anniversary General Meeting, or, if from any cause their successors shall not be elected at such Meeting, then till the election of their successors;—

(c) An outgoing Auditor shall be eligible for re-election.

82. The accounts signed by the Auditors shall be printed and published in the Society's Journal.

IX. PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

83. The proceedings or transactions of the Society, and papers, illustrations, notices of books, and any other notes, communicated to it and approved for publication, shall be published quarterly under the title of "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland"; and the said Journal shall be edited by the Secretary in accordance with Rule 62.

84. The Council shall decide what papers shall be accepted for publication in the Journal, and may determine at what date they shall appear.

85. Every communication published in the Journal of the Society becomes so far the property of the Society that the author may not, save with the permission of the Council duly recorded, republish it until an interval of six months shall have elapsed after its publication by the Society.

86. Copies not exceeding twenty-five in number of any serially numbered article published in the Journal shall be presented gratis to the author of the article; and, if the author, at the time of forwarding to the Secretary his manuscript, or his last corrected proof if proof be sent to him, apply to the Secretary for an additional number of copies not exceeding twenty-five, the additional number applied for may be supplied to the author at cost price.

87. The Council is authorized to present copies of the Journal to learned Societies and distinguished persons; and it shall announce at Ordinary, Anniversary, and Public General Meetings presentations made under this Rule.

88. Every Member is entitled, as soon as he has signed and sent in his Obligation and has made his first payment of annual subscription or his payment of composition in lieu of subscription, to receive the parts or volumes of the Journal published subsequently to his election, and also any parts or volumes, previously published, of the year covered by such payment; and, if they be available, he may, by permission of the Council and at prices to be fixed by the Council, obtain any parts or volumes of the Journal issued prior to the year covered by such payment.

89. The parts of the Journal shall be forwarded post-free, as they are from time to time issued, to each Member at that address which he has given in his Obligation, or which appears opposite his name in the list of Members last published in the Society's Journal; and every Member shall be bound to notify to the Secretary from year to year, in time for the annual revision of that list, any correction or alteration which he wishes to have made in his address: otherwise, he shall have no remedy against the Society for recovery of any part or volume of the Journal which, having been despatched to his then standing address, miscarries.

90. Except by a special order of the Council, the Journal or any

part thereof shall not be supplied to any Member whose annual subscription is in arrears.

91. Any Member who has not received a copy of the Journal to which he is entitled can obtain the same gratis; provided that he apply for it within six months of the first day of the quarter for which it has been issued, and that, if the address to which it was forwarded is not his correct address, he had taken steps as required by Rule 89 to have his correct address entered in the published list of Members.

92. Any person not being a Member of the Society may become an annual subscriber to the Journal at the rate of thirty shillings a year, and shall be supplied with it if he pay that amount in advance before the 15th January.

X. THE LIBRARY.

93. Save on Sundays and Bank-holidays, the Library shall be open daily from the 1st October to the 30th June for the use of Members of the Society between the hours of eleven and five, except on Saturdays, when it shall close at one; but the Council shall have power to close the Library on special occasions for cleaning, repairs, or any other purposes.

94. Any Resident Member who pays full annual subscription as such or has paid composition in lieu thereof, and any other Member technically non-resident who shall elect to pay or compound for full annual subscription as a Resident Member, and any Honorary Member qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11 and residing within the limits which determine resident membership, shall be entitled to borrow books from the Library, excepting such books as may be reserved by the Council for use in the Library itself; and no one else shall be permitted to borrow any book or books from the Library, except under a special order of the Council.

95. For every book so borrowed a receipt shall be signed by the Member borrowing it, on a printed form provided for that purpose.

96. A Member entitled to borrow books from the Library shall not have more than seven volumes on loan at any one time.

97. No book borrowed shall be retained for a longer period than one month, if the same be applied for by any other Member; and in no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months.

98. The Council may grant, by special vote, on such terms as it thinks fit, the loan of MSS., or of books reserved for use in the Library, and may authorize the Secretary, as Librarian, to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 96 and 97.

99. If anyone shall cause loss of or damage to any volume or other property of the Society, he shall make good the same; and, if any Member shall fail to return any volume or other property of the Society within four months after application shall have been made to him for the return thereof, the said volume or other property shall be considered lost, and the Society shall be entitled to proceed for the recovery of its value.

XI. THE CHARTER, DEEDS, AND COMMON SEAL.

100. The Charter and Deeds of the Society shall be kept in the custody of the Society's Bankers.

101. (a) The Common Seal of the Society shall be an elephant surmounted by a howdah and ridden by a mahout wielding an elephant-goat, with the inscription "Soc. Reg. As. Brit." below the elephant;—

(b) The Common Seal shall be kept in a box or safe having two locks not capable of being opened by the same key or keys; and of one lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Honorary Secretary, and of the other lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Secretary;—

(c) The Common Seal shall be affixed to any deed or other writing only at a Meeting of the Council and by the authority of the Council; and such deed or writing (except in the case of a diploma under Rule 15) shall then be signed by the President or other person presiding at the Meeting and by the Secretary, the particulars of the same being entered in the Minute-book.

XII. BRANCH AND ASSOCIATE SOCIETIES.

102. Societies established in Asia, for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by a vote of a Special General Meeting to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

103. Societies established in parts of the world other than Asia, for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by vote of a Special General Meeting to be Associate Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

104. The following Societies have been admitted as Branch or Associate Societies up to the present time:—

The Asiatic Society of Japan.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
(Shanghai).

The Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Pekin Oriental Society.

The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

105. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-resident Members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than Special General Meetings; and, in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

106. In all cases prescribed, reserved, or agreed to be determined by ballot, when a ballot results in an equality of votes and it is necessary to make an elimination of persons in

respect of whom such equality exists, there shall be a second ballot confined to the names of those persons, and, if the votes shall again be equal, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

107. (a) If sufficient cause shall be shown and established, in the form of wilful and persistent disregard of the agreement made by signing the Obligation or otherwise implied to observe and comply with these Rules, or in any other form, the name of any person, against whom such cause shall be established, may be removed from the list of Members of the Society by the decision of a Special General Meeting at which the votes shall be taken by ballot; and such person shall thereupon cease, subject to the provisions of Rule 70, to be a Member of the Society if the resolution be to that effect;—

(b) The inquiry into any such matter shall be initiated by the Council, either of its own accord, or on a requisition signed by not less than three Members of the Society and sent or delivered to the Secretary;—

(c) Before proceeding with the inquiry the Council shall cause the Secretary to inform the person concerned of the charge made against him, and shall require him to reply to the same within such time as they may appoint; and due notice of any Meeting at which such charge shall be considered either by the Council or the Special General Meeting shall be given to such person;—

(d) Any such matter shall be thoroughly sifted by the Council before it may be laid before a Special General Meeting; and the decision of the Council as to whether it shall or shall not be laid before a Special General Meeting shall be taken by ballot;—

(e) Any person concerned in any such matter shall be entitled to be present with a friend, or to depute a friend to be present, and to state and argue his case, or to have it stated and argued by such friend, both before the Council and before the Special General Meeting.

108. Any notices required to be sent to any Member pursuant to any of these Rules, other than notice of the election or admission of such Member, shall be deemed duly given if sent by post by the Secretary to the last known address in Great Britain or Ireland of such Member; and notices shall not require to be sent to any Member not having an address within the United Kingdom.

109. Words denoting the masculine in these Rules shall include the feminine.

110. The foregoing Rules shall come into operation at once, and shall supersede all previously existing Rules or Regulations, but not so as to prejudice during the current year, or for such longer time as may be applicable in any particular case, any special rights or privileges acquired in virtue of any payment already made to and accepted by the Society.

FORM A (SEE RULE 14).

OBLIGATION OF MEMBER.

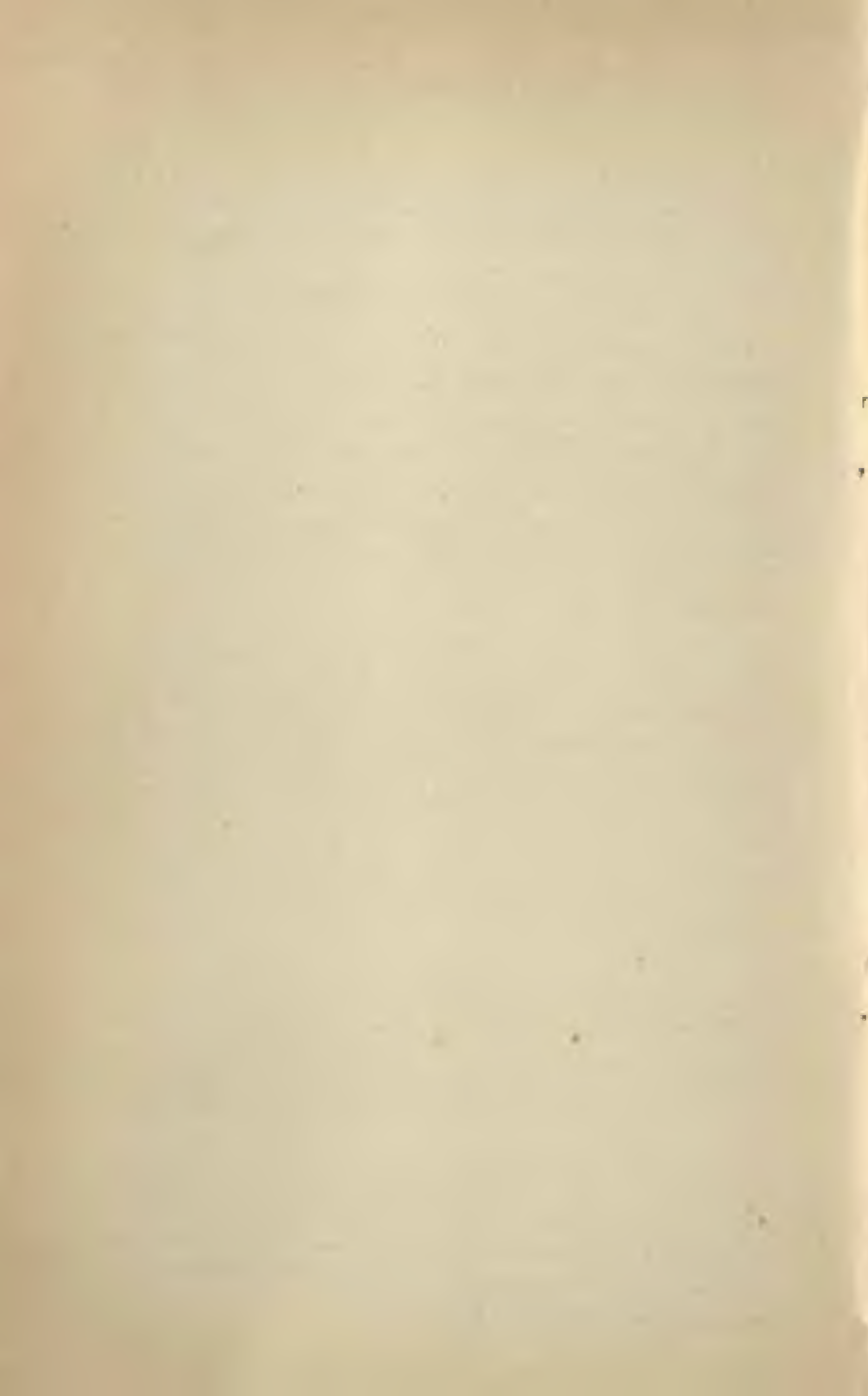
I have received a copy of the Rules of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, with a notice that I have been elected as an Ordinary Member of the said Society; and I hereby agree to observe and comply with the said Rules, and any modified, altered, or amended form of them, which may be hereafter adopted by the Society: and I will promote the interests and welfare of the Society.

Signed _____

Dated _____

Address _____

[N.B.—The Member shall here fill in the address to which the Publications of the Society are to be sent for him. Attention is invited to Rules 89, 90, and 108.]



CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

DATED 11 AUGUST, 1824.

George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting

Whereas our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and others of our loving subjects have under our Royal Patronage formed themselves into a Society for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of science literature and the arts in relation to Asia called "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" and we have been besought to grant to them and to those who shall hereafter become Members of the same Society our Royal Charter of Incorporation for the purposes aforesaid

Now know ye that we being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary **Have** of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion willed granted and declared And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors will grant and declare that our said Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and such others of our loving subjects as have formed themselves into and are now Members of the said Society and all such other persons as shall hereafter become Members of the said Society according to such regulations or byelaws as shall be hereafter formed or enacted shall by virtue of these presents be the Members of and form one body

politic and corporate by the name of "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" by which name they shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with full power and authority to alter vary break and renew the same at their discretion and by the same name to sue and be sued implead and be impleaded and answer and be answered unto in every Court of us our heirs and successors and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase receive possess and enjoy to them and their successors any goods and chattels whatsoever and also be able and capable in the law (notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain) to take purchase possess hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall or College and any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments whatsoever the yearly value of which including the site of the said Hall or College shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds computing the same respectively at the rack rent which might have been had or gotten for the same respectively at the time of the purchase or acquisition thereof and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate for the purposes aforesaid as fully and effectually to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever as any other of our liege subjects or any other body politic or corporate in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland not being under any disability might do in their respective concerns **And** we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent) to grant sell alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the said Society and their successors any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments not exceeding such value as aforesaid **And** our will and pleasure is that our first Commissioner for the time being for the affairs of India shall be a Vice Patron of the said body politic and corporate **And** we further will grant and declare that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate to be held from time to time as hereinafter is mentioned and that there shall always be a council to direct and manage the concerns of the said body politic and corporate and that the general meetings and the council shall have the entire direction and management of the same in the manner

and subject to the regulations hereinafter mentioned. But our will and pleasure is that at all general meetings and meetings of the council the majority of the members present and having a right to vote thereat respectively shall decide upon the matters propounded at such meetings the person presiding therein having in case of an equality of numbers a second or casting vote **And** we do hereby also will grant and declare That the council shall consist of a President and not more than twenty-four nor less than five other members to be elected out of the members of the said body politic and corporate and that the first members of the council exclusive of the President shall be elected within six calendar months after the date of this our Charter **And** that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate **And** we do hereby further will grant and declare that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate hereby established to hold general meetings once in the year or oftener for the purposes hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the council That the general meetings shall make and establish such byelaws as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate for the election and admission of members for the management of the estates goods and business of the said body politic and corporate and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and other members of the council as also of electing and appointing such officers attendants and servants as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the said body politic and corporate and such byelaws from time to time shall or may alter vary or revoke and shall or may make such new and other byelaws as they shall think most useful and expedient so that the same be not repugnant to these presents or to the laws or statutes of this our Realm and shall or may also enter into any resolution and make any regulation respecting any of the affairs and concerns of the said body politic and corporate that shall be thought necessary and proper **And** we further will grant and declare that the council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the said body politic and corporate and also the entire management and superintendence of all the other affairs and

concerns thereof and shall or may but not inconsistently with or contrary to the provisions of this our Charter or any existing byelaw or the laws or statutes of this our Realm do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects and views of the said body politic and corporate **And** we further will grant and declare that the whole property of the said body politic and corporate shall be vested **And** we do hereby vest the same solely and absolutely in the Members thereof and that they shall have full power and authority to sell alienate charge or otherwise dispose of the same as they shall think proper but that no sale mortgage incumbrance or other disposition of any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments belonging to the said body politic and corporate shall be made except with the approbation and concurrence of a general meeting **And we lastly** declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that no resolution or byelaw shall on any account or pretence whatsoever be made by the said body politic and corporate in opposition to the general scope true intent and meaning of this our Charter or the laws or statutes of our Realm and that if any such rule or byelaw shall be made the same shall be absolutely null and void to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever **In witness** whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent **Witness** ourself at our palace at Westminster this eleventh day of August in the fifth year of our reign

By Writ of Privy Seal

SCOTT

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

XXI.

THE SITE OF SRAVASTI.

By J. PH. VOGEL.

AT the conclusion of a paper¹ dealing with the possible identity of the site of Kasiā with Vethadipa, I expressed the hope that a continuation of my explorations on that site would lead to a final solution of the topographical problem. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, this hope has not been fulfilled. Last winter's excavations, however, have had the result of settling another question no less important for the ancient geography of India—that of the position of Śrāvastī.

It will be remembered that Cunningham² located this ancient city at Sahēt-Mahēt, an extensive site on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts of the United Provinces, and on the right bank of an ancient bed of the Rāpti. Sahēt-Mahēt consists of two distinct sites. The larger one, known as Mahēt and covering an area of more than 400 acres, he identified with the city proper; Sahēt, the smaller site, which covers 32 acres and is situated at

¹ J.R.A.S., 1907, pp. 1049-53.

² A.S.R., vol. i, pp. 330-48, and xi, pp. 78-100.

a distance of a quarter of a mile south-west of Mahēt, he concluded to represent the famous Jetavana. This double identification, based on topographical evidence, was confirmed by the discovery of a colossal Bodhisattva image in a shrine at Sahēt. An inscription on its base records that this Bodhisattva, together with a parasol and post (*chāttram dandaś ca*), was set up by Friar Bala "at Śrāvastī in the Kosambakuṭī at the Lord's walking-place" (*Bhagavato caṃkame*).¹

Notwithstanding the evidence afforded by this inscription, Mr. V. A. Smith undertook, in two papers published in this *Journal*,² to disprove the accepted identification, and claimed to have discovered the true site of Śrāvastī near the village of Bālāpur in Nepal, not far from the place where the Rāptī issues from the hills. His conclusions were based on a careful study of the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims, who apparently reached Kapilavastu from Śrāvastī by travelling in a south-easterly direction, whereas the supposed site of the former place in the Nepal Tarai lies almost due east from Sahēt-Mahēt. The colossal Bodhisattva, Mr. Smith assumed, had been brought down the river from the true Śrāvastī to the spot where Cunningham found it. This assumption received some support from the fact that the Bodhisattva, which once must have stood in the open, sheltered by a stone parasol, had come to light in a small shrine of an evidently late date.

In the course of last winter's explorations, it was present in my mind that a discovery of the stone parasol, under which the image was once placed, would go far to settle the question in favour of Cunningham. Nothing, however, was found at Sahēt in the way of sculptures but a few

¹ Bloch, J.A.S.B., vol. lxvii (1898), pt. i, pp. 274-90, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 179-82.

² J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 520-31, and 1900, pp. 1-24.

Buddha and Bodhisattva statuettes, partly inscribed with the Buddhist creed. These finds at any rate proved that the site of Sahēt was an important place of pilgrimage even in the expiring days of Indian Buddhism. It is significant that some of these images are made of the blue schist of Gayā, and others of the red sandstone of Mathurā.

When, on my return from Sahēt-Mahēt, I inspected the Lucknow Museum, Babu R. D. Banerji drew my attention to an inscribed fragment of red sandstone, which was standing in a corner of the epigraphical section. Most of the inscription was completely obliterated, but at the beginning of the last line but one the word *Śāvas[t]iye* was plainly legible. On examining it more closely, we came to the conclusion that this stone can be nothing but a fragment of the sought-for parasol post. The inscription, as far as traceable, was found to be identical with that on the Bodhisattva statue. It was certainly somewhat disconcerting to find the main object of one's excavation already in a museum. The point now to decide was who set it there? The state of the museum records renders it difficult to answer this question with certainty. Here I wish only to mention that, in all probability, the inscribed fragment was found in the course of excavations carried on at Sahēt-Mahēt by Dr. Hoey in 1884-5, though, strange to say, it is not referred to in that gentleman's report.¹ It is hoped that Dr. Bloch will ere long publish a detailed account of this inscription.

Fortunately, we are no longer dependent on the uncertain testimony of this inscription. Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, who was my partner in last winter's excavation and continued the work for a fortnight after my departure, had the good luck of discovering a copperplate inscription which once for all settles the topographical question. It

¹ J.A.S.B., vol. lxi (1892), pt. 1, Extra No.

was found in a cell of the large monastery which occupied the south-west corner of the mound and had been partially excavated by Dr. Hoey. The plate measures 18 by 14 inches, and is very well preserved owing to its having been protected by an earthenware case. It records the grant of six villages to "the Community of Buddhist friars, of which Buddhahattāraka is the chief and foremost, residing in the great Convent of Holy Jetavana." The donor is Govindacandra of Kanauj, who dates it from Benares in the year 1186, Āshāḍha full-moon, Monday.¹ The document shows not only that Sahēt has been rightly identified with the Jetavana, but also that as late as the twelfth century there existed here an important Buddhist establishment which enjoyed the royal favour of the king of Kanauj. As Pandit Daya Ram will shortly edit the Sahēt copper-plate grant in the *Epigraphia Indica*, it is unnecessary to go here into further detail.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that our explorations have thus vindicated one of Cunningham's brilliant identifications, which lately had been thrown into doubt. Too much has it become the fashion to lay stress on the inaccuracies of which that pioneer of Indian archæology has been guilty, without considering the redeeming factor of his truly wonderful insight into questions of ancient geography. The identification of Śrāvastī and the Jetavana is a matter, not only of academical interest, but of vital importance to the millions of Buddhists who regard the favourite abode of their Lord as one of the most hallowed spots on the face of the earth.

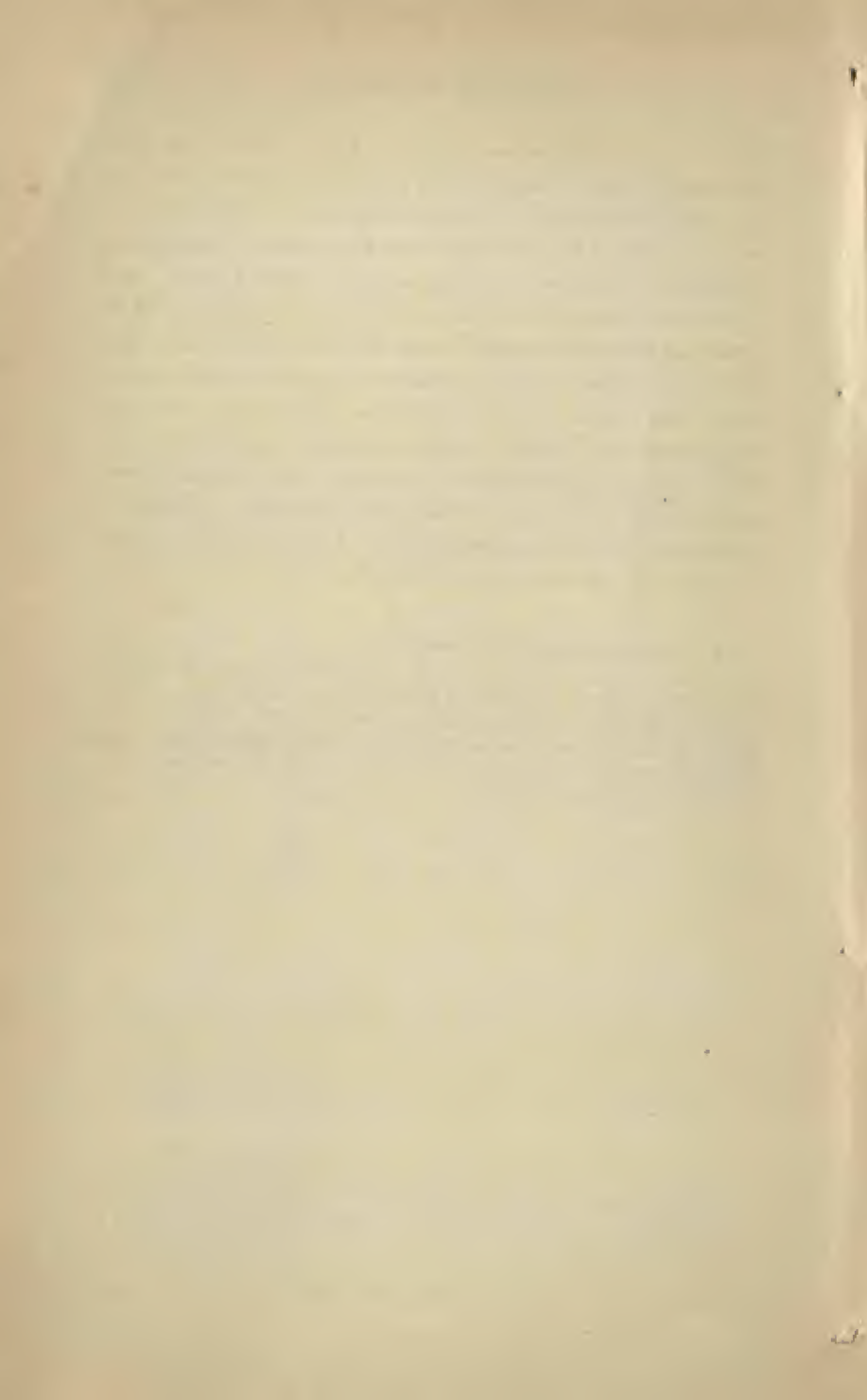
Our recent discovery has, moreover, a distinct bearing on questions of ancient topography in general. It shows that the final word in nearly every instance has to come from prolonged researches made on the spot. The itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims alone are insufficient guides; nay,

¹ [23rd June, A.D. 1180.—ED.]

they are often liable to lead us astray. Above all, their accuracy, though marvellous if measured after the Oriental standard, should not be over-estimated. It should never be lost sight of that they had not the means of accurately fixing the distances and bearings of their routes. The former they must have estimated from the time spent in covering them, the latter from the position of the sun. M. Barth¹ gives a true valuation of their accounts when describing them as "de véritables itinéraires, avec des indications de distance et d'orientation, indications sans doute tout approximatives, souvent peu concordantes, parfois manifestement inexactes et toujours difficiles à interpréter sur le terrain, mais qui déterminent du moins la région où doivent se faire les recherches."²

¹ *Journal des Savants*, Février, 1897, p. 65.

² [Attention may be invited to an article by Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, entitled "The Shifted Cardinal Points: from Elam to Early China," published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. ii, pp. 25-31. Further examination in that line might perhaps throw a light on the point that the bearings given by Fa-hian and Hsuen-tsiang seem so often to be erroneous.—Ed.]



XXII.

THE BABYLONIAN UNIVERSE NEWLY INTERPRETED.

By WILLIAM F. WARREN.

FEW studies in ancient cosmology can more entertain or instruct the investigator of to-day than a careful comparison of the seven diagrams published as correct pictures of the Babylonian universe in the works named below.¹ No two of the seven agree. Moreover, the first represents the Zodiac as at a vast distance above the sphere of the fixed stars, a proceeding which at the start disarranges all ordinary astronomic ideas. Equally unpicturable in my imagination is the seventh of the series, the world sketched by Radan. Again and again have I tried to construct it in thought, but every time have failed. Even Jensen in his great work gives us for "the place of the Convocation of the Gods" (*Du-azag*), only a pitch-dark cavern in the thin crust of his sea-filled hemispherical earth, and has no place for Hades but another cavern located in the same thin crust and oddly

¹ The reader is earnestly requested to turn to these diagrams and to note their striking divergencies.

(1) Isaac Myer, *Qabalah*, Phil., 1888, p. 448.

(2) Hommel, *Babylonischer Ursprung der Aegyptischen Cultur*, 1892, p. 8.

(3) Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, 1901, Th. iii, 347.

(4) Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890, appendix.

(5) Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1892, p. 543.

(6) Whitehouse, art. "Cosmogony," *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*.

(7) Hugo Radan, *The Creation-Story of Genesis*, 1902, p. 56.

Professor Hommel's second is a marked improvement on his first. In connection with it he prints a generous reference to the present writer.

enough far *above* the cave of the gods.¹ Surely there is a call for new attempts to think the thoughts of these ancient Semites after them.

For the reconstruction of the Babylonian universe we have no less than twelve most valuable data derived from the study of ancient Babylonian texts. These will now be enumerated, and that the enumeration may command the greater confidence I shall connect with each of them one or more references to equivalent statements by experts of high authority in this field. Here follow the data :—

(1) In the Babylonian conception of the universe the earth occupied the central place. Winckler expressly calls the earth "the accepted centre" of the planetary system of this people.²

(2) The northern half of the earth was viewed as the upper, the southern as the under. The former was associated with light and life, the latter with darkness and death. Winckler remarks :—"The South and the Underworld are identical."³

(3) The upper or northern half of the earth was regarded as consisting of seven stages (*tupukati*), ranged one above another in the form of a staged pyramid. Speaking of the staged temple of Nippur, Sayce observes :—"It was a model of the earth, which those who built it believed to be similarly shaped, and to have the form of a mountain whose peak penetrated the clouds."⁴

¹ Jensen's diagram, anglicised in terminology and much enlarged, may be seen in Worcester's *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, opposite p. 100.

² *Himmels und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker*. Von Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leipzig, 1901, p. 34.

³ "Identisch ist also Süden und Unterwelt auch hier wie bei unserer kosmischen Ausrichtung der Erdoachse" (p. 24).

⁴ *Gifford Lectures*, 1903, p. 374. See also Boscawen, in the *Oriental and Biblical Journal*, Chicago, 1884, p. 118. For interesting parallels see Letherby, *Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth*, London, 1892. The existence in Egypt of a type of pyramid with sloping stages, and the

(4) In like manner the antarctic or under half of the earth was supposed to consist of seven stages corresponding to those of the upper half. As Jensen expresses it:—"The seven *tupukati* of the underworld are a facsimile of the seven *tupukati* of the overworld."¹

(5) Like the quadrilateral temples modelled after it, the earth of the Babylonians was four-cornered. In this particular it agreed with the conception ascribed to the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Chinese, and to the Indo-Aryans of the Rig-veda period.²

(6) In Babylonian thought, Winckler says, "there were seven heavens and seven hells."³ This belief is one of untraceable antiquity. Writing on this subject, Hommel remarks—"The idea of the seven heavens seems to go back to the beginnings of Semitic culture."⁴

(7) Above the seventh heaven was another, the "highest heaven," that of the fixed stars; called by the Babylonians

clear traces in India of a conception of the earth as spheroidal in figure despite a series of rising zones or retreating mountain-terraces upon its surface, suggest that the stages of the Babylonian earth should not be mentally pictured as necessarily implying their possession of the sharply angular outline presented by a staged temple, or by the figure in our diagram. It is quite possible that in Babylonian thought the quadrangularity of the earth was largely a conscious and deliberate emphasizing of the cardinal points of the heavens and earth, and that its pyramidal form in architecture was as conscious and deliberate a deviation from supposed reality as are with us the parallel meridians and flat zones of a Mercator's Chart of the world. Moreover, as the celestial spheres are of a substance so crystalline as to be absolutely invisible to men, so the rising stages of the earth are to be viewed as less and less grossly material, until at length all appearance of materiality vanishes, leaving the highest as invisible (save in the case of a divinely sent trance, Genesis xxviii, 12), as are the heavens in which they are lost.

¹ *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 175.

² Sayce, *loc. cit.*; also, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii, col. 1148; C. Pains, in *Rivista Geograf. Ital.*, 1895, p. 12; H. W. Wallis, *The Cosmology of the Rig-veda*, London, 1887, p. 112; F. L. Pullé, *Cartografia dell' India*, 1901, p. 18.

³ "Was die obere Welt hat, hat auch die untere. Es giebt demnach sieben Himmel und sieben Höllen oder Höllenstufen" (*op. cit.*, p. 34).

⁴ "Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer," in *Ausland*, 1891, p. 381.

the "heaven of Anu," after the name of the oldest and highest of their gods.¹

(8) This eighth heaven was divided by the Zodiac into two corresponding portions, an upper, or Arctic, and an under, or Antarctic. At the pole of the former Anu had his palace and throne.²

(9) In Babylonian thought the north pole of the heavens was the true zenith of the cosmic system, and the axis of the system upright; consequently, as among the ancient Egyptians and Indo-Aryans, the diurnal movements of the sun and moon were regarded as occurring in a horizontal plane. Speaking of the Babylonians Maspero says—"The general resemblance of their theory of the universe to the Egyptian theory leads me to believe that they, no less than the Egyptians, for a long time believed that the sun and moon revolved round the earth in a horizontal plane."³

(10) Proceeding outward from the central earth, the order of the seven known planets was as follows: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.⁴ That their respective distances from the earth were not uniform was already known. Such at least seems to be the opinion of Winckler, and certainly is that of Hommel.⁵

(11) In order to pass from the upper half of the earth to its under half, that is, from the abode of living men to the abode of the dead, it was necessary to cross a body of water, which on every side separated the two abodes. This

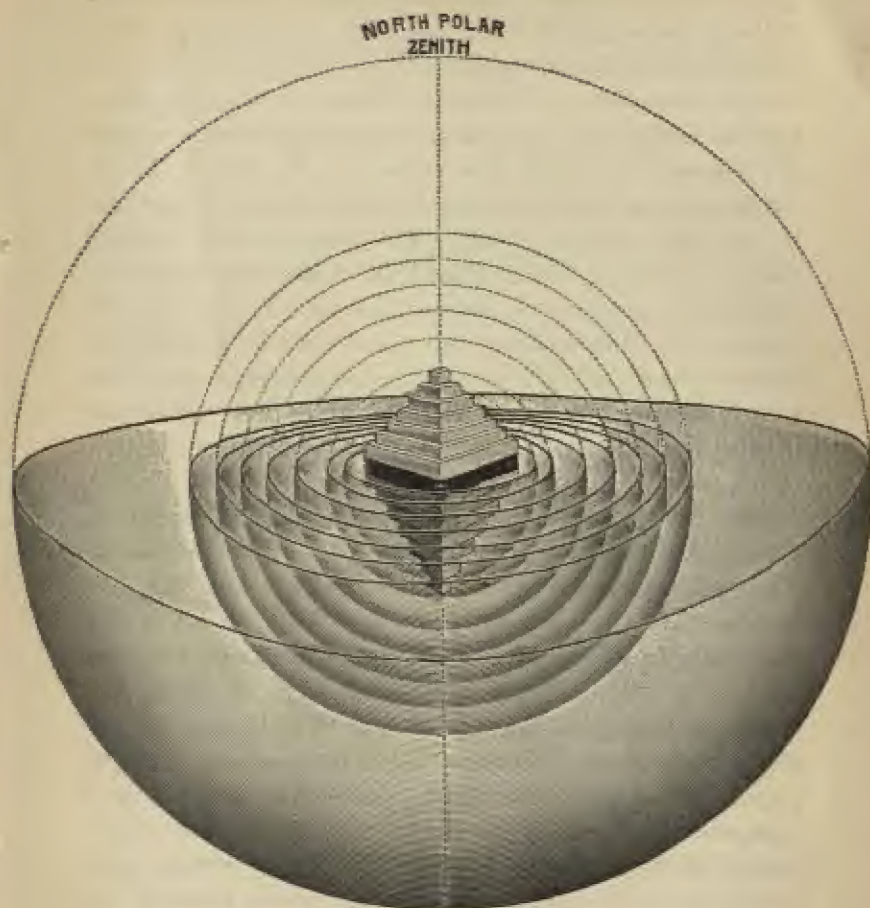
¹ Winckler, p. 34; also Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 10.

² Winckler, p. 36; Jensen, p. 24; A. Jeremias, p. 27, "Der Sitz Anu's ist der nördlich vom Tierkreis gelegene Himmel mit dem Nordpol des Himmels als Mittelpunkt. Dort ist sein Thron."

³ *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 544; cf. Robert Spence Hardy, *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, London, 1866, pp. 85-89; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895, p. 78; W. F. Warren, *The Cradle of the Human Race*, Boston, 1885, pp. 191 ff.

⁴ Winckler, p. 35. Hommel calls it "die uralte feste Anordnung" (*Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, iii, 375-383).

⁵ See Winckler, p. 34. "In immer grösserem Abstand von der Erde" is the language of Hommel in his *Insel der Seligen*, p. 38.



THE BABYLONIAN UNIVERSE.

The upright central line is the polar axis of the heavens and earth. The two seven-staged pyramids represent the earth, the upper being the abode of living men, the under one the abode of the dead. The separating waters are the four seas. The seven inner homocentric globes are respectively the domains and special abodes of Sin, Shamash, Naba, Ishtar, Nergal, Marduk, and Ninib, each being a 'world-ruler' in his own planetary sphere. The outermost of the spheres, that of Anu and Ea, is the heaven of the fixed stars. The axis from centre to zenith is 'the Way of Anu'; the axis from centre to nadir 'the Way of Ea.'

explains the language of Dr. A. Jeremias, where he says—"When one sails out upon the ocean, one finally comes down into the Underworld."¹

(12) According to Diodorus Siculus (ii, 31), the Babylonians considered that twelve designated stars south of the Zodiac stood in the same relation to the dead as do the twelve corresponding stars north of the Zodiac to men still in the land of the living. This representation clearly makes the living and the dead the residents respectively of antipodal surfaces of one and the same heaven-inclosed earth. In like manner, in the Creation Tablets (V, line 8), Anu and Ea are antipodally located gods, the former having his palace and throne at the north pole of the heavens, the latter his palace and throne at the south pole.²

Such then, according to latest scholarship, are the fundamental features of the ancient Babylonian world-concept. The task of combining them is simple. One can but wonder that there should have been such mistakes and such delay in effecting the due adjustment. In the diagram accompanying this paper each requirement of the twelve enumerated propositions is fully met. The upright central line represents the polar axis of the heavens and earth in perpendicular position. The two central seven-staged pyramids represent respectively the upper and lower halves of E-KUR, the earth. The seven dotted half-circles above the earth represent the "seven heavens" of the planets; the corresponding hemispheres below the earth the "seven hells." The outermost sphere, the upper half cut away, as were the seven heavens, to show the interior of the system, is of course the all-including starry

¹ Op. cit., p. 10; also, his "Hölle und Paradies bei den Babylonier" (*Der alte Orient*, Jahrg. I, Heft 3, S. 14 ff.); also F. Jeremias, in *Chantepie de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., 1905, Bd. I, S. 275; Tiele, *Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions*, p. 177.

² Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 201.

sphere girdled by the many-mansioned Zodiac,¹ and made scintillant by the appointed astral watchers who keep their patient vigils one half above the living, one half above the antipodal dead.

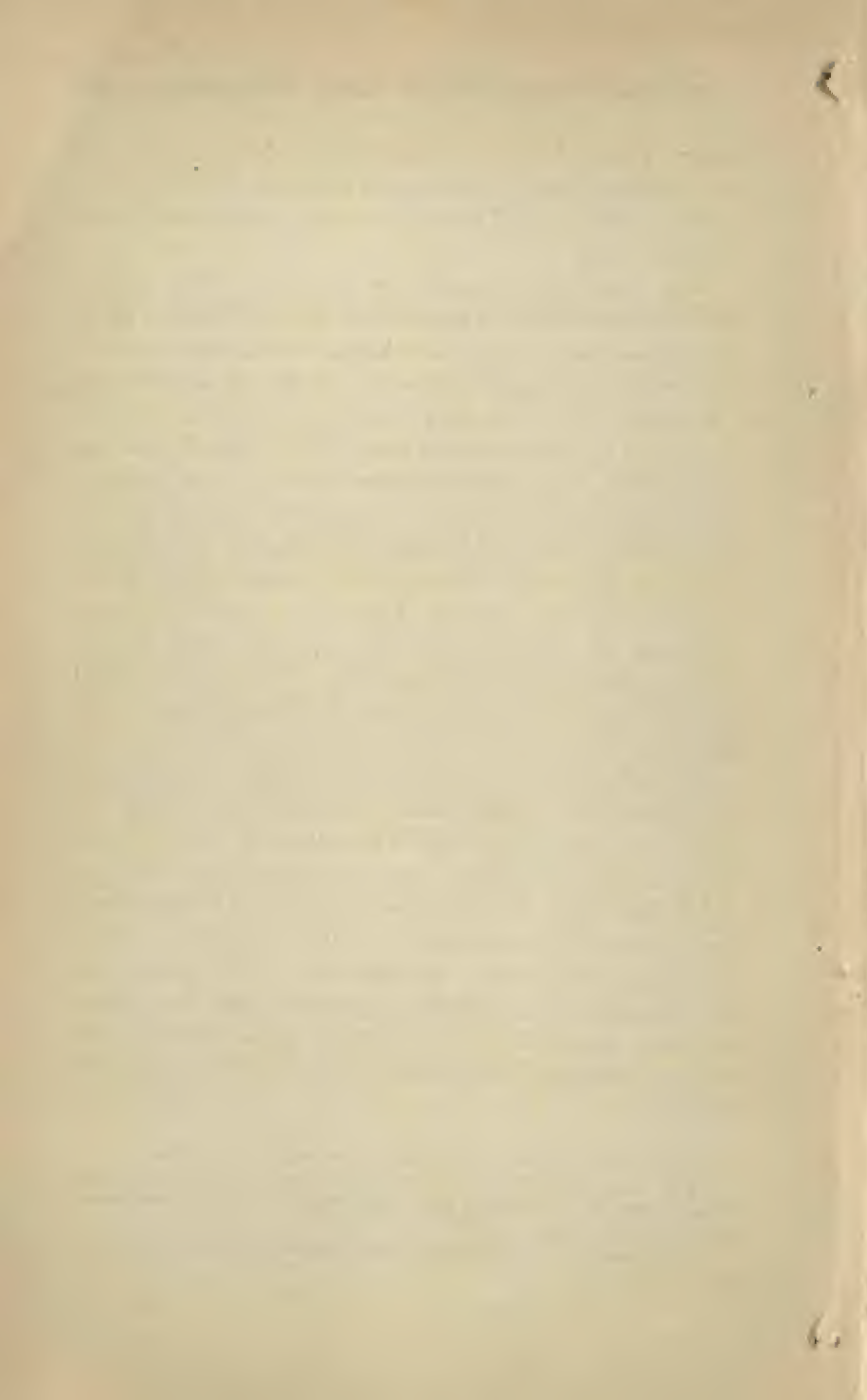
How wonderful a world-view was this! How perfect the symmetries of the system. Its duplex centre lived on in Pythagorean thought as "Earth and Counter-earth."² Doubtless it influenced Plato when in the *Timæus* he said, "To Earth, then, let us assign the form of a cube." It still lives on in the four-cornered earth of the New Testament, and in that of the Mohammedan teaching. Its heavens lived on in the "homocentric" "crystalline spheres" of the Greek astronomers, and through the influence of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, shaped the thinking of all savants, philosophers, and poets till the days of Copernicus. Dante's heavens are those of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy's are those of the ancient worshippers of Anu and Sin. Their music is still audible, their form still visible, in Milton's *Ode to the Nativity*.

But while the presence of this highly mathematical world-concept is thus traceable through millenniums, its origin was among a people antedating the Babylonians. A truer name, therefore, for the system would be, the Pre-Babylonian. The East-Semites received it from their predecessors in the possession of the Euphratean valley, the Akkado-Sumerians. At least such is the opinion and the teaching of our highest experts.³ Did the system originate among these non-Semitic predecessors in the valley? This has been assumed, but no man can pretend to know.

¹ The 'lunar mansions' of astrology are all within the Zodiac.

² The often misunderstood *χθών* and *ἀντιχθών*; O. F. Gruppe, *Die kosmische Systeme der Griechen*, Berlin, 1851, p. 82. Correctly understood by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, i, 28, 68.

³ H. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Aufl. iii, 1902, S. 349.



XXIII.

A HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM BOGHAZ KEUL.

By THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

A PORTION of a Hittite cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui has come into my possession, which is shown by its contents to belong to the same tablet as that of which I have published another portion in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907 (pp. 919, 920). The original tablet must have been a very large one, and probably contained a complete list of the offerings to be made to the various deities in the Hittite pantheon. It thus resembled the great inscription of Meher Kapussi, near Van, in which we find a similar list of the offerings to be made to the Vannic gods (J.R.A.S., New Ser., xiv, 3 (1882), pp. 461 sqq.). As I have already stated in the *Journal* for last April, p. 548, the new fragment enables me to correct some of the readings in my copy of the first fragment.

The following is a transliteration of the cuneiform text:—

OBVERSE.

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. | . -is-sa | pa at (?) | . . . |
| 2. | . . -sa-an | khu-ub-ru | . . . |
| 3. | [I] | wa-ak-sur ni-ma | I wa-ak-sur . . . |
| | [one] | . . . | one . . . |
| 4. | ARKI-SU-MA | la-a-be-is | si-pa-an-[ti] . . . |
| | <i>After this providing (?) [thy] tithe (?)</i> . . . | | |
| 5. | tu-el ti-ya-ma | si-ip-(zi)-ya | a-na . . . |
| | for [the god . . .] | | |

6. si-pa-an da-an-zi I LU I GUD
the tithe (?) mayest thou set : 1 sheep, 1 ox
 EBURU-ya a-[na] . . .
of the grass for [the god . . .]
7. I LU a-na AN IM ái-ne-e I LU
 1 sheep for Sandes of the flocks (?); 1 sheep
 a-na AN . . .
for the god . . .
8. I LU a-na AN Na-an-ni AN UH BAN-DA
 1 sheep for the goddess Nanni the deity of the lusty flock
 zi-ip . . .
9. AN-MES AMIL-MES ya-[as ?]-si-is-sa-an (?)
gods (&) men . . .
 an-da ka . . .
10. nu V GAR * a-na X ta-khi (?) . . .
for 5 measures of . . . for 10 . . .
 wi-ya . . .
 [for]
11. AN IM da-a-i ARKI-SU-[MA la]-a-kha-an-ni-[us
Sandes I have set. After this the . . .
 si-pa-an-ti]
 [as thy tithe].
12. nu I GUD . . GIS-KARAN su-[un]-na-[an-zi] . . .
For 1 ox . . . wine mayest thou . . .
13. zi-ru-bi-in-ni bi-ib-[ru] . . . ya khu . . .
 . . . a casket . . .
14. khu-u-i-ba sa (?) sarri (?) su-un-na-an-zi . . .
the ribs (?) of (?) the king (?) mayest thou . . .
15. la-kha-an-ni-us si-pa-an-ti
the . . . as thy tithe.
16. I LU KU-MAL a-na AN Ar-ga-a-pa
One sheep male for the god Argápa
 si-pa-[an-ti da-an-zi]
as [thy] tithe [offer];

17. a-na AN Ar-ga-a-pa a-na DIN (?) sa
to the god Argapa for the preservation (?) of
 DIN (?)-ti . . .
thy life (?) [give it];
18. na-at SI bi-ra-an da-a-i GIS in . . .
this before the table I have set. A wooden . . .
19. khu-i-ba-an-da a-na I GAR *
the ribs (?) . . . for one measure of . . .
 da-a-khu-u-ut-[ta] . . .
appointed . . . [before]
20. AN Ar-ga-pa da-a-i ARKI-SU-MA
the god Argapa I have set. After this
 [la-a-khā-an-ni-us]
the . . .
21. si-pa-an-ti nam-ma ANA (?) nam-ma-an . . .
as thy tithe . . . for (?) . . .
22. na-as-ta bi-ib-ru AN Ar-ga-[a-pa] . . .
in (?) these casket(s?) Argapa . . .
23. ARKI-SU-MA la-kha-ni-us [si-pa-an-ti]
after this the . . . as thy tithe.
-
24. Na-at BIT MAS (?) AN A . . .
This house of the lord (?) the god A . . .
25. nu V GAR * . . .
for 5 measures of . . .

REVERSE.

2. ba-ba-a . . .
 . . .
3. nu I GAR KUL . . .
for one measure of seed . . .
4. nu i-na . . .
to be in . . .
5. su-ub-bi-ya-akh-khi I GAR . . .
 . . . one measure . . .
 [nam-ma-an ?]
 . . .

6. ANA (?) nam-ma-an GIS-KARAN-ya sa . . .
for (?) . . . of wine . . .
7. su-ub-bi-ya-akh-kha-an zi . . .

-
8. ab-bi-iz-zi-ya LU-ya i-na . . .
Of a male (?) sheep in . . .
9. AN Al-khi-su-wa mus (?) -sa GIS AL-PÛ
the god Alkhisuwa . . . a perforated cup (?)
 PÛ . . .
a perforation . . .
10. si-pa-an da-an-zi a-na I GIS ir-ri-is-sa-[an] . . .
the tithe offer; for one . . .
11. GIS-KARAN UD-AB-A BAR ub-ni GIS-KU
of wine . . . half an ubni, of box-wood (?)
 BAR ub-ni . . .
half an ubni . . .
12. I GIS-nu-ur-ma I DUK kab-bi-is DUK
one fig, one kabbis-vessel, an
 ab-bar-ma-[as] . . .
abbarmas-vessel . . .
13. I DUK kab-bi-is I DUK bar-ma-as GIS-KIB
one k.-vessel, one barmas-vessel, . . herbs,
 I ta . . .
one . . .
14. . . zu-wa-as ANA (?) ma-da-at-as I
 . . . for tribute (?), one
 ga-qi-[ak-ya] . . .
15. [nam-ma?]-an ANA (?) nam-ma-an GIS-KARAN-ya
 . . . for (?) . . . of wine
 sa (?) . . .
16. [AN Al-khi]-su-wa sa-ma-AN-UD si-pa-an-da . . .
the god Alkhisuwa Sama-Samsi by way of tithe . . .

17. . . . [GIS-KAR]AN BI-ZUN be-^{*}-zi BIT-zi
 . . . of wine cups in (?) the house . . .
 us . . .
18. . . . ku-is-ki e-iz-za MUR-GA bi-i-[e-it] . . .
 . . . as it was . . . a brick house . . .
19. . . . -zi
 . . .
-
20. . . . kha (?) -i-ba-as-sa-an nam-ma ar . . .
 . . . thereupon (?) . . .
- [GIS KARAN]
 [of wine]
21. [UD-AB]-A BAR ub-ni GIS-KU BAR ub-ni . . .
 . . . halfanubni, of box-wood (?) halfanubni . . .
22. [I GIS-nu-ur-]ma DUK kab-bi-i-is DUK
 [one fig], a kabbis-vessel, an
 ab-bar-[ma-as] . . .
 a.-vessel . . .
23. [DUK kab-bi-i]-is DUK ab-bar-ma-as GIS-[KIB] . . .
 [a k.-vessel], an a.-vessel of . . . wood . . .

The chief interest of the tablet lies in the names of the Hittite deities which it contains. Sandes, who was identified with the Syrian Hadad, comes first, as he does in the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions; as god of *šind*, which is probably the Assyrian *šēni* or *šini*, 'flock,' he is associated with Nanni, the goddess of 'the flock.' The name of the goddess occurs in the native hieroglyphic inscriptions, where, as I have shown (P.S.B.A., November, 1905, p. 223), she is ideographically represented by the picture of a heap of corn, and must therefore have been a goddess of the peasantry. The name of Argâpa appears for the first time, and Alkhisuwa is a correction of the name which I read Alkhiswa in my last paper.

OBVERSE.

4. As I have already stated in the *Journal* for April (1908), p. 548, *arki-su-ma* is the correct reading of the characters which I have wrongly given as KUR *Kib-iš-ma* in my last paper (*Two Hittite Cuneiform Tablets*, J.R.A.S., October, 1907, pp. 913-21), which I will henceforth refer to as THCT. It is possible that *namma* in *Rev.* 20 is the Hittite equivalent of the Assyrian formula.

Labeis is the nominative, of which *labin* is the accusative, in one of the tablets found by Chantre at Boghaz Keui, and copied by Scheil (S. i, 3, 8; in l. 7 we probably have [*la-*]a-bi-e-ni-is).

For *sipa* in the probable sense of tithe see THCT, p. 916. In my note, however, the reference to 'the city Khattu-sipa' must be omitted, since a comparison of the passage with other tablets from Boghaz Keui which I have since examined has made it clear that the paragraph must be read: *Mán atus* (ALU) *Arinnaš* (ALU) *Khattu-si pa-izzi nu* AMEL GIS-PA *luli zirridis-san khalzai-su(m)*, 'This I the king of Arinna have sent by way of gift for the people of the city of the Hittites to the scribe, collecting (?) it from the towns.'¹

5. For *tuel* see YUZGAT, *Obv.* 2, 10. The sense remains as obscure as ever.

The scribe has inverted the two component parts of the character *zi*.

6. 'A grass-fed' as opposed to a 'stall-fed ox' is meant. The passage serves to fix the meaning of the suffix *-ya*.

7. *Šiné*, as I have said, is probably borrowed from the Assyrian *šēni*.

8. The goddess Nanni or Nana is mentioned in the native hieroglyphic texts of Hamath and Mer'ash. According to

¹ In *Rev.* 2 of the same tablet the reading *kha* must be corrected into *pa*, the passage being ALU *pa-izzi nu* AMEL GIS-PA *atus anšili*, 'by way of gift to the city I the king have despatched to the scribe.'

the classical writers, Nana was the daughter of the Sangarius and the mother of Attys. Naneis, formed like Artemeis, is a name found in the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia.

9. Since *-anda* is the adverbial termination, my division of the words here is probably incorrect. *Anda*, however, seems to be an independent word in SCHEIL, i, *Obe*, 9, 12.

10. The preposition *nu* is replaced by the Assyrian *ana* in line 19.

I am unable to identify the character which follows GAR. In *Rev.* 3 its place is taken by KUL, 'seed,' so that it must signify something of the same sort. A comparison of the whole passage with l. 19 and *Rev.* 5, 6 goes to show that the sense is 'reckoned at one *gar* of . . . for 10 . . .'

11. My suggestion in THCT that *lakhannius* may signify 'products' must be given up.

12. The verb *sunna* is probably connected with *sunussan* in the tablet BELCK, l. 8.

13. For *bibru*, 'a casket,' see THCT, p. 917.

14. In THCT *khuiba* seems to be the phonetic equivalent of TIK-TI, 'the ribs.' The two characters which follow are partly obliterated, and my reading of them is probably incorrect.

16. For KU-MAL, *zikaru*, 'male,' see W.A.I. v, 12, 1.

Instead of DIN, i.e. *baladhu*, we may read *khi*, the word being *khi-sa-khi*. In *Rev.* 9, however, the sign for *khi* is differently formed, and I would therefore identify the character we have here with DIN.

17. If *nat* refers to the sheep, it must be singular and not plural. In l. 24 it is clearly singular.

For *biran* as the equivalent of the Assyrian *passuru*, see THCT, p. 917.

19. Since *-anda* is the adverbial termination, the meaning would be 'rib-like' if *khuiba* signifies 'rib.'

Dakhu, which I believe to be the causative of *da*, 'to set'

or 'appoint,' is found in the 'Yuzgat' tablet in the compound verb *nakhá-dakkkhu*, where we also find *dakkkhun* and *dakkkhu-da*.

For the passive participle *kuitta*, 'made,' see YUZGAT, *Obv. 15, Rev. 8, 19*.

21. *Namma* can hardly be the adverb 'thereupon' here, as in *Rev. 20*. In *Rev. 15* it seems to be written *namman*. My explanation of ¶ as the preposition *ana* is very doubtful; elsewhere in the Hittite tablets it denotes the numeral 'one.' As *namman* is followed by GIS-KARAN-*ya* in *Rev. 6*, it is possible that the phrase means 'cup by cup.' We can hardly associate with *namma* the NAM-*wa* which precedes ERU, 'copper,' in SCHEIL, *Obv. 6*.

22. In THCT *na-ta* appears to signify 'in this (casket)'; consequently *nas-ta* ought to be 'in these.'

REVERSE.

5. The native hieroglyphic texts would suggest that *subbiya-khkh* means the dances performed by the Corybants in honour of the gods.

8. *Abbé-zziya* may be derived from *abbi*, 'father,' and so mean 'a sheep that is a father.'

9. The present tablet shows that my reading of the god's name must be corrected, 𐎶𐎵 representing 𐎶𐎵, *su*, and not *is*. *Su* is written plainly in this line.

If the character which follows the name of the god is a single one, it would more naturally be *uz* than *mus*. It may, however, be faultily written for *se* (or *khi*) *khu*. It can hardly be intended for *im*.

11. What the ideographs UD-AB-A signify I do not know. Some species of wine is intended.

The *ubni* will be a Hittite measure.

GIS-KU is the Assyrian *urkarinu*, W.A.I. ii, 45, 4.

12. *Kabbis* is probably borrowed from the Assyrian *qabutu*, *qabuâtê*, 'goblets.' There is also an Assyrian word *kubbausu*, signifying a 'corn-vessel.'

13. The scribe has omitted *ab* before *bar*.

GIS-KIB is stated to be 'the herb *ripkhu*' in W.A.I. ii, 23, 21.

14. *Madatas* is possibly the Assyrian *mandattu*, *madattu*, 'tribute.' On the other hand, analogy would indicate that *†* is 'one' rather than *ana*, 'for'; see note on *Obv.* 21. In SCHEIL, i, *Obv.* 13, we find the accusative singular [*ma-*]*da-at-ta-an*.

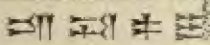



















































































































































































































Gaqi[akya] is completed from YUZGAT, *Rev.* 31.

16. I suppose Sama-Samsi to be the name of a man who is addressed by the writer of the tablet. It may, however, be a title of the god Alkhisuwa.

18. For *kuis-ki*, the present participle with suffixed *ki*, see *kuit-ki*, the 3rd person singular of the verb, with the same suffix, in YUZGAT, *Obv.* 19, *Rev.* 39. *Kuis-ki* is found in CHANTRE, iii (1), 9.

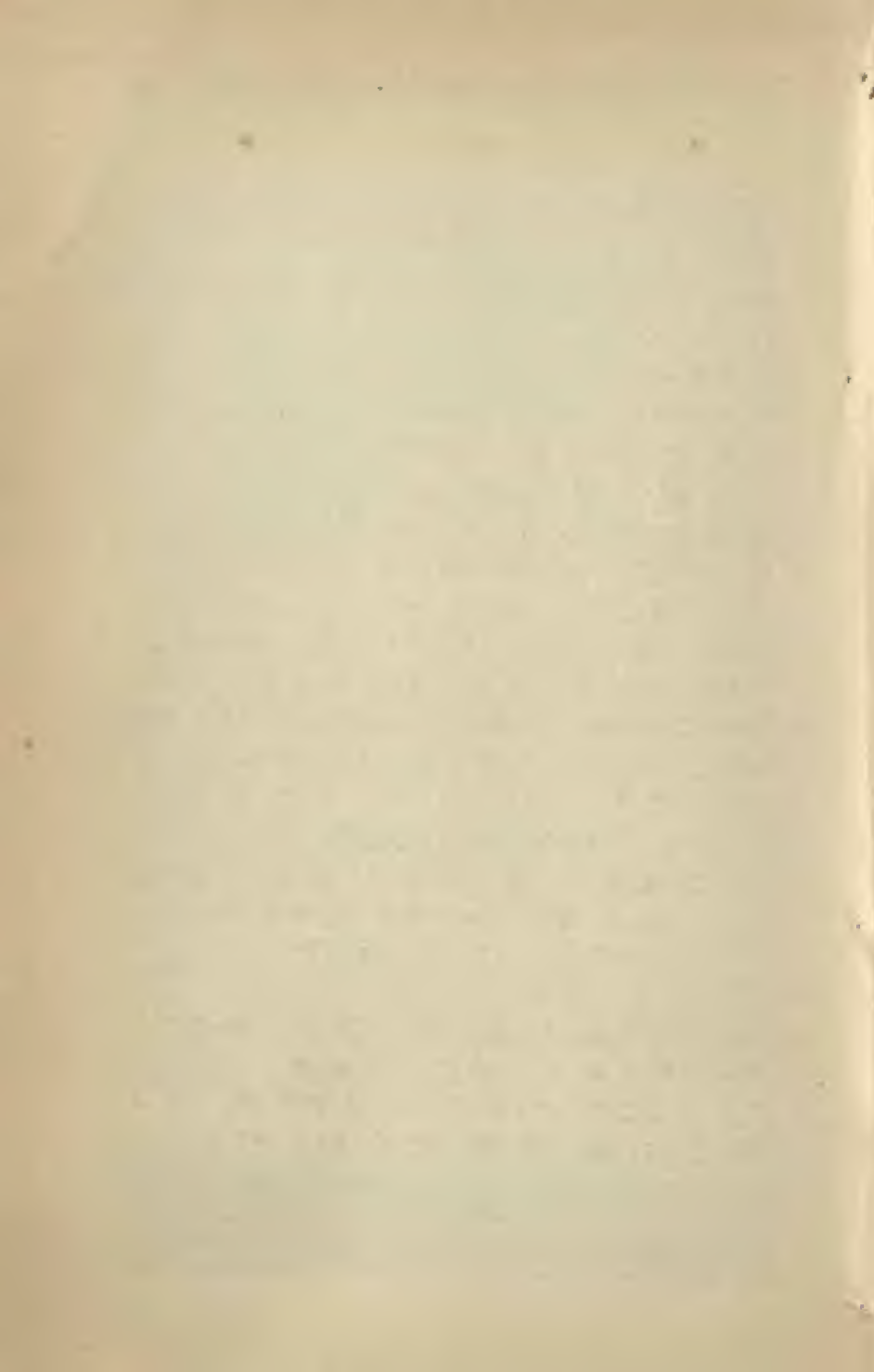
For *bi-i-e-it*, the Assyrian *bit*, see YUZGAT, *Obv.* 21, etc., and CHANTRE, iii, 11. *Bi-i-e-[it]*, with determinative of 'divinity,' must also be read in SCHEIL, i, *Rev.* 1; a few lines lower down (l. 6) we have (AN) *bi-i-e-it i-id-[din]*. In the present passage 'the house of brick' corresponds with 'house of the god' in the SCHEIL tablet, the genitive, according to rule, preceding the word which governs it.

OBVERSE.

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REVERSE.

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 3 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
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XXIV.

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICINE.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

IV.¹—THE COMPOSITION OF THE CARAKA SAMHITA,
AND THE LITERARY METHODS OF THE ANCIENT
INDIAN MEDICAL WRITERS. (*A study in textual
criticism.*)²

THE fact of the *Caraka Samhitā*, or the Medical Compendium of Charaka, being a composite work is well known at the present day. The work is the joint production of two medical men, Charaka and Dṛiḍhabala, both natives of Kashmir, and living in that country, probably one in the second, the other in the eighth century of our era. Charaka's share itself claims to be no more than an edition of an earlier work by Agniveśa. This man, being one of the traditional six disciples of Punarvasu, called Ātreya or son of Atri, is said to have reduced to writing the oral teachings of his master, an event which must have occurred at some time in the sixth century before our era. Charaka's edition of Agniveśa's work bears the name of *Samhitā*, or Compendium, while the earlier work of Agniveśa is called a *Tantra*, or treatise or textbook. It seems probable that Agniveśa wrote a series of such treatises on the several branches of

¹ For No. I, see this *Journal* for 1906, pp. 283 ff.; and for No. II, this *Journal* for 1906, pp. 915 ff., and 1907, pp. 1 ff.; for No. III, see *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. i, pp. 29 ff.

² The following texts are quoted in this paper: AH = *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, 1st ed., Kunte, 1880 (in 2 vols.); AS = *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, Bombay, Saka, 1810, 2 vols.; CS = *Caraka Samhitā*, 2nd ed., Jivānanda, 1896; C.CS = *Cakradatta, Ulkita Saṁgraha*, ed. D. & U. Sen; MN = *Mādhava Nidāna*, 3rd ed., Jivānanda, 1901; MS = *Mādhava Siddhayoga*, Anandāśrama ed., 1894; SS = *Suśruta Samhitā*, 3rd ed., Jivānanda, 1889.

Medicine as taught by his master Ātreya in the ancient 'University' of Taxila, in the extreme north-west of India. What Charaka did was to combine the substance of these treatises into a single *Samhitā*, or Compendium. For some reason or other, now no longer known, he was unable to finish his work. Some six centuries later it was completed by Dṛiḍhabala. This complementary portion, however, was no longer a compendious edition of the treatises of Agniveśa, but as Dṛiḍhabala himself informs us (CS. viii, 12, v. 79, p. 930), a compilation from the works of several medical men who had written standard works on medicine between his own time and that of Charaka. The foremost among these men was the celebrated Vāgbhāṭa the elder, counted in medical tradition equal to Charaka and Suśruta, who had published a *Samgraha*, or Summary of Medicine, based mainly on the works of those two great authorities, but partly also on those of other men, such as Bheḍa and Kāṅkhāyana.¹ Besides Vāgbhāṭa I, Dṛiḍhabala drew largely on a work of the famous Vṛinda, better known by his sobriquet Mādhava, or the Honeyed, apparently on account of the attractiveness of his writings, who in the seventh or eighth century had published his system of medicine, of which two parts, called respectively *Roga-viniścaya* on Pathology, and *Siddhayaoga* on Therapeutics, have survived to the present day.

The preceding statements may appear to be made in rather dogmatic form. But it should be understood that this form has been given them merely for the sake of convenience, so as to define more clearly the points at issue.

¹ Both these men were contemporaries of Ātreya. Bheḍa, indeed, is said to have been one of his six disciples, and a unique manuscript of a *Samhitā* which goes by his name has survived. This work must have been available to Vāgbhāṭa I. But as no work of Kāṅkhāyana now survives, it is doubtful whether Vāgbhāṭa drew on an actual work of his, or merely on quotations from it surviving in other works of later date.

In reality they present no more than a working hypothesis, which, however, is based, and, I think, is conformable to all the evidence already available. Of such evidence we possess a not inconsiderable amount. It is explained in my "Osteology of the Ancient Indians," and in the earlier numbers of these "Studies." It is not sufficient, however, to permit of a final decision, and the main object of the present "Study" is to present an additional body of entirely new evidence which strikingly confirms several of the main items of the hypothesis, while it conflicts with none of them.

The present "Study" also contributes some important elements towards the settlement of another very perplexing question. We know that Dṛiḍhabala contributed about one-third of the contents of the work which now passes under the name of Charaka's Compendium (*Charaka Saṃhitā*). But we know only partially what particular portions of the work are comprised in that one-third. Dṛiḍhabala himself tells us (CS. vi, 28, vv. 273-5, p. 827) that he contributed two entire *Sthāna*, or Sections, viz., the seventh and eighth, out of the eight sections of which the Compendium consists; and that he also wrote seventeen out of the twenty-eight (or thirty, according to another mode of reckoning) chapters of the sixth section on Therapeutics (*Cikitsita*). The puzzle is to know exactly the identity of the seventeen chapters which Dṛiḍhabala claims for himself. It is common sense to assume that he simply appended his own seventeen chapters to the eleven (or thirteen) already existing, and that therefore he means to claim for himself the last seventeen chapters of the series of twenty-eight (or thirty) which constitute the Therapeutical Section. If we knew for certain the exact serial order of the chapters in that section as it left the hands of Dṛiḍhabala, there would be no difficulty in the matter. But the trouble is that tradition presents us with two serial orders, both found

in existing manuscripts, which seriously conflict with one another. They are shown in the subjoined table :—

TABLE OF THE TWO TRADITIONAL SERIAL ORDERS.¹

28-Series.	30-Series.	Column I, in Jivānanda.	Column II, in Gangādhar.
	1	Rasāyana.	Rasāyana.
	2	Vājikaraṇa.	Vājikaraṇa.

(a) *Eleven Chapters ascribed to Charaka.*

1	3	Jvara.	Jvara.
2	4	Raktapitta.	Raktapitta.
3	5	Gulma.	Gulma.
4	6	Prameha.	Prameha.
5	7	Kuṣṭha.	Kuṣṭha.
6	8	Yakṣman or Śoṣa.	Yakṣman or Śoṣa.
7	9	Arśas. (b)	Unmāda.
8	10	Atisāra. (d)	Apasmāra.
9	11	Visarpa. (f)	Kṣata-kṣāṇa.
10	12	Madātaya. (h)	Śvayathu or Śoṭha.
11	13	Dvivraṇiṇya. (h)	Udara.

(a)

(b) *Seventeen Chapters ascribed to Dviḍḍhabala.*

12	14	Unmāda.	Arśas. (b)
13	15	Apasmāra.	Grahāṇī.
14	16	Kṣata-kṣāṇa.	Pāṇḍu.
15	17	Śvayathu or Śoṭha.	Hikkā-śvāsa.
16	18	Udara.	Kāsa.
17	19	Grahāṇī.	Atisāra. (d)
18	20	Pāṇḍu.	Chardi. (e)
19	21	Hikkā-śvāsa.	Visarpa. (f)
20	22	Kāsa.	Trṣṇā. (g)
21	23	Chardi. (e)	Viṣa. (g)
22	24	Trṣṇā. (g)	Madātaya. (h)
23	25	Viṣa. (g)	Dvivraṇiṇya. (h)
24	26	Trimarmiya.	Trimarmiya.
25	27	Ūrustambha.	Ūrustambha.
26	28	Vātavyādhi.	Vātavyādhi.
27	29	Vātaśoṇita.	Vātaśoṇita.
28	30	Yonivyapād.	Yonivyapād.

¹ Regarding the sources on which the Table is based, I may explain that Column I has the support of the Summary List of the chapters, at the end of the *Sūtra Śhāna*, in the two manuscripts, Government of India, No. 2503 (now in deposit with the Asiatic Society of Bengal), p. 695; and (partially) India Office, No. 335, fl. 123. It is taught in the commentary of Chakrapāṇidatta, at the end of the *Ōkṣita Śhāna*, in Tübingen, No. 463, fol. 534b, and is adopted in the editions of Jivānanda

As will be seen, they agree with regard to the six initial, and the five concluding chapters of the section. The former, as one naturally expects, they uniformly ascribe to Charaka; the latter, to Dṛiḍhabala. But respecting the serial order of the intermediate seventeen chapters (7-23), the two traditions greatly differ. One tradition makes the five chapters on *arśas*, hæmorrhoids, *atisāra*, diarrhoea, *visarpa*, erysipelas, *madātyāya*, alcoholic disorders, and *dvivraṇṭya*, twofold wounds, to follow the six initial chapters, and ascribes them to Charaka, while the other tradition replaces these chapters by the five on *unmāda*, mental disorders, *apasmāra*, epilepsy, *kṣata-kṣīṇa*, consumptive disorders, *śrayāṭhu*, inflammatory swellings, and *udara*, abdominal enlargements. What adds to the difficulty is that the earliest surviving commentator, Chakrapāṇidatta, supports the former tradition, while the latest edition with any pretence to a critical character—that of Gangādhara—adopts the latter tradition, and has, as we shall see presently, some very weighty evidence in favour of its choice.

There is yet another, perhaps even more perplexing point connected with Dṛiḍhabala's complementing activity. He not only added one-third of the existing Compendium; but he also revised the other two-thirds which Charaka wrote. That he did so, is absolutely certain. For example, the first section, or *Sūtra Sthāna*, as now existing, concludes with a full inventory of the whole Compendium, inclusive of the two last sections and the whole of the twenty-eight (or thirty) chapters of the sixth section;

and Abhināśa Chandra. Column ii has the support of the Summary List, in the manuscripts, Tübingen, No. 458, fol. 177a, Tübingen, No. 459, fol. 163b, and Deccan College, No. 925, fol. 93a; also partially in India Office, No. 335, fol. 123. It has also the support of the actual order of the chapters in the *Cikitsita Sthāna*, in all six manuscripts available to me, viz., Tüb., 458 and 459, Ind. Off., 335 and 359, Decc., 925, and the old Nepal MS. (dated 303 S.E. = 1183 A.D.). It is adopted in the editions of Gangādhara, and of the two Sans.

therefore, inclusive of the one-third contributed by Dṛiḍhabala. It is obvious that that inventory cannot have been compiled by Charaka, but is the work of Dṛiḍhabala. But further, there are certain passages, the phraseology of which, according to the same early commentator Chakrapānidatta, has been modified in what he calls the Kashmir Recension (*kāśmīra-pāṭha*) of the Compendium—which recension, there is good reason to believe, is referable to Dṛiḍhabala's activity. In these circumstances one cannot help suspecting that what has happened in these particular passages, may have happened in others, without being noticed by the commentators. It should be added that in the passages themselves, whether interpolated or merely modified, there is no indication whatsoever of their true authorship. It must be obvious that no correct view of the development of Indian medical science is possible so long as we are unable to distinguish what goes back to the early age of Charaka from what is no older than the comparatively recent time of Dṛiḍhabala. In the sequel I hope to show that the existing text does, after all, offer here and there certain undeniable indications, which, combined with a careful scrutiny of the context, enables one, to a great extent, to separate the original from the supervenient portions of the text.

For the present experimental scrutiny, I have selected those portions of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* which are concerned with the diseases called *gulma*, or abdominal tumours. The pathology of these growths is explained in chapter iii, of the second section (CS., *Nidāna Sthāna*, pp. 210–214), and its therapeutics in the corresponding chapter iii, of the sixth section (CS., *Cikitsā Sthāna*, pp. 483–499). Both chapters are uniformly ascribed to Charaka by the medical tradition of India, and thus afford a suitable subject for the experiment.

It will be convenient to begin with a brief analysis

of the two chapters. The pathological chapter, which, with the exception of the two concluding verses, is written in prose, is divided into twenty-one paragraphs.¹

§ 1 enumerates the five kinds of *gulma*, which are due to disorder of one humour (air), of two humours in complication (air-bile, and air-phlegm), of three humours in combination (air, bile, phlegm), and of the blood.

§§ 2 and 3 give a summary of the chapter, Ātreya, at the request of Agniveśa, explaining (1) the causes, (2) premonitory conditions, (3) symptoms, (4) troubles, (5) remedies of *gulma*.

§ 4 enumerates the causes of an air-tumour, such as fever, unsuitable use of drugs, but especially irregularities in diet, sexual indulgence, and conduct generally.

§ 5 describes the symptoms of an air-tumour, the air-humour gathering in the intestines, and consolidating into a sort of ball, in any of five localities, viz., in the upper, middle, lower, and two lateral regions of the abdomen.

§ 6 describes the troubles (*vedanā*) of an air-tumour, which may vary in intensity, and consist in the feeling of being bitten by ants or pricked by needles, fever in the evening, dryness in the mouth, shortness of breath, pains in various parts of the body, difficulties in digesting, dark discoloration of the skin, eyes, excreta, etc.

§§ 7 and 8 describe the conditions of an air-tumour when complicated with disorders of the bile-humour. In that case, the tumour, now briefly called bile-tumour, feels soft and yielding. It arises from eating things sour, salty, hot, dry, etc., and is recognized by a greenish or yellowish discoloration, while in other respects the general conditions are much like those of the simple air-tumour.

§§ 9-11a describe similarly the phlegm-tumour, which however feels firm and hard, arises from greasy, heavy,

¹ I adopt, for the sake of convenient reference, the divisions into paragraphs of the Jivānanda edition of 1890, though it is by no means perfect.

sweet, cold food, etc., and is recognized by a whitish discoloration.

§ 11*b* states that a tumour which arises from the concurrent disorders of all three humours is incurable.

§§ 12-16 describe the blood-tumour, which is caused by disorders in the menstrual discharge, and therefore occurs only in women, whence the ignorant are misled to suspect pregnancy.

§ 17 enumerates certain premonitory conditions.

§§ 18 and 19 explain that every tumour begins with a disorder of the air-tumour, and repeats that a so-called concurrence-tumour is incurable.

§ 20 gives some general directions respecting the treatment of tumours; that lubricants, sudorifics, emetics, and enemas should be first resorted to for regulating the air-tumour, because when that is done the disorders of the other tumours are easily dealt with.

§ 21 repeats, in a versified form, the prose directions given in § 20.

§ 22 briefly summarizes, once more, the contents of the chapter, as being the number, causes, symptoms, premonitory conditions, and remedial treatment of *gulma*.

There are two incongruous points in this professedly pathological account of the tumours, which cannot fail to attract our attention at once. In the first place, §§ 2 and 3 duplicate § 22. Both profess to give a summary of the contents of the chapter, but while § 22 enumerates them in the actual order in which they stand in the chapter, §§ 2 and 3 assign to the premonitory conditions a place which they do not occupy in the chapter. Paragraphs 2 and 3, therefore, are suspect; and in the sequel we shall find this suspicion confirmed by an indication that the whole introductory portion, consisting of §§ 1-3, is the work, either wholly or in a revised form, of Dridhabala.

In the second place, §§ 20 and 21, containing as they do directions regarding the treatment of tumours, impress

one as being out of place in a chapter on the pathology of those growths, and as belonging rather to the chapter on their therapeutics. As a matter of fact, on referring to the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhata the elder, we find that the whole of § 20 occurs *verbatim* in that work at the commencement of the sixteenth chapter on the therapeutics of *gulma*. And similarly, on referring to Mādhava's great work on therapeutics, called *Siddhayoga*, we find the whole of § 21 verbally repeated, as verse 2, at the beginning of its thirtieth chapter on the treatment of *gulma*. If we further remember that § 20 and § 21 are duplicates, § 21 being substantially only a versified version of the prose statement in § 20, it is difficult to decline the conclusion that whoever wrote those two concluding paragraphs, 20 and 21, copied them *verbatim* from the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* and *Siddhayoga* respectively.¹ If this be so, they cannot have been written by Charaka, but must have been added to his pathological chapter by the revisor Dṛiḍhabala, who, on his part, copied them from the works of Vāgbhata the elder, and Mādhava. As a corollary, we have the interesting chronological information that Dṛiḍhabala is posterior not only to Vāgbhata I, but also to Mādhava. It might be objected, as an alternative hypothesis, that Charaka wrote the two paragraphs, and that Vāgbhata, whose therapeutic chapter is in prose, quoted the prose version from § 20, while Mādhava, who wrote in verse, quoted the versified duplicate

¹ The facts seem to be these: Vāgbhata I (in AS., vol. ii, p. 89, ll. 8-12) compressed in prose the substance of Charaka's versified remarks in verses 18-25 of his therapeutic chapter (p. 485), preserving a few catchwords (*jīteḥ, mārutim*, etc.). Afterwards Mādhava turned the compressed prose version once more into verse (MS., p. 261, vv. 1-4), and in doing so preserved the same catchwords (*mārute, vijite*, etc.). Still later, Dṛiḍhabala added the prose of Vāgbhata I and the verse of Mādhava to Charaka's genuine *Nidāna* (as §§ 20 and 21, p. 214), without apparently realising, not only that the prose and verse versions were duplicates, but that both these versions themselves were actually duplicates of Charaka's own genuine verses in his *Ōkīṣita* chapter.

from § 21. There can be no demonstrative proof in such cases, but which alternative is more probable? On the hypothesis of Charaka's authorship we have to admit two incongruities, not only that he appended a distinctly therapeutic statement to his pathological chapter, but further that he went so far as to duplicate that incongruous appendix in prose and verse. Why he should have taken the trouble to duplicate in verse an otherwise incongruous statement, when the whole of the remainder of the chapter is written in prose, passes one's understanding. As we shall see in the sequel, the substance of the statement, in §§ 20 and 21, is actually given by Charaka, in rather more detail, and in a versified form, in the beginning of his chapter on the therapeutics of *gulma* (vv. 18-25 in CS., p. 485). On the Charaka hypothesis, accordingly, we should have to admit that he actually repeated a therapeutic statement of his own as an appendix to his pathological chapter, where it was out of place, and that he further made this incongruous repetition in a duplicate form, in prose (§ 20), and in verse (§ 21). On the other hand, on the Dṛiḍhabala hypothesis, we know that Dṛiḍhabala himself states that he compiled from various sources (CS. viii, 12, v. 79, p. 930), and it is quite intelligible that, mere compiler as he was, he was anxious to utilize his sources to the uttermost, even at the expense of consistency and congruity. To my mind, at least, there can be no question, even on this single piece of evidence, as to which of the two alternatives is to be preferred. But we shall see presently that the evidence in favour of the Dṛiḍhabala hypothesis accumulates as we go on in our enquiry.

I now proceed to the analysis of Charaka's chapter on the therapeutics of *gulma*. It is entirely written in verse, and these (in Jivānanda's edition of 1896, which I here again follow) number 184. It divides itself into three portions. The first, verses 1-17, is pathological;

the second, verses 18-62*a*, is therapeutic; the third, verses 62*b*-164, is pharmaceutic. The whole concludes with an appendix and a summary, verses 165-84.

Verses 1-17 are pathological. They go over exactly the same ground as Charaka's chapter on the pathology of *gulma*. But the account they give is duplicated as follows:—Verses 1-5 describe in general terms the growth of the four kinds of humoral tumours, i.e., those due to (1) air, (2) air and bile, (3) air and phlegm, (4) combination of all three. Verse 6 enumerates the five localities of the tumours exactly as in § 5 of the pathological chapter; and verse 16 adds a description of the blood-tumour. In verses 7-15 and 17 the same account is repeated, in some more detail, explaining the causes, symptoms, and troubles of each of the five kinds of tumour.

With regard to the latter more detailed account, it is especially apparent that it is based on Charaka's detailed account of the tumours in his pathological chapter. And I may here add the curious fact that this more detailed account (vv. 7-15 and 17) is a *verbatim* copy of the account of the tumours in Mādhava's great pathological work, known as the *Nidāna*, where it is found in chapter xxviii, verses 6-11, and 12*b* (MN., pp. 174-6).

The improbability of Charaka having written these introductory seventeen verses appears to me obvious. It seems almost impossible that Charaka should have gone to the trouble of versifying the substance of his own pathological chapter, and prefixing it to his therapeutic chapter, where it is quite out of place. It is far more probable that this was done by the uncritical revisor and compiler Dṛiḍhabala. There can be little doubt that the real author of the latter portion of the introduction (vv. 7-15, 17) is Mādhava, who versified the substance of Charaka's pathological chapter for his own pathology (*Nidāna*); and from him Dṛiḍhabala, the compiler, copied it. The earlier portion (vv. 1-6, 16) also is, in all

probability, a copy, though for the present I am not able to name its source. It might, of course, have been written by Dṛiḍhabala himself, but as he is essentially a mere compiler, that is not very probable.

Verses 18-61 are therapeutical. They constitute the essential portion of Charaka's chapter on the treatment of internal tumours. In verse 18 Charaka explains that he is now going to describe what is the proper course of treating a tumour in its various stages, and that having done so he will recommend a number of formulæ appropriate to each stage. In verse 62*a*, having finished the description of the course of treatment, he repeats the statement that he will now proceed to enumerate the formulæ which are suitable to its several stages. It is plain, therefore, that in verses 18-61 Charaka professes to have covered the whole ground of the therapeutics of tumours. The details are as follows: In verses 18-30 he gives general directions as to the internal treatment of air-tumours with lubricants,¹ decoctions, enemas, and sudorifics. He is particularly careful to explain two points; first, that the treatment must be adapted to the three localities in which tumours occur, viz., the upper or epigastric region of the abdomen (*ūrdhva-nābhi*), the middle, or umbilical region (*paku-āsaya*), and the lower or hypogastric region (*jathara*); and, secondly, that though always on the guard against complications with the other two humours (bile and phlegm), attention must in the main, and at all times, be directed to the rectification of the air-tumour on account of its being the basic cause of all tumours. Next, in verses 31-42, Charaka goes on to describe how bile-complications are to be treated. This is done by means of milk-clysters and purgatives; if necessary, by bleeding; and ultimately, if all other remedies fail, by surgical

¹ Lubricant, in the original, is *mūcha*, or oleaginous preparation, especially medicated oil or clarified butter, to be taken internally (*mūcha-pāna*).

operation of the tumour when mature. In connection therewith, he describes the signs by which a mature may be distinguished from an immature tumour. Directions are also given for a suitable dietary. In verses 43-6a, Charaka turns to the treatment of a deep-seated tumour. Such a tumour, apparently, is not to be treated surgically, but only by means of lubricants and purgatives, till it disperses of its own accord. In verses 46b-61b, Charaka proceeds to describe the treatment of a phlegm-complication by means of fasting, emetics, sudorifics, purgatives, and clysters, together with attention to a suitable diet. If these remedies prove ineffectual, the surgeon is to be called in to apply potential or even actual cautery, and ultimately the knife. Finally, in verse 61c, Charaka directs that in the case of a concurrence of disorders of all three humours, a suitable combination of all the before-mentioned remedies must be resorted to.

Respecting the last point, it may be noted that this is all that Charaka says about the concurrence-tumour. As he had previously (in the pathological chapter) declared that that kind of tumour was incurable, he does not trouble about describing it in detail, but contents himself with indicating a method of alleviating it. There is another point I may note at once in passing; it will be discussed more in detail in the sequel. Charaka makes no mention whatsoever of the blood-tumour of women. The only tumours which he notices in the course of his therapeutic exposition are the air-tumour, the tumours due to the complication of two humours (air and bile, air and phlegm), and the tumours due to all three humours concurrently. Besides these three (or four) kinds of humoral tumours, he knows no other.¹

¹ The scheme of Charaka is essentially one of three kinds, viz., tumours of one humour, of two humours combined, and of three humours combined. But the second kind admits of two varieties, viz., air *plus* bile, and air *plus* phlegm. Hence, in a sense, the scheme may be said to be one of four kinds. The scheme of Susruta the younger (see p. 1022)

Having described the proper method of treatment of tumours, Charaka proceeds to the pharmaceutic portion (vv. 62-164) of his therapeutic chapter, in which he gives a list of formulæ for preparing the various kinds of remedies which he had recommended in the course of that description. The list divides itself into three sections, which are marked off from one another by a few words of general advice regarding digestion. The details are as follows:—In verses 62-107 Charaka enumerates a number

is one of five kinds, viz., tumours of the air, bile, and phlegm humours (each singly), of the three humours combined, and of the blood. But the bile and phlegm tumours of Suśruta, though either of them seemingly of a single humour, are really identical with the air-bile and air-phlegm tumours of Charaka. Vāgbhaṭa I, in his *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* (vol. i, p. 288, ll. 8, 9), propounds a theory of eight kinds, viz., three tumours of a single humour (air, bile, phlegm), three tumours of a couple of humours (air-bile, air-phlegm, and bile-phlegm), one tumour of all three humours combined (air-bile-phlegm), and one blood-tumour. This, however, is mere scholastic trifling, and is practically admitted to be such by Vāgbhaṭa himself; for in his subsequent description of the several kinds of *gulma* he speaks only of the five kinds of Suśruta's scheme, but ignores entirely his own additional three (bile, phlegm, and bile-phlegm) as unrealities. The eightfold division of Vāgbhaṭa I is adopted by Vāgbhaṭa II in his *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (vol. i, p. 784, v. 32). Mādhava, in his *Nidāna* (p. 172, v. 1) adopts the fivefold division of Suśruta; and he is followed by Dṛiḍhabala, who foists that division into Charaka's account of *gulma* (*ante*, p. 1003). Instead of §§ 1-3 of the existing redaction, the original text of Charaka may be suggested to have been something as follows:—*Ita khalu trayo gulmā bhavanti | tad-yathā vāta-gulmaḥ śvāśrīṣṭa-gulmo nīcayā-gulmaḥ.* || And combining this with Suśruta's scheme, above-mentioned, Vāgbhaṭa I writes (AS., p. 288, ll. 8b, 9): *Gulmo 'gudhā prthag-doyāḥ saṁdṛṣṭair = nīcayam-gutaiḥ | ārtavasya ca doṣeṣu nārīṣāṁ jāyate 'gamaḥ.* || The scheme, found in the Bower MS., is the fivefold one of Suśruta II. Thus five *gulma* are mentioned in part ii, vv. 237 and 256, and the blood-tumour in part ii, v. 261. This places the date of the treatise in the Bower MS. after Suśruta II. In this connection the scheme of the *Hārīta Saṁhitā* is noteworthy. It includes five *gulma*; but the blood-tumour is not among them. It is based on the principle of locality: of these localities there are five, *hṛd*, *kukṣi*, *nābhi*, *vasti*, and *madhya*, and in them respectively there are five *gulma*, viz., *yakṣi* (liver), *aṣṭhīlikā*, *granthi*, *caṇḍa-vṛddhi* (hernia?), and *pīṭhan* (spleen). This scheme appears to include diseases to which the term *gulma* as used by Charaka and Suśruta does not apply at all.

of formulæ for preparing lubricants, purgatives, nutrients, etc., useful in combating an air-tumour. Now come two verses, 108 and 109, of general advice.¹ Verses 110-30 are devoted to a list of formulæ useful in bile-complications. After two more verses, 131 and 132, of general advice,¹

¹ It may be noted that the formula in verses 65, 66 (in CS., p. 489), is found also in Suśruta, verses 26, 27 (in SS., p. 805). It is one of the few verbal coincidences between the textbooks of Suśruta and Charaka, and may be due to copying either from one another or from a common source—a point still waiting for exact investigation. Verses 108a and 132a are quoted *verbatim* in AS., vol. II, p. 95, ll. 18, 19, by Vāgbhata I, who explicitly indicates them as a quotation by the prefixed phrase, *bharati c = ātra*.—Some verses in the Jiv. ed. of 1896 are altogether spurious, being due neither to Charaka nor Drīḍhabala. To these belong v. 64a, on p. 488, which cannot be genuine for several reasons: (1) the *śatpala* formula, for which the verse refers the reader to the *rāja-yakṣman* chapter, as a fact occurs in the *gulma* chapter itself, at p. 495, in verses 143, 144, though with the name *pañcakola*; (2) the *śatpala* of the *rāja-yakṣman* chapter occurs on p. 531, where, however, there is nothing to identify it as the *śatpala*; (3) the *rāja-yakṣman* chapter, coming after the *gulma* chapter, the reference on p. 488 would be a reference forward to p. 531, instead of backward; (4) the verse is not found in the old Nepal MS. (fl. 243b), nor in any of the other MSS. accessible to me (Ind. Off. 335, fl. 279b; Ind. Off. 359, fl. 21a; Tüb. 450, fl. 424a; Tüb. 459, fl. 53a; Decc. 925, fl. 226a), nor in any edition, except Jiv., 1896, and Avināś Chandra. The interpolation is clearly based on a remark in AS., vol. II, p. 89, l. 14, where the reader is referred to the *rāja-yakṣman* chapter for the *śatpala* formula. There the remark is justified, for in AS. the *rāja-yakṣman* chapter comes before the *gulma* chapter, and the reference, therefore, is backward, from p. 89 to p. 38, where the *śatpala* formula is given with that very name. Moreover, AS. does not give the *pañcakola* formula in its chapter on *gulma*. In fact, verse 64a is a very stupid and apparently modern interpolation. Also verses 82-6, on p. 490, are in all probability not genuine. They are, it is true, found in some MSS. (e.g., Ind. Off. 359, fl. 224a; Tüb. 458, fl. 425a), and are admitted in the editions of Gangādhara, the two Sen, and Abināś Chandra. But they are omitted in some of the oldest and best MSS. (e.g., old Nepal MS., fl. 244a; Ind. Off. 335, fl. 280b; Tüb. 459, fl. 54a; Decc. 925, fl. 226b; also in Jiv., 1st ed., 1877, p. 515), as well as by Chakrapāṇidatta, who, in his *Ūkṛtā Saṃgraha* (p. 339), quotes the whole passage, verses 81-91, but omits verses 82-6. His commentator, Śiva Dāsa, however, refers to them, so that we may conclude that he had them in his text of Charaka, while they were wanting in the text used by Chakrapāṇidatta. Seeing that they are substantially identical with verses 75-80, the balance of probability is for their being spurious, though a comparatively early interpolation.

come verses 133-64 giving formulæ for the treatment of phlegm-complications.

This concludes the promised list of formulæ, and according to Charaka's own statement, above referred to (p. 1008), one would expect his therapeutic chapter to close here. But instead of closing, it proceeds to add two small paragraphs, one of which, comprising verses 165-7, gives a description of certain incurable tumours due to concurrent disorders of all three tumours; while the other, comprising 168-71a, gives directions respecting the treatment of blood-tumours. These two paragraphs clearly constitute an appendix to the therapeutic chapter; but that the appendix cannot have proceeded from Charaka seems obvious enough from its character. For, as regards the first paragraph, it is quite out of place where it stands. Being pathological, its proper place would be at the end of Charaka's pathological chapter, in § 19, where Charaka refers to the incurable tumours (see p. 1004). As a matter of fact, that paragraph does occur *verbatim* in that very place in Mādhava's Pathology (*Nidāna*, p. 177). For there it stands at the end of the chapter on *gulma*, which is its proper place. There can be no reasonable doubt that Dṛiḍhabala quoted it from Mādhava, because, as he noticed quite correctly, the pathological chapter of Charaka omitted to give a detailed description of the incurable concurrence-tumour. But, uncritically enough, he added it as an appendix to the therapeutic instead of the pathological chapter. As to the second paragraph on the blood-tumour (vv. 168-78a), it reproduces in a versified form the prose statement of Vāgbhaṭa I in his *Aṣṭāṅga Samhitā* (ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8-17). Charaka's genuine exposition (vv. 18-92a), as has been previously (p. 1009) pointed out, makes no mention at all of the blood-tumour. It suggests itself that Dṛiḍhabala, noticing the omission, supplied it from Vāgbhaṭa I's work. In this case, he could not so well

draw on Mādhava's therapeutic *Siddhayaoga*; for that work (ch. xxx, vv. 36-9, pp. 268-9) contains but a bare mention of the blood-tumour.¹

Following upon the appendix, the therapeutic chapter winds up, in verses 178*b*c-84, with a summary of its contents. That this summary, in the form in which we now have it, cannot be the work of Charaka, is shown by the circumstance that it contains, in verses 182*b*-4, a reference to the matters mentioned in the introduction and appendix, neither of which can be compositions of Charaka.

Before proceeding farther, I must revert to a passage of the concluding division of the pharmaceutic portion, which appears to me to exhibit distinct marks of being an interpolation of Dīdhabala. The passage comprises verses 133*b*-6. These verses give directions as to the method of cupping a phlegm-tumour patient. It seems very doubtful whether the process of cupping was included in Charaka's scheme of treating a phlegm-tumour. Referring to that scheme in the earlier portion of the therapeutic chapter, we find Charaka directing, in verses 49-51, that the patient should be made to vomit and to sweat, and when this had the effect of relaxing the rigidity of the tumour, the patient should be given lubricants, enemas, and purgatives prepared with the so-called *daśa-mūla* (or ten-roots) drugs. There is here no recommendation to bleed the patient by cupping. If we now turn to the pharmaceutic portion of Charaka's therapeutic chapter we find in verse 133*a* a direction to cause vomiting, in verse 137*a* a formula how to sweat the patient, and in verse 138 a formula for the preparation of the *daśa-mūla* purgative. All this agrees with Charaka's earlier directions. And when we now find between verses 133*a* and 137*a* interpolated a direction

¹ It may be added that Vāgbhāṭa II, in his *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (ch. xiv, vv. 19, 122-9), again quotes Dīdhabala's verses in a slightly modified form. The prose statement of Vāgbhāṭa I appears to be based in part on Sūśruta's verses (SS., *Utt. Stb.* xlii, vv. 119, 120, p. 805).

for cupping (vv. 133b-6), and further find that precisely the same direction, in the same connection, is given in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* (vol. ii, from p. 93, l. 25, to p. 94, l. 5), it seems impossible to refuse the conclusion that the verses in question are an interpolation by Dṛiḍhabala on the basis of the AṢ. remarks. With regard to the latter, it is to be noted that they omit all details of the operation, but refer for them to a previous chapter on *yantra-śāstra-vidhi*, or "the employment of instruments" (38th of the *Sātra Sthāna*, vol. i, p. 169, ll. 15, 16). But as the *Charaka Saṁhitā* does not contain a similar chapter on instruments, and hence the interpolator could not avail of a reference to it, he was compelled to give, and does give, the details of the operation in the *gulma* chapter itself. Another point which is in favour of these verses being an interpolation of Dṛiḍhabala is the fact that throughout his directions for treating tumours the genuine Charaka never enters into the details of operative methods, but at once recommends to have recourse to the surgeon, whose business, he says, it is to intervene operatively (see vv. 42 and 61). Lastly, it is to be observed that Mādhava, who closely follows Charaka in his therapeutic treatise *Siddhayoga*, entirely ignores the use of cupping.

In the course of the foregoing analysis I took occasion to point out that it contains constructive evidence of Dṛiḍhabala's interference with Charaka's original text. I shall now adduce some direct evidence in corroboration. It occurs in the pharmaceutic portion (vv. 62b-164) of the therapeutic chapter. In that portion the *Siddhi Sthāna* (or eighth section of the *Charaka Saṁhitā*), which is admittedly the composition of Dṛiḍhabala, is thrice referred to by name. It is first named in verses 98 and 99. In verse 95 Charaka had been speaking of sudorifics (*sveda*), and he had referred to the fourteenth chapter (called *sveda-vidhi*, or "the employment of sudorifics") of his first section (or *Sātra Sthāna*) for further information on the subject. He

had next referred, in verses 96 and 97, to the importance of clysters (*vasti*, *nirūha*) in the treatment of tumours, but had omitted to give any particular formula for preparing them. It was evidently for the purpose of repairing this omission that Dṛiḍhabala inserted the two verses 98 and 99. They run as follows :—"Various approved clysters for curing tumours are given in the *Siddhi Sthāna*; also medicated oils for the same purpose will be found in the chapter on *vātaroga* (i.e. rheumatic and nervous diseases). These oils, administered as drinks, or unguents, or clysters, are very effective in the case of air-tumours, for oil is the subduer of the air-humour." Of the *Siddhi Sthāna* we know that Dṛiḍhabala himself claims to be the author (CS. vi, 28, vv. 273-5, p. 827); and the reference is to the third chapter (*vasti-sūtrīya siddhi*) of that *Sthāna* which treats of the preparation of clysters. The chapter on *vātaroga* (or, as it is more commonly called, *vāta-vyādhi*) is the twenty-sixth (or, according to the other reckoning, twenty-eighth) chapter of the Therapeutic Section (*Cikitsita Sthāna*), and, from the way in which it is mentioned in connection with the *Siddhi Sthāna*, it may rightly be concluded that Dṛiḍhabala indicates himself as its author.

The second reference to the *Siddhi Sthāna* occurs in verse 128^a. In verse 127 Charaka had recommended to sufferers from bile-tumours certain medicated oils as unguents; and in verse 128^a he added a milk clyster (*ksīra-vasti*), medicated with bitter drugs. The latter, he indicated, was to be found in the first (or third) chapter of his Therapeutic Section (*Cikitsita Sthāna*), where he described the treatment of bilious fevers (*pitta-jvara*). To this Dṛiḍhabala added the following half-verse (v. 128^b): "Also those clysters which will be found in (the third chapter of) the *Siddhi Sthāna* are useful to patients from bile-tumours."

The third reference occurs in verses 157 and 159. In the former verse Dṛiḍhabala says that "Approved formulæ

for enemas (*nirūha*) will be found in the *Siddhi Sthāna*; also approved formulæ for the preparation of medicated liquors in the chapters on the treatment of *grahāṇī*, or diarrhœa, and of *arśas*, or hæmorrhoids." And after a remark of Charaka, in verse 158, that the powders, pills, and caustics (*ksāra*), appointed for air-tumour patients, may be used also for phlegm-tumour patients, if prepared with double the quantity of drugs, Dṛiḍhabala, with the object of particularising the caustics, explains, in verse 159, that "The caustics, here meant for phlegm-tumour patients, are those described, as approved and unattended by risk, in the chapter on *grahāṇī*, or diarrhœa." The chapter on *grahāṇī* is the seventeenth (or nineteenth) of the Therapeutic Section (*Cikitsita Sthāna*), and here again, as in the previously-mentioned chapter on *vātaroga*, the association of the chapter on *grahāṇī* with the *Siddhi Sthāna* suggests an indication by Dṛiḍhabala of his own authorship.

The inference with respect to Dṛiḍhabala's authorship of the two chapters on *vātaroga* and *grahāṇī* receives support from the Indian medical tradition. Both traditional serial orders (*ante*, p. 1000) allot the two chapters to Dṛiḍhabala. Moreover, they are specifically attributed to him by the commentators Vijaya Rakshita and Arupadatta, in the first half of the thirteenth century. The former, in his *Madhukoṣa* commentary on Mādhava's *Nidāna* (Jiv. ed., pp. 147, 152), expressly ascribes the *vātaroga* chapter to Dṛiḍhabala; and the latter, in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (*Śārīra Sth.* iii, vv. 62b, 63a, p. 571) does the same with regard to the *grahāṇī* chapter. Of course, this need be no independent testimony, for the two commentators may have had for the ascription no other ground than the inference now under discussion; but even if this be so, the agreement shows the obviousness of the inference which suggests itself so naturally to independent investigators.

But this leads a step further. There is good reason

(see my "Osteology," p. 14) for believing that Vāgbhaṭa II, when he wrote his *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, was acquainted with Dṛiḍhabala's edition of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. In his chapter on the treatment of *gulma* (AH. iii, 14, p. 249 ff.) he refers to Dṛiḍhabala's interpolation in the following terms (ibid., vv. 99 and 102a, p. 265): "For the purpose of curing tumours let the physician administer the enemata (*nirūha*) described in the *Kalpa-siddhī Sthāna*," and "in a phlegm-complication the caustics (*kṣāra*) should be administered which are mentioned in the chapters on the treatment of *arśas*, or hæmorrhoids, *aśmarī*, or gravel, and *grahāṇī*, or diarrhœa." Here we see that Vāgbhaṭa II, while quoting Dṛiḍhabala, enlarges the list of chapters by the addition of *aśmarī*. The treatment of *aśmarī* is included in the chapter on the treatment of what is called *Trimarmāya* (or Three Vitals). That chapter is the twenty-fourth (or twenty-sixth) of the Therapeutic Section (*Cikitsita Sthāna*) of Charaka's Compendium, and is uniformly attributed to Dṛiḍhabala by the Indian tradition, e.g. in the two traditional serial orders (p. 1000), by the commentator Vijaya Rakshita (in his *Madhukośa*, pp. 179, 180, 186) and by Bhaṭṭotpala (in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, lii, 39-41, Sudhakar ed., p. 661). It can hardly be doubtful, therefore, that the same attribution was intended by Vāgbhaṭa II (ninth century); but if so, it follows, as a natural conclusion, that in his opinion the chapter on *arśas*, which is so significantly associated with those on *aśmarī* and *grahāṇī*, was also the composition of Dṛiḍhabala. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, as we have seen, Dṛiḍhabala himself, in verse 157, associates the chapter on *arśas* with that on *grahāṇī*, and both these chapters with the *Siddhī Sthāna*, which certainly was his own composition. Dṛiḍhabala, therefore, clearly appears to indicate himself as the author of all three portions of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. Now the chapter on *arśas* forms one of the crucial points

of the whole difficulty. For, as will be seen by reference to the Table on p. 1000, the chapter on *arśas* is ascribed by one of the two traditional serial orders to Charaka, while the other attributes it to Dṛiḍhabala. The latter is that adopted by Gangādhar in his Berhampur edition, and if the inferences above drawn from Dṛiḍhabala's own statements, as well as from those of the commentators, are admitted to be correct, it follows that that serial order, in fact, is the true one. And this conclusion, in its turn, practically decides the whole difficulty about the identity of the seventeen chapters which Dṛiḍhabala contributed to the *Cikitsita Sthāna*. The main point which makes one feel not quite satisfied with the solution is the testimony of the great commentator Chakrapāṇidatta (c. 1060 A.D.), who adopts the rival serial order. Until this point has been satisfactorily cleared up, perhaps it may be better to allow the authorship of the ten chapters, numbered 7-10 in the Table of the two Serial Orders, to remain an open question.

I may, however, briefly mention another piece of evidence in favour of the serial order in question, viz. that in column ii of the Table. According to it the two chapters on *unmāda* and *apasmāra* take their places (Nos. 7 and 8) immediately after the sixth chapter on *yakṣman*. In the *Nidāna Sthāna*, which is admittedly the composition of Charaka, they have precisely the same position, while in the rival serial order (col. i of the Table) they stand in a very different place (Nos. 12 and 13), separated from the sixth by five intermediate chapters. The six initial chapters, from *jvara* down to *yakṣman*, are, in both serial orders alike, attributed to Charaka; and it may reasonably be argued that, if Charaka wrote any more chapters, he would keep to his own order, exhibited in the *Nidāna Sthāna*, and after finishing with *yakṣman*, would go on to the treatment of *unmāda* and *apasmāra*, instead of writing five chapters on subjects

not touched on at all in his *Nidāna*.¹ As the therapeutic order in column ii exactly agrees with the pathological order in Charaka's *Nidāna*, it seems only reasonable to hold that the order shown in that column is the true one.

But to return to our previous discussion, I have shown (p. 1012) that there is good reason to attribute to Dṛiḍhabala the Appendix to the therapeutic chapter on *gulma*, which deals with the incurable tumour and the blood-tumour. Respecting the latter tumour, I may now add a further unexceptionable proof of the authorship of Dṛiḍhabala. In verse 174 reference is made to a clyster called *daśa-mūlika*, or 'prepared with the set of ten roots.' The formula for preparing this clyster is found in the third chapter of the *Siddhi Sthāna*, verses 59 and 60 (CS. viii, 3, p. 880), where it is named *dvi-pañca-mūlika*, or 'prepared with the set of twice-five roots.' Dṛiḍhabala's account of the blood-tumour, as has been already observed, is, in the main, a versification of the prose account by Vāgbhaṭa I in his *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* (AS., vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8-17). In the latter work, the *daśa-mūlika* is also referred to (*ibid.*, l. 14), and the formula for preparing it is given (in prose, but versified by Dṛiḍhabala) in the fifth chapter of its *Kalpa Sthāna*² (AS., v, 5, vol. ii, p. 154, ll. 18-21), also under the name of *dvi-pañca-mūlika*. Both circumstances, the close agreement with Vāgbhaṭa I, and the reference to the *Siddhi Sthāna*, prove unequivocally that the account of the blood-tumour cannot come from Charaka, but has been added by Dṛiḍhabala on the basis of the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I.

¹ There can be no doubt that the *Nidāna Sthāna*, equally with the *Cikitsā Sthāna*, was left incomplete by Charaka; but whatever chapters they contained would be expected to have run in the same order.

² The *Kalpa Sthāna* of Vāgbhaṭa I corresponds to the *Siddhi Sthāna* of Dṛiḍhabala. In the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II, it is called *Kalpa Sthāna*, or *Kalpa-Siddhi Sthāna* (AH, i, 1, v. 43; iv, 14, v. 996, in vol. i, p. 30; ii, p. 265), the latter term witnessing to Vāgbhaṭa II's acquaintance with Dṛiḍhabala's edition of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*.

I have already (p. 1007) referred to the extreme improbability of the introductory portion of the therapeutic chapter (vv. 1-17) having been written by Charaka. It is concerned with the pathology of the *gulma* diseases, and recapitulates in verse the whole of the contents of the prose chapter on that subject which is actually contained in the *Nidāna Sthāna*, or Pathological Section of Charaka's Compendium. It is incredible that Charaka should have stultified himself by repeating his own pathological remarks as an introduction to his therapeutical teaching. But there exists some more definite proof in support of this contention. The portion in question contains statements with respect to the situation and number of the tumours which are irreconcilable with admitted doctrines of Charaka. Thus, after recommending lubricants (*sneha*) and clysters (*vasti*) as remedies for tumours, Charaka, in verse 22, explains that "lubricants should be used when the tumour is situated in the upper region of the abdomen (*ūrdhva-nābhi*, lit. above the navel); clysters, when it occurs in its lower region (*pakv-āsaya*, lit. seat of ripe digestion); and both, when it is found in the middle region (*jathara*, belly, bowels)." As these three regions include the whole of the abdomen, which is the seat of the *gulma* diseases, it is obvious that Charaka recognizes only three localities for a tumour. On the other hand, the introduction, in verse 6, distinctly enumerates five localities. It states explicitly that "tumours occur in five situations (*pañca sthānāni*), the pubic (*vasti*), the umbilical (*nābhi*), the cardiac (*hṛd*), and the two lateral (*pārśve*) regions of the abdomen." This fivefold division, which likewise includes the whole of the abdomen, is incompatible with the threefold division. It cannot well be held that Charaka taught both schemes of division, one in the introduction, and another conflicting with it in the body of the therapeutic chapter. The fact is that the fivefold division is the doctrine of Suśruta; that is

to say, of Suśruta the younger, who wrote the Complementary Treatise (*Uttara-Tantra*) of the Compendium that goes by the name of Suśruta. It is taught explicitly in the forty-second chapter of that Treatise, in verse 3a (SS., p. 803): "The five seats of a tumour in men are the two lateral (*pārśve*), the cardiac (*hṛd*), the umbilical (*nābhi*), and the pelvic (*vasti*) regions."¹ From Suśruta that doctrine was definitely adopted in nearly all subsequent medical books in supersession of the earlier threefold division of Ātreya, handed down by Charaka. Thus Vāgbhaṭa the elder teaches the fivefold division, both in the Pathological (AS., *Nidāna Sthāna*, ch. xi, vol. i, p. 288, l. 22) and Therapeutic Sections (AS., *Cikitsita Sthāna*, ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 90, ll. 16, 17) of his textbook *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*. So also Mādhava, in his *Nidāna*, ch. xxviii, verse 1 (MN., p. 172). From Vāgbhaṭa I and Mādhava, who were among the chief sources of Dṛḍhabala, the latter adopted the fivefold division, and introduced it into Charaka's account of *gulma*, both the pathological (CS., *Nidāna*, § 5, p. 211) and therapeutic (*Cikitsita*, introd., v. 6a, p. 484), heedless of the fact that the therapeutic directions of Charaka (ibid., v. 22, p. 485) were based on the threefold division. Vāgbhaṭa the younger followed the inadvertent lead of Dṛḍhabala. In the *Nidāna Sthāna* of his Compendium *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, ch. xi, verse 40b (AH., vol. i, p. 786), he teaches the fivefold division of Suśruta, but in the *Cikitsita Sthāna*, ch. xiv, verse 4 (AH., vol. ii, p. 249) he quotes the threefold division *verbatim* from Charaka. The latter case deserves notice, because of the different and more consistent way in which Vāgbhaṭa the elder deals with it. The passage in question is that above referred to, Charaka's verse 22. When Vāgbhaṭa I comes to deal with it in his therapeutic

¹ This is practically the same as the modern division of the abdomen, as shown, e.g., in the diagram on p. 733 of Dr. Gerrieh's *Textbook of Anatomy* (2nd ed.).

chapter, he does not quote it, but alters it so as to suit the fivefold division which he had adopted. He says (AS., *Cik.*, ch. xvi, vol. ii, p. 90, ll. 16, 17): "lubricants should be used when the tumour is situated in the cardiac region (*hrdaya*); clysters, when it is in the pelvic region (*vasti*); and both, when it is in the umbilical (*nābhi*) and lateral (*pārśve*) regions." This shows that Vāgbhaṭa I had realised the inconsistency of the threefold division being retained by an expositor who held the fivefold division. Neither of the two subsequent expositors, Dṛiḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa II, were heedful of it. The action of Dṛiḍhabala in introducing in this heedless way the fivefold division into the therapeutic chapter of Charaka is of no little importance, because it furnishes us with one of the clearest evidences of Dṛiḍhabala having interfered with the original text of the pathological chapter of Charaka. As shown previously (p. 1003), paragraph 5 of that chapter, as it now stands, states that tumours may grow up in five places in the abdomen, viz., the cardiac, umbilical, pelvic, and two lateral regions. This is the well-known fivefold division of Suśruta. It cannot have stood in the text as written by Charaka. There it must have been the threefold division into the cardiac, umbilical, and pelvic divisions.¹

The question of the number of localities in which the *gulma* disease is said to be met with is, to some extent, complicated with the number of their kinds. In close, though not essential, connection with the doctrine of the five localities of tumours (see *ante*, p. 1021), Suśruta the younger also ascribes to them five varieties.² In chapter 42, verses 5b and 6a (SS., p. 803), he explains that

¹ The existing text is *hrdi vastau pārśvayor-nābhyām vā m (gulmaḥ) śūlam-āpajanyati*. The original text probably was *jaghare pakvāśaye ūrdhve-nābhyām vā*, etc.

² The equalization of the number is probably only due to the Indian scholastic love of symmetry.

"tumours may arise, in people generally, from disorders in the humours, acting either singly, or concurrently; and in women especially, a further kind of tumour may arise from disorder in their menstrual blood." And then he goes on (in vv. 8-12) to describe in detail the following five kinds of tumours, namely, those due—(1) to disordered air, (2) disordered bile, (3) disordered phlegm, (4) concurrent disorder of all three humours, and (5) disordered blood. Now, as previously (p. 1009) pointed out, Charaka in his therapeutic chapter knows, and describes only three kinds of tumours, viz., (1) those due to one disordered humour (air), (2) those due to two disordered humours in complication (air-bile and air-phlegm), and (3) those due to the concurrent disorder of all three humours (air, bile, phlegm). And it is in agreement (whether essential or not) with this doctrine of three kinds of tumours that, as noticed on p. 1020, Charaka also teaches a triad of positions in which a tumour may occur. It follows, therefore, that when Charaka is made to teach a pentad of tumours (in v. 6a), and, conformably thereto, the existence of a blood-tumour (vv. 168-77a), the discrepancy is due, not to Charaka, but to his uncritical revisor and interpolator, Dṛiḍhabala. Moreover, as Charaka is represented as teaching this discrepant doctrine, both in his therapeutic and pathological chapters, this fact proves that both chapters have suffered from the revising labours of Dṛiḍhabala. As to the therapeutic chapter, we have seen (p. 1012) that the doctrine of the blood-tumour is taught in an appendix (vv. 168-77a). The very fact that it occurs in an appendix, and the further incongruous fact that though a pathological matter, it is appended to a therapeutic chapter (two matters, which the genuine Charaka always keeps separate), prove, with as much cogency as the circumstances admit, that Charaka cannot be the author of the appendix, but that Dṛiḍhabala must have written it. Similarly, all those portions of the existing pathological chapter, which teach the un-Charakiyan

doctrines of a pentad of tumours, and a blood-tumour, cannot be genuine compositions of Charaka, but must be either modifications or entirely new additions made by Dṛiḍhabala. These portions are, (1) the three initial paragraphs, for §§ 1 and 2 mention the pentad of tumours, and § 3, as previously observed (p. 1004), not only duplicates the genuine summary in § 22, but enumerates the items in a false order; and (2) the five paragraphs 12-16, for they set out in detail the doctrine of the blood-tumour. For the sake of completing the enumeration of the spurious accessions to the pathological chapter, I may here add, (3) the passage, already noted (pp. 1003 and 1022) in § 5, which mentions the pentad of positions of a tumour, and (4) §§ 20 and 21, because (see p. 1005) they are *verbatim* quotations from Vāgbhaṭa the elder's *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* and Mādhava's *Siddhayaoga* respectively, and because they exhibit the incongruity of appending therapeutic matters to a pathological chapter.

Regarding the description of the blood-tumour in §§ 12-16 of the pathological chapter, the manner in which it is done affords a further curious evidence of the authorship of Dṛiḍhabala. As previously observed (pp. 1005, 1012), one of the main sources of Dṛiḍhabala in his revisionary and complementary activity was the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa the elder. Comparing the pathological (*Nidāna*) chapters of that work and of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* we find their relation to be as follows (see Table I on p. 1028). Corresponding to §§ 1-3 in Charaka, which I have already attributed to Dṛiḍhabala, there is nothing in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*. Corresponding to §§ 4-11, which contain Charaka's description of the humoral tumours, there is Vāgbhaṭa's description (AS., vol. i, from p. 288, l. 10, to p. 289, l. 13), which closely, but by no means slavishly, follows the description of Charaka. On the other hand, §§ 12-16, which contain Charaka's description of the blood-tumour, agree, in §§ 12-14, almost *verbatim*, with the

corresponding description in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* (vol. i, p. 289, ll. 14–22). Corresponding to §§ 17–19 in Charaka, there is nothing in Vāgbhaṭa I; but § 20 in Charaka is quoted *verbatim* from the opening lines of Vāgbhaṭa I's therapeutic (*Cikitsita*) chapter (vol. ii, p. 89, ll. 8–11), while § 21 in Charaka is quoted *verbatim* from the commencement of the therapeutic chapter of Mādhava's *Siddhayaoga* (MS., v. 2, on p. 261). Corresponding to § 22, which contains the single summing-up verse of Charaka, there is nothing in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, which contains an altogether different series of concluding verses, partly based on Suśruta.¹ This summary comparison discloses a curious state of things, especially in the large descriptive portion of the chapters. The almost verbal agreement of the description of the blood-tumour in §§ 12–14, may be seen from the subjoined parallel columns, the identical passages being shown in italics:—

CHARAKA SAṂHITĀ.

Soṇita-gulmas = ta khalu *striyā*
eva bhavati, na puruṣasya | *garbha-*
koṣṭh-ārtas-opagamana-vāic-
ṣyāt || 12 || *Pāratantryā* = *avai-*
śīradhyāt = *satātam* = *apacār* = *ā-*
nurodhāt = *vegān* = *udīrṇān* =
aparundhantya āmagarbihe
v = *āpi acirāt* = *patite tath* = *āpy*
= *acira-prajātyā* *ṛtau eva vāta-*
prakopayaty = *āśevanānāyā*
vātaḥ prakopam = *āpadyate*
|| 13 || *Sa prakopito yonyā*
mukham = *anupravīḥ* = *ārtav-*
am = *aparunadlhi māś māśi*
tad = *ārtavam* = *aparudhyamā-*
nam kukṣim = *abhinivartayati*
|| 14 ||

AṢṬĀṆGA SAṂGRAHA.

Rakta-gulmas = *garbha-*
koṣṭh-ārtas-opagamana-vāic-
ṣyāt || *Pāratantryā* = *avai-*
śīradhyāt = *apacār* = *ā-*
nurodhāt = *ca striyā eva bhavati* |
tatra yadā sā ṛtumatī nava-
prasutā yoni-rogiṇī
evā vāta-
lāny = *āśevate tadā*
asya vāyuh
kupito yonyā
mukham = *anupravīḥ* = *ārtav-*
am = *aparunadlhi māś māśi*
tad = *aparudhyamā-*
nam kukṣim = *abhinivartayati* ||

Clearly, there must have been copying on one side or the other, but considering all the evidence that has been

¹ And, I may add, partly quoted by the later *Nidāna* of Mādhava (AS., vol. i, p. 296, ll. 8, 9 = MN., p. 174, v. 4).

accumulating respecting the peculiar revising methods of Dṛiḍhabala, the balance of probability inclines towards the copy being on the side of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*; that is to say, that Dṛiḍhabala wrote the account in that *Saṁhitā*, copying for the purpose largely from Vāgbhāṭa I. The case seems to stand thus: Vāgbhāṭa I based his description of the humoral tumours on Charaka, and that of the blood-tumour on Suśruta (and, probably, other authorities). Supposing that he had found the blood-tumour described in Charaka, he would have utilized Charaka's description for his own account of that tumour, but he would not have copied it, as little as he copied Charaka's description of the humoral tumours. Rather the fact is that he found the blood-tumour ignored in Charaka, but described in Suśruta (SS., p. 804, v. 12); and so, according to his plan of compiling a *Samgraha*, or summary of the leading medical opinions of his time, he combined in his own account, in his own way, the doctrines of the two standard medical writers. On the other hand, Dṛiḍhabala, when he came to revise the pathological chapter of Charaka, noticed, of course, the total omission of the blood-tumour, and as in his time that kind of tumour had become an established item in the medical teaching on *gulma*, he proceeded to insert it into Charaka's account, largely copying for this purpose from the description which he found in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhāṭa I.

This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the therapeutic chapters in Charaka and Vāgbhāṭa I. The relation of the two works to each other is shown in the subjoined Table II. It will be noticed that there is a difference in the method followed by the two writers. While Charaka keeps the therapeutic portion (vv. 18-61) distinctly separate from the pharmaceutic (vv. 62-164), Vāgbhāṭa I intersperses them. The two accounts, therefore, frequently overlap one another, and it is not possible, in

the Table, to do more than roughly indicate their mutual relation. Moreover, it must be remembered that it is the object of Vāgbhaṭa I to present a Summary (*Saṁgraha*) of the medical doctrines of his own time. Accordingly the pharmaceutic portion contains also formulæ gathered from Suśruta (e.g., AS. ii, 93, ll. 7-9 = SS., p. 812, v. 103), Kāṅkāyana (e.g., AS. ii, 91, ll. 9b-13a, see C.CS., p. 341), Bheda (e.g., AS. ii, 91, ll. 21-5), and perhaps other authorities. On the other hand, Vāgbhaṭa I studies brevity by referring the reader to other chapters, where the subject has already been dealt with (e.g., the reference to the chapter on *vidradhī*, AS. ii, 93, ll. 4, 11).¹ But the main point which I wish to make comes out clearly enough, namely, that Vāgbhaṭa's account of the blood-tumour (AS., vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8b-17) is an addition of his own, based on Suśruta; and that the account of it in Charaka is not an original part of Charaka's therapeutic chapter, but added on to it as an appendix by the revisor, Dṛiḍhabala. Similarly, the Table shows that the introductory part of the chapter (vv. 1-17), to which there is nothing corresponding in Vāgbhaṭa I, is also an addition made by Dṛiḍhabala; made, in fact, as pointed out on p. 1007, from Mādhava's *Nidāna* and other, at present, unknown sources.

¹ For another similar reference see *ante*, p. 1014.

COMPARATIVE TABLE I (showing copyings).

CHARAKA.	DRIDHABALA.	VĀGBHATA I.	MĀDHAVA.
(§ 1.) ¹ §§ 4-11. §§ 17-19. § 22.	<i>Nidāna</i> , ch. iii. Paras. 1-3. (Para. 5, ll. 2, 3.) ¹ Paras. 12-16. Para. 20. Para. 21.	<i>Aṅgāṅga Saṃgraha</i> . <i>Nidāna</i> , p. 289, ll. 14-22. <i>Cikitsita</i> , p. 89, ll. 8-11.	<i>Siddhayaoga</i> . ch. xxx, v. 2.
	<i>Cikitsita</i> , chap. iii. vv. 1-6, 16. vv. 7-15, 17. vv. 98, 99. v. 128. vv. 133b-136. vv. 137-156, 158. vv. 157, 159. vv. 165-167. vv. 168-178a. vv. 182b-184.	<i>Cikitsita</i> , ch. xvi. vol. ii, p. 95, ll. 8-17.	<i>Nidāna</i> , ch. viii. § 13.

COMPARATIVE TABLE II.

CHARAKA. CİKITSITA, ch. iii.		VĀGBHATA, vol. ii. CİKITSITA, ch. xvi.	
<i>Therapeutic.</i>	<i>Pharmaceutic.</i>	<i>From Charaka.</i>	<i>From other Sources.</i>
vv. 18, 19.		p. 89, l. 8-p. 90, l. 13.	
vv. 20-28.	vv. 62-71.	p. 90, l. 14-p. 91, ll. 9a, 13b, 21a.	p. 91, ll. 9b-13a (Kāṅkāyana).
vv. 29, 30.	vv. 72-86.	p. 92, ll. 2-22.	p. 91, l. 21b-p. 92, l. 1 (Bheḍa).
	vv. 87-107. ¹	p. 95, l. 48.	
vv. 30-42.	vv. 108, 109. ⁴	p. 92, l. 23-p. 93, ll. 9b, 10.	
	vv. 110-130. ³	p. 95, l. 19.	
	vv. 131, 132. ⁴	p. 93, ll. 11, 12a.	
vv. 43-46a.		p. 93, l. 12b-	
vv. 46b-61b.		p. 95, l. 7a.	
v. 61c.	vv. 133-164. ²	p. 95, ll. 7b, 8a.	

¹ Brackets indicate modified passages.² Verse 64a is certainly, and verses 82-6 possibly, spurious.³ Verses 98, 99, 128, 157, 159, are interpolated by Drīdhabala; also possibly verses 133b-136.⁴ These four are connecting verses (see p. 1011), two of which, 108a and 132a, are quoted by Vāgbhata I at the end of his chapter xvi.

XXV.

THE AUFRECHT COLLECTION.

By F. W. THOMAS.

THE annexed catalogue relates to a collection acquired by the India Office Library from the late Professor Aufrecht in the year 1904. The collection consists, as will be seen, partly of Sanskrit MSS., in most cases copied by Professor Aufrecht himself from originals in Europe or India, but including a few copies made, or procured from India, by friends (e.g., Professor Kuhn, Professor Bühler, Professor Kielhorn, and Dr. Stein) or otherwise obtained, and a few originals acquired by gift or purchase; partly of glossaries or word-indices; partly of *pratika*-indices, i.e., arrangements of initial words, of verses, *mantras*, or *sūtras*. In several cases we have the full apparatus of MS., glossary, and *pratika*-index to the same work. Many of the MSS. are equipped with collations, and miscellaneous notes are appended to a large proportion of them. We may take account also of a few specialities, such as materials for an edition of the *Damayantikāvya* or *Nalacampū* (No. 53).

The most striking features of the collection are its mass taken absolutely and its comprehensiveness in relation to the main corpus of the Vedic and the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It may be doubted whether any literature has ever been studied by a single individual in quite so thorough a manner. For his Oxford catalogue Aufrecht read through the complete text of the works therein described, and his *Catalogus Catalogorum* demanded in its compilation very much more than a comparison of titles. The present collection

gives us an insight into his manner of working. Of MSS. required for his purpose or his reading generally he was prepared to make copies with his own hand, adding careful collations. He noted the lexicographical features in the works which he read, and compiled glossaries, which not rarely assumed the proportions of *indices verborum*; and he made elaborate provision for tracing verse quotations from even the most voluminous sources. "I have known Aufrecht," wrote Professor Kielhorn, in whom Sanskrit scholarship has recently lost one of its most eminent and respected representatives, "for about 42 years, and I have often sat for hours with him in his library; and every time I have been more and more astonished at the enormous amount of information which he has collected in the numerous MS. books on his shelves. He has read and re-read more Sanskrit works than any other Sanskrit scholar, and has always done so with the pen in his hand . . . As early as 1862, when I first came to Oxford, Aufrecht had prepared a complete glossary of the R̥gveda, which, had it been published, would have rendered M. Müller's and Grassmann's work unnecessary. And so it will be with many other texts which he has indexed during an unusually long and laborious life."

The glossary mentioned by Professor Kielhorn appears as No. 1 in this collection: Grassmann refers to it in his Preface. The similar glossary to the Atharva-Veda (No. 6) is mentioned in a letter from Muir published in the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for 1867 (p. xxviii; see also, as regards the R̥g-Veda, p. lxxxvi, 1870), whereas Whitney's Index appeared in 1880. There are other cases also where Aufrecht's unpublished glossaries or *pratīka*-indices have been anticipated—a good instance would be the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Nos. 59, 60). What portion of utility they nevertheless retain must vary from case to case. In any event there remains a great quantity of

material which will be useful in the consultation of particular texts and in the compilation of dictionaries and other books of reference. The *pratika*-index, in twelve volumes, to the chief poetical and dramatic works I have myself had frequent occasion to consult, with increasing admiration for its comprehensiveness and accuracy. It is not surprising that after parting with his MSS. Aufrecht felt "like a man who has lost wife and children": they were, in fact, underestimated by him as "the outcome of the last 30 years." He was at the time (1904) 84 years of age. In March, 1906, he wrote: "I have now finished the Catalogue of the Munich MSS., and shall send this laborious work to the press in a few days. I am longing to do something for myself, and have chosen the *Bhāradvāja Āraṇyaka Sūtra* for my next work." The Munich catalogue, the last of Aufrecht's undertakings which was not "for myself," was, indeed, sent to, and partly seen through, the press; but the edition of the *Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra* cannot have been far advanced at the time of his death early in 1907.

The statements regarding editions, originals of MSS., etc., which are given in this list, are for the most part based upon information supplied by Aufrecht himself. Acknowledgment must also be made to Professor Macdonell, who saw the collection in Bonn and made notes regarding many of the volumes. But in not a few cases it has been necessary to elicit the facts from the works themselves, in which process some points have been left uncertain and no doubt some errors overlooked or originated. The list is composed, as will be seen, of two parts, the former giving an account of the collection as it stands in the order of the numbers assigned by Aufrecht, and the second¹ being an index of all the

¹ In regard to which I must acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. F. W. Thomas.

works, with a reference to the numbers under which the several MSS., glossaries, or *pratika*-indices may be found.

It is to be hoped that the publication of the list may enable those interested in Sanskrit studies to profit by the results of Aufrecht's heroic labour. His desire that "if scholars make use of my materials, they will acknowledge the service," is one which would hardly fail to be respected.

	PAGES
I. LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS . . .	1034-1055
II. INDEX OF TITLES . . .	1056-1063

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS.

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios. ¹	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
1	5	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 582 + 565 + 596 + 853 + 754.	Nāgarī.	Rg-Veda.
2	3	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 496 + 370 + 670.	Roman.	(1) Taittirīya Saṃhitā. (2) Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
3	1	25 × 20 cm.	pp. 318.	Roman.	(1) pp. 1 Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. (2) 1-146 Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. (3) pp. 146-50, Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. (4) pp. 151-63, Chāndogyaṃantrabhāṣya by Guṇaviṣṇu. (5) pp. 164-71, Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra. (6) pp. 172-318, Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra.
4	2	i, 35 × 22 cm. ii, 18 × 22 cm.	pp. 37. pp. 592.	i, Nāgarī and Roman. ii, Roman.	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.
5	2	23 × 18 cm.	pp. 264 + 142.	Roman.	Atharva Veda.
6	3	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 818 + 396 + 482.	Nāgarī and Roman.	Atharva Veda.
7	1	18 × 21 cm.	pp. 623*.	Nāgarī.	Atharva Veda Pariśiṣṭa (Tūrvārdha = cc. 1-36).
8	1	34 × 11 cm.	fol. 61.	Nāgarī.	Kauśika Sūtra.
9	1	23 × 18 cm.	pp. 159.	Roman.	Kausitaki Brāhmaṇa.

¹ An asterisk attached to numbers of folios indicates that the writing is on one side only : attached to numbers of pages it indicates that the writing is on alternate pages only.

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks. ²
G.	Aufrecht (1861-3).		Index Verborum.
G.	Weber (<i>Indische Studien</i> , vols. xi and xii). Bibliotheca Indica.		Index Verborum. The two works have each a separate column on each page; list of grammatical forms, etc., at end. The numbers refer to the sections of the text.
G.			
G.	Bibliotheca Indica. Stenzler. Stenzler. Oxford (Cat. ii, No. 1034). Oldenberg (<i>Indische Studien</i> , vol. xv). Bibliotheca Indica.		The Indices Verborum to the <i>Taittiriya Aranyaka</i> and <i>Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra</i> are on separate columns of the same pages. The numbers refer to the sections of the texts, except in the case of the <i>Gṛhyasūtra</i> , where they refer to folios of the MS.
G.			
P.			
P.			
P.			
G. and P.			
G.	Weber.		Index Verborum. Vol. i contains the words in ā-
MS.	Berlin (Weber, Nos. 332, 335, 338-9).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Kāṇḍas i-x (Weber, No. 332) in Pada; xi-xviii (Weber, Nos. 338-9) in Saṃhitā (Weber, No. 335 Pada).
G.	Roth and Whitney.		Index Verborum. Part of Kāṇḍas xix and xx wanting. Head-words in Nāgarī; citations (by sections of the text) in Roman.
MS.	Berlin (Weber, No. 1497).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Collated with, and from No. 2 based upon, Haug, No. 29; Weber, Nos. 365-6 also collated.
MS.	Bombay (which MS.?).		Adhyāy. i-vii, xi, xiii; oblong. Copy not dated.
G. and P.	MS. with Prof. Aufrecht (No. 10 <i>infra</i> ?).		Glossary and Pratikas combined in one alphabetical order; there are also grammatical and other notes. The numbers refer to the sections of the text.

² Where the method of citation is not stated, the customary method, e.g. by sections of the text in the case of Vedas and by verse-numbers in the case of Purāṇas, Epics, Satakas, etc., should be understood.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
10	2	28 × 12 cm.	i, fols. 234. ii, fols. 220.	Nāgarī.	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Bhāṣya by Vināyaka.
11	2	17 × 21 cm.	pp. 741+488.	Roman.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
12	1	20 × 16 cm.	pp. 198.	Roman.	Tāndya Brāhmaṇa.
13	2	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 473.	Roman.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
14	2	23 × 19 cm.	pp. 249+145.	Roman.	(1) Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. (2) Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra. (3) ii, pp. 85-198, Comparison of Bg-Veda and Sāma-Veda readings. (4) ii, pp. 110-45, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
15	1	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 712.	Roman.	Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra. Vaiṣṇānasa Śrauta Sūtra, as far as 9, 11.
16	1	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 657.	Roman.	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
17	1	33 × 21 cm.	fols. 192*.	Nāgarī.	Vaiṣṇānasa Grhya Sūtra.
18	1	17 × 21 cm.	fols. 30*.		Khādira Grhya Sūtra.
19	1	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 238.	Nāgarī.	(1) Jaimini Grhya Sūtra. (2) Jaimini Grhya Sūtra Vyākhyā (Subodhinī) by Śrinivāsa.
20	2	21 × 17 cm.	pp. 289+25.	Roman.	Aitareya Āraṇyaka.

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
MS.	Benares (which MS. ?).		Dated Sam. 1936. Collated with Weber No. 80.
G.	Aufrecht (?) (see col. 10).		Index Verborum, with quotations; followed by lists of grammatical forms, etc. The numbers refer to the sections of the work.
G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		Index Verborum; preceded by list of authorities quoted. The numbers refer to the sections of the text.
G. G.	Weber. Aufrecht (?) (see col. 10). }		Combined glossary (Index Verborum in the case of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa). The numbers refer to the sections of the work; in that of the <i>Satapatha</i> to pages of the volume.
G. and P. G.	Bibliotheca Indica. Stenzler. }		Index Verborum to (1) and (2), combined with <i>Pratikas</i> to (1); preceded by list of authorities quoted. The numbers refer to the sections of the texts.
P.	Aufrecht.		
G. and P. P.	Bibliotheca Indica. MS. (Haug, p. 20, No. 42?). }		Combined Index Verborum; with <i>Pratikas</i> (cited by sections of the text); at end a few grammatical notes.
G. and P.	Weber.		Index Verborum; combined with <i>Pratikas</i> (cited by sections of the text); at end a few notes.
MS.	Madras (see col. 10).		The MS. copied is probably that described in Śeṣagiri Śāstri's Report, 1893-4, pp. 6 and 155-66, and Rāṅgacārya's Catalogue, ii, pp. 867-8. The last two chapters (fol. 138-83, 183-92) treat of <i>varṇāśramadharmāḥ</i> and <i>ṣiṣṭaprasārikāḥ</i> respectively.
MS.	Bombay (No. 79 of 1891-5)	Prof. Aufrecht.	See Kāthvāte's Report (Bombay, 1901, p. 7 of list).
MS.	Madras (Govt. Oriental Library), see col. 10.	(1) K. Gopāla Iyer, (2) K. Sampat-kumāra Cakra-vartī.	The two MSS. are probably those described in Rāṅgacārya's Catalogue, under Nos. 1168 and 1170, and Śeṣagiri Śāstri's Report, 1896-7, pp. 70-1; 1893-4, pp. 150-5.
G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		Index Verborum. At end grammatical notes, list of authorities, etc. The numbers refer to pages.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
21	1	24 × 18 cm.	pp. 40.	Roman.	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
22	1	23 × 20 cm.	pp. A, B, 447.	Roman.	Sāṅkhyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra.
23	1	24 × 18 cm.	pp. 66.	Nāgarī.	Specimens of Sanskrit MSS.
24	2	i, 16 × 20 cm.	fol. 7*.	Nāgarī.	Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana with Karka's commentary.
		ii, 21 × 16 cm.	pp. 26.		
25	1	21 × 17 cm.	pp. 347*.	Roman.	(1) pp. 1-175, Snānavidhīpaddhati by Yājñikadeva. (2) pp. 176-347, Snānapaddhati by Harīhara.
26	3	i, 20 × 16 cm.	pp. 1-16 and 1-125 (partly *).	i, Nāgarī.	(1) i, pp. 1-16, Vijayapurakathā. (2) i, pp. 1-87, Yajñapārśva by Kātyāyana. (3) i, pp. 89-125, Śulvapariśiṣṭa.
		ii, 17 × 21 cm.	pp. 109 + 8.	ii, Nāgarī.	(4) ii, Yajñapārśva by Kātyāyana.
		iii, 17 × 21 cm.	pp. 89.	iii, Roman.	(5) iii, Yajñapārśva by Kātyāyana.
		iv, 11 × 21 cm.	fol. 25.	iv, Nāgarī.	(6) iv, Yajñapārśva by Kātyāyana.
27	1	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 181 (+ p. 152a).	Roman.	Rgvidhāna.
28	1	21 × 17 cm.	fol. 8*.	Roman.	Yājñavalkya Upaniṣad.
29	1	22 × 17 cm.	fol. 7*.	Roman.	Sātyāyana Upaniṣad.
30	1	23 × 19 cm.	pp. 136.	Roman.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
31	1	23 × 19 cm.	pp. 114.	Roman.	Upaniṣads (Ārama, Īśa, Katha, Kena, Praśna, Māṇḍūkya, Muṇḍaka, Svetāś- vatara).

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratīkas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
P.	Bibliotheca Indica.		Two columns on each page; citations by sections of the text.
G. and P.	Oxford MS. (Cat. ii, No. 1023).		Index Verborum combined with <i>pratīkas</i> ; preceded and followed (pp. 425-46) by lists of authorities, citations, etc. The numbers refer to the sections of the text.
MS.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.		
MS.	Berlin (Weber, No. 1098).	Prof. Aufrecht. A Kashmiri Pandit.	Sātra based upon Weber No. 1098 collated with Weber No. 1484; commentary compared with original MS. by Govind Kaul and received from Dr. M. A. Stein. Bound together in one volume (22 × 21 cm.).
MS.	Jammu, No. 4590 (Stein, p. 22).		
MS.	Berlin (Weber, Nos. 1100-1).		
MS.	Berlin (Weber, No. 1102).	Prof. Aufrecht.	At the beginning are given the names of authorities quoted.
MS.	India Office (E., No. 4107).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Bound in one volume (21 × 22 cm.). There is also a duplicate copy of the <i>pratīkas</i> (which are arranged chiefly according to numbers of sections and verses) written on slips.
MS.	India Office (E., No. 362).		
MS.	India Office (E., No. 363).		
MS.	Benares (Catalogue, p. 55).		
P.	Benares (Catalogue, p. 55).		
MS.	Undated copy made in India.		
G.	Berlin (Weber, No. 1173?).		Index Verborum. Citations by sections of the text.
MS.	Munich (Haug, p. 447).	Prof. Kuhn.	Bound together in one volume (22-3 × 17-18 cm.).
G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		
G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		Index Verborum to the two works combined. References to <i>Chāndogya</i> in red ink. Citations according to page numbers.
G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		<i>Kena</i> , <i>Katha</i> , etc., in red ink, <i>Aśvatara</i> in black; <i>Ārama</i> , etc., follow. Cited by pages.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
32	1	17 × 21 cm.	pp. 71 + 187 + 119 + 17.	Roman.	(1) i, pp. 1-17, Agnihotra Prayoga. (2) i, pp. 18-49, Nakṣatrasattreṣṭihautra Prayoga. (3) i, pp. 41-57, Atipavitreṣṭi Prayoga. (4) i, pp. 58-71, Baudhāyana Atipavireṣṭihautra Prayoga. (5) ii, pp. 1-167, Āśvalāyana Cāturmāsya Prayoga. (6) ii, pp. 168-83, Baudhāyana Aikāhnīkacāturmāsya Prayoga. (7) ii, pp. 183-7, Aikāhnīkacāturmāsya-hautra Prayoga. (8) iii, pp. 1-96, Cāturmāsya-hautra Prayoga. (9) iii, pp. 97-113, Sarvapreṣṭi Prayoga. (10) iii, pp. 113-119, Āśvalāyana Sarvapreṣṭihautra Prayoga. (11) iv, pp. 1-15, Puṇyābhavācana Prayoga. (12) iv, pp. 15-17, Baudhāyana Cāturmāsya Prayoga.
33	9	33 × 21 cm.	A. B. 999 + 983 + 999 + 899 + 899 + 899 + 899 + 899 + 759 (chiefly *).	Roman.	(1) i-viii, ix, pp. 385-759, all printed and some unprinted Law-books. (2) ix, 1-383, Bhṛhad-Nāradya Purāṇa. Nṛsiṅha Purāṇa. Vāyu Purāṇa, as far as i, c. 31.
34	1	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 891.	Roman.	Yājñavalkya Dharmasāstra. Manu (i-viii).
35	1	26 × 32 cm.	fol. 1 + 33.	Nāgari.	Caturviṃśatī Smṛti.
36	12	23 × 26 cm.	i, pp. 699. ii, pp. 715. iii, pp. 695. iv, pp. 699. v, pp. 701. vi, pp. 701. vii, pp. 699. viii, pp. 699. ix, pp. 701. x, pp. 701. xi, pp. 701. xii, pp. 105.		Agniveśa Rāmāyaṇa. Anargharāghava. Anyoktimuktālātā. Anyoktisataka. Amaruśataka. Alaṅkāraśekhara. Alaṅkārasarvasva. Āpastamba Dharmasātra. Āryasaptasatī of Govardhana. Uttararāmācarita. Udāttaṛāghava. Rtusaphāra.

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratīkas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
MS.	Munich (Haug, No. 97). Munich (Haug, No. 98). Munich (Haug, No. 99). Munich (Haug, No. 100). Munich (Haug, No. 101). Munich (Haug, Nos. 112 ^b and 122 ^b). Munich (Haug, No. 112 ^b). Munich (Haug, No. 111). Munich (Haug, No. 112 ^a). Munich (Haug, No. 112 ^a). Munich (Haug, No. 122). Munich (Haug, No. 122).	Prof. Aufrecht.	At end list of authorities cited.
P.			
P.	Bibliotheca Indica.		
P.	Grantharatnamālā.		The references to the <i>Vāyu Purāṇa</i> are on separate columns of each page.
P.	?		
G.	Stenzler.		
G.	Haughton.		Combined Index Verborum. <i>Manu</i> ix-xii occasionally noted.
MS.	Jammu (No. 2641, Stein, p. 88).		Procured through Dr. Stein; revised (1895) by Paṇḍit Govind Kaul.
P.	Grantharatnamālā (?). Calcutta, Śaka 1782 (A.D. 1860).		Cited by verse numbers.
	Kāvya-mālā, ii.		Cited by pages.
	Kāvya-mālā, v.		
	Haeberlin (<i>Kāvya-saṃ- graha</i>) ?		Cited by verse numbers.
	Benares, 1860 (?).		Cited by folios and lines.
	Kāvya-mālā, xxxv.		Cited by pages.
	Bühler.		Cited by pages.
	Dacca, Samvat 1921 (A.D. 1864).		
	Calcutta (1831).		Cited by pages.
	??		
	Haeberlin (<i>Kāvya-saṃ- graha</i>).		Cited by cantos and verses.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
36 <i>contd.</i>					<p> Aucityālakāra. Kalividambana. Kavikānthābharaṇa. Kādambarīkathāsāra. Kāmandaki Nitisāra. Kāvyaśārāṅga. Kāvyaśārāṅga. Kāvyaśārāṅga by Rudrata. Kīrtītarjuniya. Kuttanimita. Kumārasambhava (Sargas i-xvii). Kūvalayananda. Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta. Khaṇḍaprasāsti. Gitagovinda. Gṛhyasamgrahapariśiṣṭa by Gobhilaputra. Candakausika. Candīśataka. Cāṇakyaśataka. Jānakīparinaya (Act i). Damayantīkāvyā. Darpadalana. Daśarūpa. Daśavatāracakhaṇḍaprasāsti. Dinākrandanastotra. Dūtāṅgada. Dharmajayavijaya. Dharmaviveka. Dhanyāloka. Nalodaya. Nāgānanda. Naiṣadhiya. Pañcantaṇtra. Padyāvali. Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇī. Pārvatīparinaya. Puruṣaparīkṣā. Prasannaśāghava. Priyadarśikā. Bālabhārata. Bhāṭṭikāvyā. Bhāṭṭikāvyā. Bhāṭṭikāvyā. Bhāminivilāsa. Bhāvaśataka. Bhojaprabandha. Manu. Mahānātaka. Mahābhārata (occasional verses ?). </p>

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
	<p>Kāvya-mālā, i. Kāvya-mālā, v. Kāvya-mālā, iv (?). The Paṇḍit (1807). Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta (1866). Bibliotheca Indica & MS. MS. (Kāvya-mālā, ii). Calcutta (date?). Kāvya-mālā, iii. Stenzler and (viii-xvii) Benares. Bombay Lithograph (date?). Bombay (1868). Bombay (1860?). Lassen. Bloomfield, Z.D.M.G. xxxv Calcutta (1867?). Kāvya-mālā iv. Haeberlin (<i>Kāvya-sam- graha</i>). Benares (?). MS. MS. (cf. Kāvya-mālā, vi). Bibliotheca Indica (?). Bombay (1860?). Kāvya-mālā, vi. MS. (which?). Calcutta (1857). Kāvya-kalāpa, i. Kāvya-mālā, xxv. Yates. Calcutta (1873?). Calcutta (1875). Kosegarten. MS. (No. 63 <i>infra</i>). MS. (No. 64 <i>infra</i>). Bombay (1872). Bombay (1882). The Paṇḍit (1868-). Calcutta (1874). The Paṇḍit (1869-). Calcutta (? date). Haeberlin (<i>Kāvya-sam- graha</i>) and Bohlen. Calcutta (? date). Kāvya-mālā, iv. MS. and Pavie. Loiseleur. Calcutta (1870). Calcutta.</p>		<p>Cited by verse numbers. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by pages. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by folios. Cited by śatakas and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by pages. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by pages. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by chapters and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by acts and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by pages. Cited by acts and verses. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Pavie cited by pages. Cited by acts and verses.</p>

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
36 <i>contd.</i>					<p> Mahāvīracarita. Mālatīmādhava. Mālavikāgnimitra. Mugdhopadeśa. Mudrārākṣasa. Mr̥cchakaṭikā. Meghadūta. Yogavāsistha. Yogavāsisthasūtra. Raghuvamśa. Ratnāvalī. Rasatarāṅgiṇī. Rasamañjarī. Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. Rajatarāṅgiṇī of Jinarāja. Rāmāyāṣṭaka by Mudgala. Latakamolana. Vāgbhatālamkāra. Vāmanaśālikāra. Vāsavadattā. Vikramāṅkadēvacarita. Vikramorvaśī. Vidagdhamukhamāṣḍana. Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā. Viṣṇusmṛti. Vṛṣabhānujā by Mathurādāsa. Venīśaphāra. Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā by Śivadāsa. Śakuntalā. Śārngadharaśaṃhitā. Śiśupālavadha. Śukasaptati (Textus Ornatior?). Śṛṅgāratilaka by Rudraṭa. Śṛṅgāratilaka Kāvya. Śṛṅgarubhāṣaṇa. Śṛṅgararatanākura. Seduktikarṇāmr̥ta. Sabhārañjanaśataka. Sarasvatīkānthābharaṇa. Sāmbapañcāśikā. Sāhityadarpaṇa. Sīmphaṣanadvātrīpaśikā. Subhāṣitamuktāvalī. Subhāṣitasañcayā. Subhāṣitāvalī. Sūryaśataka. </p>

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
	Trithen. Calcutta (1830). Tullberg. Kāvya-mālā, viii (?). Calcutta (1831). Stenzler. Gildemeister. Bombay (1880). ? Stenzler. Calcutta (1832). Grantharatnamālā. Madras (1872). Calcutta (1835 ?). ? Kāvya-mālā, xx (?). Calcutta (date ?). Cappeller. Bibliotheca Indica. Bühler (?). Bollensen. Calcutta (? Haebelin). Benares (in Pratnakamra- nandin). Jolly. The Pandit (1869 ?). Calcutta (Sam. 1928, A.D. 1867). Uhle. Böhtlingk (1842 or 1846 ?). MS. Calcutta (date ?). Schmidt. MS. Kāvya-mālā, iii (?). Madras, 1873 (?), 1876 (?). Calcutta (1862 ?). MS. (No. 57 <i>infra</i>). Kāvya-mālā, iv. MS. Kāvya-mālā, xiii. Bibliotheca Indica. Weber (<i>Indische Studien</i> , xv). MS. MS. (No. 62 <i>infra</i>). MS. (No. 59 <i>infra</i>).		Cited by acts and verses. Cited by pages. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by pages. Cited by pages. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by pages. Cited by pages. Cited by pages. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by acts and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by pages. Cited by pages. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by acts and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by pages. Cited by pages. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by cantos and verses. Cited by sections and verses (agreeing with Pischel's edition). Cited by verse numbers (agreeing with Gildemeister's edition). Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by pages. Cited by verse numbers. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by sections and verses. Cited by verse numbers (slightly diverging from Peterson's edition).

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.	(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratīkas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
43	1	43 × 17 cm.	Fols. 6.	Bengali.	Kicakavadha by Nitivarman, with <i>fibā</i> .	MS.	Calcutta (Notices, No. 615 ?).		Copy not dated. The author of the <i>fibā</i> appears to be unnamed.
44	1	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 1 + 21.	Nāgari.	Latakamalana by Śaṅkhaḍhara.	MS.	Lahore (see col. 10).	Durgā- datta Śāstri.	Collated with original (in Pandit Jvālā- datta Prasāda's library) by Pandit Govind Kaul. Sent to Prof. Aufrecht by Dr. Stein.
45	1	23 × 19 cm.	pp. 102.	Malaya- lam.	Adhyātmamāyana.	MS.		(An Euro- pean.)	Watermark 1824 (Aufrecht). Presented to Prof. Aufrecht by William Wright. Externally the MS. resembles some of those collected by Leyden.
46	1	22-3 × 17-8 cm.	pp. 288.	Roman.	Uttararāmacarita. Mahāvīracarita. Mālatīmādhava.	G. G. G.	Calcutta (1831). Calcutta (1857). Calcutta (1830).	}	Combined Index Verborum. Citations partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts and verses.
47	1	23 × 19 cm.	pp. 270.	Roman.	Anargharāghava. Kīrātārjunīya.	G. G.	Calcutta (1861). Nirṇayasāgara (1885).		Combined Index Verborum. <i>Anarghar</i> : cited (red ink) partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts and verses.
48	1	25 × 20 cm.	pp. 163.	Roman, Nāgari.	(1) pp. 1-123, Mudrārāksasa. (2) pp. 124-63, Upādisūtra by Ujjenā- datta. Ratnāvali.	G. MS. G.	Calcutta (1831). Poona (number ?). Calcutta (1832).	Prof. Au- frecht.	Combined Index Verborum to the two plays. Citations partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts and verses. Collation of the <i>Upādisūtra</i> as far as l. 47.
49	1	22-3 × 18 cm.	pp. 141.	Roman.	Vaṇīsaṃhāra.	G.	Calcutta (1867).		Index Verborum. Citations partly by pages, partly by numbers of acts; followed by a few grammatical notes.
50	5	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 830 + 773 + 680 + 677 + 503.	Roman.	Kāśikhaṇḍa.	G.	Bombay (1882).		Some grammatical notes at the end.
51	1	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 890.	Roman.	Gitagovinda, iv-xii. Raghuvamśa, i-v.	G. G.	Lassen. Stenzler.	}	The two glossaries are combined.
52	1	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 459.	Roman.	Vasavadattā. Sisupālavadha.	G. G.	Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta (1848).		Combined Index Verborum (<i>Vasavadatta</i> quoted by pages). A few grammatical notes at end.
53	3	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 629 (partly*) + 543 (partly*) + 381*.	i, ii, Nā- gari (text) and Roman (comm.). iii, Roman.	Dumayantīkāvyā, with commentary by Guṇavinsayagaṇi.	MS. and G.	i, Oxford (Nos. 208-10). ii, Poona (iv, 48; vi, 34; xii, 30-1).	Prof. Aufrecht.	The four volumes form the materials for an edition; vol. i containing text with glosses and collations from the Oxford MS.; vol. ii, a list of authorities and notes (pp. 1-9), the text of Uucchāsa i (pp. 13-161), from the Poona MSS. xii, 30-1, with comparison (pp. 170-92) of MS. iv, 48, and the commentary (pp. 195-543) as far as the end of Uucchāsa ii, probably from Poona vi, 34; vol. iii, the Index Verborum (citations by folios of the MS.).

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.
54	1	28 × 22 cm.	fol. 123*.	Nāgarī.	Bhojaprabandha by Ballāla.
55	1	22 × 17 cm.	fol. 28.	Nāgarī.	Bharatakadvātripāika.
56	1	22 × 18 cm.	pp. 119.	Bengalī.	Śukasaptatikā.
57	1	17-18 × 22 cm.	pp. 1424.	Nāgarī.	Saduktikarṇāmṛta by Śrīdharaśāsa.
58	3	20-1 × 16-7 cm.	pp. 188 + 188 + 82.	Roman.	Saduktikarṇāmṛta by Śrīdharaśāsa.
59	1	17 × 22 cm.	pp. 1090.	Nāgarī.	Subhāṣitāvalī.
60	2	i, 21 × 17-8 cm. ii, 20 × 17 cm.	pp. A-B, 379 + 188.	Roman.	Subhāṣitāvalī.
61	1	18 × 22 cm.	pp. 232.	Nāgarī.	Subhāṣitamuktāvalī.
62	1	17 × 23 cm.	pp. 115.	Nāgarī.	Subhāṣitasāficaya.
63	1	21 × 16-17 cm.	pp. 135.	Roman.	Padyāvalī by Rūpagosvāmin.
64	1	20-1 × 16-7 cm.	pp. 107.	Nāgarī (text) and Roman (comm.).	Padyāmṛtatarāṅgiṇī by Haribhāskara and commentary (Padyāmṛtasopāna) by his son Jayarāma.
65	2 bound in 1.	i, 20-1 × 15 cm. ii, 17 × 21 cm. (21 × 22 cm.)	pp. 114 + 78.	i, Roman. ii, Nāgarī.	Sāktāvalī (from the "Gurupaddhati").

(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratīkas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
MS.	London (R. As. Soc.), see col. 10.	Prof. Aufrecht.	A tracing. The original MS., which contained 82 folios, was accordingly different from that described in Winternitz, Catalogue, pp. 231-3.
MS.	See col. 10.		Received from Rajendra Lāla Mitra; not dated. Collated partially with Oxford No. 329.
MS.	Calcutta (i).		Received from Calcutta; not dated.
MS.	Santipara (Notices of Sanskrit MSS. No. 1180, see also col. 10).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Collated with a MS. (B) in the Serampore College Library (No. 58). The collation also occupies the last pages, 1337-424.
P.	MS. (No. 57 <i>supra</i>).		Citation by sections and verses, followed (ii, p. 53 - iii, p. 82) by (1) names of authors alphabetically arranged with the verses cited from them, and (2) a classified list of names.
MS.	Bombay (see col. 10).	Prof. Aufrecht.	The two MSS. denoted by B and C, and containing respectively 177 and 170 folios, are probably = Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. xiii, Nos. 203-4 (see Peterson's edition, Preface, pp. i-ii).
P.	MS. (No. 59 <i>supra</i>).		Vol. i contains lists of authors and <i>pratīkas</i> arranged alphabetically; vol. ii, <i>prati-</i> <i>kas</i> arranged under authors' names. The numbers of the verses diverge slightly from those in Peterson's edition.
MS. and P.	Poona (iv, 75).	Prof. Aufrecht.	<i>Pratīkas</i> cited according to numbers of sections and verses.
MS.	British Museum (Bendall No. 253).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Copy of MS. formerly in the possession of Prof. Jacobi.
MS. and P.	Tübingen (Roth, p. 12).	Prof. Aufrecht.	pp. 101-35 contain the <i>pratīkas</i> (arranged according to verse-numbers), lists of authors, etc.
MS. and P.	Bombay (Poona, viii, 146 ?).	Prof. Aufrecht.	pp. 85-107 contain the <i>pratīkas</i> (arranged according to numbers of sections and verses) and list of authors.
MS.	Florence (Aufrecht, 92).	i, Prof. Pavolini. ii, Prof. Aufrecht.	Vol. ii adds translations of the verses not recorded in <i>Indische Sprüche</i> , also notes and references.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.	(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratīkas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
66	1	22 × 18 cm.	pp. 108.	Roman.	Sāhityadarpaṇa (pp. 1-78).	G.	Bibliotheca Indica.		Perhaps some citations (by pages and lines) extend as far as p. 93 of the edition.
67	3	i, 34 × 21 cm. ii, 23 × 18 cm. iii, 21 × 17 cm.	i, fols. 46. ii, pp. A + 1-92. iii, pp. 93-160.	i, Nāgarī. ii, Nāgarī. iii, Nāgarī (text) and Roman (comm. and indices).	Udbhaṭālaṃkāra with commentary by Indurāja (Kāvyaṭālaṃkāraśaṅkharā).	MS. and P.	i, Poona (vi, 64). ii, iii, India Office (Bühler MS. 115, see col. 10).	i, Vyāsa Gopādāsa- ātmaja. ii, iii, Prof. Aufrecht.	Vol. i received from Professor Kielhorn, probably a copy of Poona vi, 64; vols. ii, iii, copied partly (pp. 1-82, 133) from a MS. of Bühler, which is itself perhaps copied from the same, partly from i. The indices and <i>pratikās</i> (citations by pages) occupy a few pages (143-60) at end.
68	1	22.3 × 18.0 cm.	pp. A + 182.	Nāgarī (text) and Roman (P.)	Kāvyaṭālaṃkāra by Rudrata.	MS. and P.	India Office (Bühler MS. No. 120).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Preceded by a few notes (p. A) and followed by index and <i>pratikās</i> (citation by sections and verses).
69	1	20 × 17 cm.	p. 106.	Roman.	(1) pp. 1-67, <i>Alaṃkāraśekhara</i> by Keśava Mīra. (2) pp. 68-106, <i>Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra</i> .	Index and P. Index and P.	MS. (whence?). Calcutta, 1883.	}	(1) Quoted by folios and lines; (2) by sections and verses; in both cases Aufrecht gives (1) indices, (2) <i>pratikās</i> of sūtras, (3) <i>pratikās</i> of verses, (4) lists of names.
70	4	18 × 21.2 cm.	pp. 295 + 791 (partly *) + 823 (partly *) + 500.	i, ii, Roman and Nāgarī iii, Roman. iv, Roman and Nāgarī	(1) Lexicographical <i>Analecta</i> . (2) <i>Bhaṭṭikāvya</i> .	G.			Vols. i, ii contain <i>Lexicographical Analecta A-P</i> , which are continued in vols. iii, iv: the latter consist principally, however, of the <i>Index Verborum</i> to the <i>Bhaṭṭikāvya</i> .
71	1	17 × 21.2 cm.	pp. 277.	Nāgarī.	Kedāraṅkalpa of the Nandikēśvara Purāṇa.	MS.	Oxford (No. 137).	Prof. Aufrecht.	According to No. 364, from the <i>Śiva Purāṇa</i> . The first few pages (2-6) are collated with Leipzig MS. No. 362. The last 7 pages (of smaller size) contain notes. The two MSS. are bound together in a volume 18 × 22 cm.
72	1	17 × 21 cm.	pp. 199 (10 blank).	Nāgarī.	Kedāraṅkalpa of the Vidhvānta Purāṇa.	MS.	Leipzig (Aufrecht, No. 362).		
73	1	21 × 17-18 cm.	pp. A + 153.	Nāgarī.	(1) pp. 1-10, <i>Rudrayāmala</i> (Aghora- mantraśūdhanaṣṭakāra, Sadāśiva- stotra, Śivakavaca, Pārthivapūjā). (2) pp. 11-65, 67-153, <i>Kedāraṅkalpa</i> of the Vidhvānta Purāṇa and Śiva Purāṇa.	MS.	Leipzig (Aufrecht, Nos. 363-4).	Prof. Aufrecht.	The two texts of the <i>Kedāraṅkalpa</i> are independent; pp. 11-65 = MS. No. 363, pp. 67-153 = MS. No. 364.
74	1	20 × 16 cm.	pp. 133.	Nāgarī (text) and Roman (P.)	Caturvīṃśatisūpti.	MS. and P.	Munich (Haug, No. 134).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Collated with Bühler MS. (India Office) No. 109. <i>Pratikās</i> cited according to verse numbers.

I.—LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS (*continued*).

(1) No. in List.	(2) No. of Vols.	(3) Size.	(4) No. of Pages or Folios.	(5) Character.	(6) Title.	(7) Sanskrit MS. (MS.), Glossary (G.), or Pratikas (P.).	(8) Place of Deposit of MS. Copied or Edition of Published Work.	(9) Name of Copyist of MS.	(10) Remarks.
75	1	22 × 17 cm.	pp. 16.	Roman (vv. 1-6) and Nāgari.	Yogaratanamālā by Nāgārjuna.	MS.	Oxford (No. 764).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Followed by two folios of facsimile.
76	1	17 × 21-2 cm.	fol. 129*.	Nāgari.	Vetālapañcavīṃśatikā by Kṣemendra.	MS.	Poona (v. 33).	Prof. Aufrecht.	With marginal notes referring to Soma- deva and Śivadāsa.
77	1	17 × 21-2 cm.	fol. 1 + 75*.	Nāgari.	Vetālapañcavīṃśatikā by Vallabhadāsa.	MS.	Bombay (No. 470 of 1887-91).	Prof. Aufrecht.	
78	1	23 × 20 cm.	pp. 588 (partly *).	Roman.	(1) pp. 1-381, rare words in various poems, etc. (2) pp. 382-465, grammatical and other notes. (3) pp. 396-588, Subhāṣitaratanabhāṣā- gāra, pp. 1-66.	G.			
79	1	42 × 18 cm.	fol. 80*.	Nāgari.	Vāṭayāyana Kāmasūtra.	MS.	Bombay, 1880 (?).		Index Verborum, quoted by numbers of pages and lines.
80	1	35 × 22 cm.	fol. A + 103 (1-46*).	Nāgari.	Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī by Kṣīrasvāmin.	MS.	India Office (Eggeling, No. 1234).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Traced.
81	1	28 × 12 cm.	fol. 20.	Nāgari.	Gaṇaratnamahodadhīṭikā by (Jaṇādhara (part).	MS.	Calcutta (Notices of San- skrit MS. No. 2588 ?).		Modern copy; not dated.
82	2	18 × 22 cm.	i, fol. 56* + pp. 57-73. ii, pp. 38.	Nāgari (texts) and Roman (P).	Anekārthadhvanimāñjarī by Mahākṣa- pāpaka.	MS. and G.	Poona (No. 329 of 1875-6) and British Museum (No. 397 A).	Prof. Aufrecht.	The <i>pratikas</i> occupy pp. 57-73 of vol. 1 (citation by verse and section numbers). The British Museum MS. belonged to Professor Jacobi.
83	1	23-4 × 18 cm.	pp. 27.	Roman.	Hārāvalī by Puruṣottama.	G.	Calcutta (1807).		Each page has four columns; citation by verse numbers.
84	1	26-7 × 20-1 cm.	pp. 77.	Roman.	Nānārthasaṅgraha by Ajayapāla.	MS.	Oxford (No. 427).	Prof. Aufrecht.	For the most part interleaved.
85	1	35 × 28 cm.	fol. 17.		Printed plates of inscriptions.				Sent from Madras by Mr. Hudleston, "about 30 years ago."
86	2	i, 20 × 16 cm. ii, 12 × 20 cm.	pp. 31. fol. 231*.	i, Nāgari and Roman (Sarga ii, 1-24). ii, Nāgari.	Pāśvanāthakāvya by Padmasundara.	MS.	Oxford (Cat., p. 392a; Mill, No. 70).	Prof. Aufrecht.	Vol. ii (Sargas ii, 25 - vii, 68 (end)) traced.
87	1	17 × 21 cm.	pp. 26.	Roman.	Batnakōśa by a Jain author.	MS.	Oxford (No. 834).	Prof. Aufrecht.	

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Atipavitreṣṭihautra Prayoga (Baudhāyana)	32	MS.
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Anargharāghava	36	P.
"	47	G.
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Amaruśataka	36	P.
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"	69	Index & P.
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Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra	15	G. & P.
Āryāsaptasatī of Govardhana	36	P.
"	39	G.
Āśrama Upaniṣad	31	G.
Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra	14	G.
Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra	14	G. & P.
Īśa Upaniṣad	31	G.
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Kāmandaki Nītisāra	36	P.
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" "	68	MS. & P.
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"	64	MS. & P.
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Padyāvali by Rūpagosvāmin	36	P.
"	63	MS. & P.
Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra	3	G. & P.
Pārthivapūjā	73	MS.
Pārvatīpariṇaya	36	P.
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Vāyu Purāṇa	33	P.
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Vidhvānta Purāṇa (Kedāraśālabhañjikā)	72	MS.
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Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra	22	G. & P.
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Śukasaptati	36	P.
"	56	MS.
Śulvapariśiṣṭa	26	MS.
Śṛṅgāratilaka by Rudraṭa	36	P.
Śṛṅgāratilaka Kāvya	36	P.
Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇa	36	P.
Śṛṅgāratnākara	36	P.
Śrutabodha	39	G.
Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad	31	G.
Sadāśīvastotra	73	MS.
Saduktikarṇāmṛta	36	P.
"	57	MS.
"	58	P.
Sabhārañjanaśataka	36	P.
Sarasvatikanṭhābharana	36	P.
Sarvapṛṣṭeṣṭi Prayoga	32	MS.
Sarvapṛṣṭeṣṭihautra Prayoga (Āśvalāyana)	32	MS.
Sāma Veda	14	
Sāmbapañcāśikā	36	P.
Sāhityadarpana	36	P.
"	66	G.
Simhāsanadvātriṃśika	36	P.
Subhāṣitamuktāvalī	36	P.
"	61	MS. & P.
Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra	38	P.
"	78	G.
Subhāṣitasauñcya	62	MS.
Subhāṣitāvalī	36	P.
"	59	MS.
"	60	P.
Sāktāvalī	65	MS.
Sūryaśataka	36	P.
Seura Purāṇa	37	P.
Snānapaddhati	25	MS.
Snānavidhipaddhati	25	MS.

II.—INDEX (*continued*).

Suānasūtra	24	MS.
Smṛtisārasamuccaya	42	MS. & P.
Haravijaya	36	P.
Harivaṃśa	37	P.
Hārāvalī	83	G.
Carr, Telugu and Sanskrit Proverbs	36	P.
Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum	36	P.
Grammatical and other notes	78	
Inscriptions, Printed Plates of	85	
All printed and some unprinted Law-books	33	P.
Lexicographical Analecta	70	
Rare words in various poems, etc.	78	G.
Sanskrit MSS., Specimens of	23	MS.

XXVI.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM
SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIEVAL TREATISE ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

*Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum,
Oxford, and Munich.**With an Introduction and an English Translation.*

INTRODUCTION.

By M. GASTER.

1. Great was the reputation of Aristotle in the Middle Ages. His sway was undisputed, and whatever bore his name was sure to be treated as the expression of the highest wisdom. But that fame rested mostly on Arabic translations and interpretations of his philosophical writings. Along with the genuine writings, however, also other treatises were circulated which were ascribed to Aristotle, with what justification has not yet been settled, but probably because some of the ideas put into his mouth seem to have been culled from his genuine writings and others reflected, more or less accurately, views and opinions contained in his writings. Among such pseudo-Aristotelian writings, none enjoyed wider circulation than obtained by the treatise which claimed to represent the "Politeia" of Aristotle. It contributed much more to the reputation of Aristotle than any other of his writings, and enjoyed a far greater popularity than any popular book of the Middle Ages. It claimed to be the quintessence of political wisdom and statecraft: the last word on the rule of body and mind, the treasure-house of occult knowledge, the deepest mystery in the conduct of man. It was known that Alexander the hero of the East had been the pupil of

Aristotle. He had been in constant communication with his master, and letters purporting to have passed between master and pupil were circulated from very olden times. The prowess of Alexander, the victories he easily won, and the facile manner in which he governed the most diverse races deeply impressed the mind of the people. All this was attributed to the wise teaching and the prudent counsel vouchsafed to Alexander by his great master Aristotle. The same teaching, it was assumed, if known and followed, would hold good, then, for any successor of Alexander. Thus a book has been compiled which purported to contain that very teaching of Aristotle sent to his pupil as a great mystery. If it were to be of any use, it must needs be comprehensive: he had to be taught, or better, directed how to govern the people, how to select councillors and advisers, how to arrange his battles, how to manage his finances, how to select trusty messengers to conduct safely and satisfactorily all diplomatic negotiations, how to choose administrators fit to look after the affairs of State, how to judge men's aptitudes from their outward appearance. But this was not all: he had to be taught also how to conduct himself, how to retain and strengthen his physical health, how to act in all seasons of the year, how to keep measure in eating, drinking, and other forms of pastime, and some indications had to be given of the secret properties of stones and metals, which would be useful to him for his personal benefit and for ruling the peoples.

2. A book of this kind was sure to be received favourably and to be assiduously circulated, if not so much by the rulers, at least by the ruled. It has at no time been safe, and still less so in olden times, to tell the truth to kings and princes; but under the protection of Aristotle, covered by his great reputation and justified by the brilliant results obtained in the case of Alexander, such a venture could be carried out with impunity. Sound and good

advice could thus be given to those who held unlimited sway over the body and property of their subjects, in the guise of 'secret statecraft.' What the "Apologue" taught under the form of a tale or fable, the "Regimen Principum" taught in the form of a lesson of the past. Rules of conduct were inculcated by the "Apologue," interspersed with maxims and followed by 'moralisations' in books like the "Panchatantra," the "Syntipas," and others. Akin to these, yet differing in form, are books like "Barlaam Josaphat" and in a higher degree such a book as this one, ascribed to Aristotle. In order to enhance its importance it is described as a deep Secret, as the mysterious wisdom of State, revealed only to Alexander and given to the world by a miraculous chance through the intervention of one of the Mohammedan Khalifs. Through the investigations of Knust, Steinschneider, Förster, Suchier, Hertz, and Steele, one can form some estimate of the wide popularity of this book and of the deep influence it has exercised upon the literature of many countries. There is scarcely any European language into which that book has not been translated, and numerous have been the poetical renderings of its contents. It appealed too strongly to the instincts of the peoples not to be taken up and to be held up as the "Mirror of Kings."

3. The bibliography of the innumerable editions and MSS. in the various languages in the libraries of Europe has not yet been completed. There is no library which does not contain a number of copies of the "Secretum." In the "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," vol. vi, 1889, p. 1 ff., Förster has made an attempt at cataloguing the Latin MSS. and partly the translations in other languages. He enumerates no less than 207 Latin MSS., and W. Hertz, in his "Gesammelte Schriften," pp. 156-61, and p. 165, No. 4, supplies a bibliography, a brief sketch of the history of the "Secretum," and a goodly list of Arabic

MSS. This treatise has also been versified, and, to limit myself to English versions, we have the poem of Lydgate, and his continuator, Burgh. R. Steele, in editing this poem (E.E.T.S., London, 1894) has given a succinct and yet full and lucid history of this text. One of the books in Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*" is but a rhymed transcript of part of this "*Secretum*." Roger Bacon wrote a commentary on it. There are besides in English a good number of ancient translations more or less amplified, some from the French, and also a few from the Latin.

4. Without attempting here to disentangle the web of these numerous versions, or to establish the literary filiation and connection between them, it suffices for our purposes to establish the fact that there are at least two recensions, a shorter and a longer one, and that both go back to ancient Latin texts not earlier than the twelfth century.

5. These Latin texts in their turn rest on Arabic originals. In the Arabic also at least two recensions are known, a short and a long one. As we shall see later on, a third text must have existed in Arabic differing from these two. It must have been much shorter than either of those hitherto come to light. This book had shared the fate of all popular books. Copyists took liberties with the contents. There are few MSS. or even prints which agree fully with one another. In some, chapters are missing; in others, chapters are added. Moreover, this book covers a wide field; portions have been detached and treated as separate writings. The "*Regimen Sanitatis*," i.e. the direction for preserving one's health, applied to wider circles. Men in affluent circumstances could carry out equally well as kings, the medical prescriptions contained in that section. And this portion has, in fact, been detached, and was translated and circulated separately. Similarly, the chapter on precious stones and their secret virtues appealed to the students

of Lapidaries and to alchemists, and that section was also elaborated and amplified, and it led an independent existence. Again, the treatise on Physiognomy contained in our book has later on been incorporated into the works of Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, and others, and is the primary source for the literature of physiognomics in the Middle Ages.

6. In the light of the latter development of the "Secretum," and the separate existence of some of its chapters, the question may be asked whether these chapters had always formed part of the original composition or whether they had been incorporated into it at a later stage, swelling the contents and ensuring for it a larger circulation. Only on that supposition an answer can be found for some of the problems connected with the literary history of that book, and the first step towards arriving at any solution is to compare the various texts and translations extant.

7. Two names are mentioned as authors of the Latin translations—one, Johannes Hispalensis, a converted Jew, who flourished 1135–1150, and another, a certain Philip Clericus, of uncertain date, but according to Förster, of the beginning of the thirteenth century: this date may be taken as the best authenticated, corroborated by the fact that only writers of the thirteenth century are acquainted with that translation. A third Latin translation may have also existed, the basis for the old Spanish. Examining those first two translations more closely, it will be found that Johannes Hispalensis translated only one treatise of this book, the "Rule of Health" and "The Four Seasons" (Book xii), accompanied by a short introduction describing the finding of the book in the temple of the Sun, and stating that Aristotle had written it at the request of Alexander. He does not seem to have translated any other section of the book, and yet he calls it by the same Arabic name, "Sir Alasrar" (corrupted in the

Latin), as the complete work. He evidently knew only so much of the book. Philip, on the other hand, translates the full text, which bears the same name. It contains, in addition to the chapters translated by Joh. Hispalensis, the rule of princes, the manner of warfare, the battle array, the choice of councillors, the mysterious properties of stones, some astrological sections, etc. In later times these two versions have been blended, and the work of the one mixed up with that of the other.

8. In comparing, then, the various Latin translations among themselves, great discrepancy will be found in the order and sequence of these very chapters, and in the division of the texts into books and chapters. The "Rule of Health" will be found either after book ii or after book vii, and in other respects the order of the books and chapters differs in these versions and recensions.

9. The Arabic original from which the Latin is the translation, although extant in many libraries in Europe, has hitherto not been published. Steinschneider, however, has examined some of the most interesting, and he has compared the Arabic with the Latin of Philip ("Uebersetzungen," p. 995, cf. p. 245 ff., where a full bibliography is to be found). He has established that in the Arabic texts a similar confusion is found in the division of the text into ten or eight books, and in the order in which they follow upon one another, agreeing in part with, but also disagreeing from, the Latin. The same question arises—Do these Arabic MSS. represent a late stage of development, when out of many independent treatises one single book had been evolved, or has the "Secretum" been preserved in its original form? Some of these, like the treatise translated by Joh. Hispalensis, may already have had the title "Secretum," and others may also have had the same title or one approximating it, and this identity of titles facilitated the blending of all of them into one book.

10. In addition to the Latin translations there is now a Hebrew version which, though it also rests on an Arabic original, represents, however, a recension other than that of the MSS. hitherto known. It differs from each of these recensions, and may help us to reconstruct the history of this book. In point of time it is at least contemporary, if not older than, any other translation of the full text, and it is an open question whether Philip has not made use of the Hebrew in his Latin translation. In one instance he distinctly refers to the Hebrew name of a bird of which he gives also the Arabic names. The reference may be a later interpolation, as this Latin text offers many examples of a double translation, due no doubt to marginal glosses, which later copyists transferred to the body of the text ; but it may just as well be due to Philip himself.

11. Judging from ancient quotations in Hebrew literature the "Secretum" was known already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is quoted in the language of this very translation. The style also points to that period and to Spain as its home. At that time a number of books of a similar character were translated from Arabic into Hebrew, such as the "Maxims of the Philosophers," the legendary "History of Alexander," the philosophical writings of Aristotle, genuine as well as spurious. Steinschneider in his great work on the translations from Arabic into Hebrew (and indirectly into Latin) deals exhaustively with this literature. One man stands out prominently towards the end of the twelfth century as author, poet, and skilled translator, Judah Al-Hharizi, who flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1190-1218).

12. The translation of the "Secretum" has also been ascribed to him. Some have doubted this authorship, but no proof to the contrary has been brought forward. Hharizi is the author of the translation of the

"Maxims of the Philosophers" ("Mussare ha-Pilosophim"), from the Arabic of Honein ibn Ishak (latest edition, A. Lowenthal, Frankfurt, 1896). He is also the author of the legendary "Life of Alexander," the English translation of which I published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897. Hharizi seems to have made his own the cycle of the Alexander legends, embracing the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle. It is not a mere coincidence that in most of the MSS. the "Maxims of Philosophers," the "History of the Death of Alexander," the "Letters of Aristotle to Alexander," and those of "Alexander to his mother Olympias" should be found to follow immediately after the "Secretum Secretorum." No doubt these writings were designed to form a complete cycle on the life of Alexander. Also linguistic parallels can be found between the "Secretum" and the "Maxims," proving them to be the work of one author. "Maxims," book ii, ch. 4, "the letter of Aristotle," is an abstract of the "Secretum," as shown by Lowenthal ("Sinnsprüche der Philosophen," Berlin, 1896, p. 112 ff.); and the Hebrew text, ed. Lowenthal, p. 27 ff., is strikingly similar to the Hebrew text of the "Secretum."

13. Hharizi, the undoubted author of the Hebrew translation of the "Maxims," could not have borrowed verbatim a few passages from the "Secretum" to incorporate them with his own translation of the whole of the "Maxims." It is, on the contrary, much easier to explain this similarity by assuming the author of one translation to be the author of the other, for he would use the same language in both cases. Similarity of language, nay, in some instances, absolute identity, runs through both books. They differ, on the other hand, very considerably from another collection of "Maxims" translated also from the Arabic under the title "Choice of Pearls," and ascribed to Aben Gabirol. There is no valid reason why the translation of the "Secretum" should

not be the work of Hharizi. Another argument may also be adduced to make Hharizi's authorship of the translation probable. For as it was utilised in the thirteenth century it could not have been translated into Hebrew later than towards the end of the twelfth century, and no quotation from that book has been traced in Hebrew literature anterior to the period of Hharizi.

14. This Hebrew version, preserved in a large number of MSS., some of which, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the same in all. Only slight variations, due to the negligence of the copyist, and minor differences in the numbering of the books and chapters, mark the difference between one MS. and the other. In comparing this version with the Arabic we find that, though agreeing in the main as far as the order of chapters and contents with the so-called shorter Arabic recension, yet it differs also greatly from it. It has many chapters and paragraphs for which no parallels in the other versions have hitherto been discovered. The differences between the Hebrew and the Latin of Philip are still greater. It is not possible to enter upon a minute examination of these differences so long as the Arabic texts remain unpublished. I must limit myself here to the more important points in which the Hebrew agrees with or disagrees from either of these versions, as the results obtained may have a distinct bearing on the history of the "Secretum."

15. The shorter Arabic recension is divided into eight books of unequal length, and the longer recension into ten, also of unequal length. The Latin is divided into ten books and the Hebrew into eight, like the shorter Arabic. But this difference is more apparent than real. Certain sections included in one or other of these chapters in the shorter Arabic are numbered separately in the longer, and thus the number of the divisions is increased without increasing the contents.

16. What purports to be an exchange of letters between Aristotle and Alexander, explaining the origin of this work, forms a kind of Introduction. Then follows the Prologue on the part of the first discoverer, who pretended having found it in a Temple of the Sun dedicated to Asklepios. He had gone in search of it at the bidding of the King of the Faithful, and having found it, translated it from the Greek into 'Rumi' and thence into Arabic. The author of this translation is the well-known Yahya ibn Batrik, i.e. John the son of Patricius, a Syrian freedman under the Kalif al-Mamun, c. 800. The word 'Rumi' cannot be translated otherwise than as meaning 'Syriac.' Whether Yahya was the double translator, first into Syriac and then into Arabic, is an open question. No one has as yet even touched it. If it be true that Yahya knew neither Greek nor Latin, then he could only translate the work from Syriac into Arabic, and we shall have to assume that prior to his time some one else had translated the book from the Greek into Syriac. It is not unlikely, then, that on the occasion of the second translation Yahya may have added to the originally shorter compilation of the "Secretum" some other treatises which may have existed independently and which went now to swell the bulk of the book.

17. There is some internal evidence for such a growth of the book. I have mentioned above that Johannes Hispalensis had translated only one or two of such treatises which form now chapters in the "Secretum," notably the "Rule of Health" and the "Four Seasons," which had an Introduction similar to that found now at the head of the "Secretum." If we turn to the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin texts we shall find that the greatest difference between these versions is found in the place assigned to these very treatises and to that on Physiognomy in the order of chapters of the "Secretum."

18. The Introduction finishes with a table of contents. If we examine it more closely we shall be struck by the

peculiar fact that those two large treatises on the "Rule of Health" and on "Physiognomy" are not mentioned at all under separate headings, though they are found included in the book, whilst much smaller chapters figure there as separate Books. It is a clear indication that when the table of contents was drawn up these treatises had not yet been incorporated into the "Secretum," and were added later on at a new revision of the text. The table was left as it originally stood, and each translator or copyist then arranged the interpolated portions as best he chose. Hence those profound differences in the position of the "Rule of Health." In the longer Arabic and in the Latin and in those dependent on the Latin, it is found in Book ii, and the "Physiognomy" is placed either at the very end of the "Secretum" as in the Latin, or follows upon the "Rule of Health" as in the longer Arabic. The same holds good also for the chapter on the "Occult properties of precious stones and plants." In the Latin and in the old English translation based on it (ed. Steele) it is found immediately after the "Rule of Health," whilst in both the Arabic texts it forms the concluding chapter.

19. In the division of the "Secretum" into Books the Hebrew agrees in the main with the Latin or longer Arabic. Some are exceedingly small and consist of only one chapter, such as Books v and vi. But a close examination of the Hebrew will show a differentiation in the marking of the divisions, not without import for the history of the text. The word סֵפֶר, which I have translated 'Book,' is found in the MSS. of Oxford and Munich heading only certain chapters which in accordance with the table of contents are the beginnings of new divisions, such as i-iii, iv, v (in the present edition marked vii), vi (viii), vii (ix), viii (xiii). The other divisions with one exception (x) are called with a different title, שַׁעַר, 'Gate,' even those very elaborate sections on Physiognomy (xi) and on the "Rule of Health" (xii). Section x has no heading at all; it is neither

'chapter' nor 'Book.' Evidently the copyist was in some doubt how to mark it, and he left it without any distinctive title. The same indecision and confusion between 'book' and 'chapter' are found in the longer Arabic. The shorter does not mark the subdivisions.

20. If we deduct those books and chapters not found in the table of contents, which cause all the confusion in the MSS. of the "Secretum," we reduce it to what must have been the more primitive state. It is freed from the encumbrance of the astrological, medical, and physiognomical sections. Guided by the comparison between these recensions, part of the alchemistic portion will also have to be eliminated, and the chapter on the "Occult properties of stones," the ancient *Lapidarium*, will have to be reduced to a much smaller proportion than found in the later and more elaborate form of the "Secretum." Of Astrology proper looming so largely in the later European recensions the Hebrew has only a faint trace and could not have been more in the Arabic original which the translator follows most faithfully. In many instances he also, like the Latin, gives even the Arabic technical terms and the Arabic names of scarce birds and gems, sometimes accompanied by a Hebrew translation, but as often as not only in Arabic, for he had evidently not found a proper equivalent for them in Hebrew. No doubt in time an Arabic text will be found corresponding exactly with the Hebrew.

21. The elimination of those chapters not only rounds off the text of the "Secretum," but helps also to trace it back to its supposed Greek sources. It also modifies the results to which previous investigators had arrived as to the character of the first compiler. So long as the Physiognomy, the Hygiene, and the astrological sections were treated as essential portions of the original composition, it was natural to suppose that the author must have been a physician, who, according to the knowledge

displayed in those chapters, may have lived in the eighth or ninth century. If, however, those very chapters are later interpolations the real book may have been composed earlier than the ninth century, and the author not in any way connected with medical science. It so happens that for those tracts Förster has shown that the *Physiognomy* is based on the Greek treatise of Polemon on *Physiognomy*, and Steele has pointed out the work of another author, Diocles Caristes (B.C. 320), as the source for one section of the "Rule of Health." The immediate Greek author for the whole of the *Hygiene* or "Rule of Health" has not yet been discovered, but all the libraries have not yet been searched.

22. Having thus cleared the way, we may now proceed with our enquiry a few steps further, and endeavour to trace the remaining portion of the book to Greek sources or to parallels in the Greek literature, and to fix, if possible, the place where the "Secretum" has been compiled for the first time.

23. So much has already been written that apparently little can be added. All the scholars are unanimous that the Greek text of this book is no longer existent. Has it ever existed? The recent discovery of the "Politeia" of Aristotle has, at any rate, shown that there is some substratum of truth in the allegation that this book was a translation, though indirectly, from a Greek original. But like all such books of a popular character, it was more in the nature of a compilation and paraphrase than a literal translation. It was to be a "Mirror of Kings," and served, as already remarked, as a centre for the crystallization of many maxims and teachings on the government of kings and the rule of nations.

24. The background throughout the book is Persia and India. Alexander dreads the Persian nobles. Persian kings are referred to; their advice to princes, their maxims of government, their customs and habits are

often mentioned. Greeks come in for very little mention, Indian teaching and Indian tales are much more often referred to. It would be an interesting subject for scholars of Indian literature to discover the sources of the statements which are here on many occasions put into the mouth of the Indians. But Persia remains the land to which the teachings of Aristotle are sent, for Persia is the centre of the political activity of Alexander. It is to that part of the world that we must trace the older form of this book, and not, as some have suggested, to carry it as far west as Egypt. The allusion to chess is another argument for seeking the origin of the book in Persia or Western Asia. Through Persia this royal game has come to Europe, and has retained to a great extent the Persian nomenclature. And in the "Secretum" the king with his vizier and scribes, with his rich garments and costly array, is an undoubted copy of the court of Persia under the early Khalifs. This reference to Persian and to Indian literature of maxims and apologues points to a definite time when, and to certain definite influence under which, this compilation may originally have been started. It must be after the time of the introduction of "Syntipas" and "Panchatantra" into the old Persian literature, and after the translation had been made into Pehlevi or into old Syriac ("Kalilag Va-Dammag"), since when these books became the literary property of the Western nations. (In one or two instances we may trace Gnostic influences, and especially teachings which approximate some of the views entertained by the Sufis or the pure Brethren.)

25. This book, then, is a compilation consisting of divers smaller treatises, of many times, and of different origins, all grouped round the central portion, the "Rule of Kings," the Mirror held up to the king by the wise teacher Aristotle, the Guide by which he is to rule the nations subdued by him or who owe him allegiance and fealty.

This is also the true purport of those Indian works, which, like "Syntipas" and "Kalilah," spread so far and had so profound an influence on the literature of the Middle Ages. Similar "Guides" are known to have existed in Greek. There are "Mirrors" or instructions to kings, such as that of Agapetos, the teacher of the Emperor Justinian, or that of pseudo-Isokrates. This literature will help us also in the further elucidation of the origin and date of the oldest form of the "Secretum."

26. Among the books which came from India and were destined to play an important rôle in the literature of the West, is the famous Buddhist legend known as the legend of "Barlaam and Josaphat," or Joasaph. Here we have a book which has undergone a strange transformation. Originally a Buddhist "Life," it has become a collection of legends and apologues, with a distinct theological colour and tendency. It has become an apology of Christianity and of asceticism. The immediate source of the Greek version has been traced to Persia or Western Asia. Some place it in the Sabbas cloister in Palestine (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteraturg.*, 2nd ed., p. 886 ff.). The Greek author has not been satisfied with merely changing Buddasaph into Joasaph, but he has woven into his romance the whole "Apology" of Aristides, as discovered by Arnytage Robinson, and has no doubt laid under contribution also many other writings not yet identified. One of these, then, seems to have been a "Mirror of the King," placed into the mouth of Joasaph (pp. 308 ff. and 331 ff., ed. Boissonade). This "Mirror of the King" agrees in the main with the above-mentioned metrical "Mirror of Kings" of Agapetos, who lived at the beginning of the sixth century. The date for the composition of "Barlaam" is assumed now to be about the first half of the seventh century. It has also been demonstrated by K. Praechter (*Byz. Zeitschrift*, ii, pp. 444-460) that the version in "Barlaam" is not directly borrowed from Agapetos, and that both are

pointing to an older source common to them. In some of the general views expressed one may recognise in both these "Mirrors" the influence of the Fathers of the Church, Basilios and Gregory of Nazianz, who follow more or less the 'example' of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos. But the contents of the "Mirror" in Barlaam is not exhausted by the reference to these sources.

27. If we now compare the last-named "Mirror" with some of the portions contained in the "Secretum," we shall find a similarity perhaps no less striking than the similarity between the other Greek Mirrors and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. It must not be forgotten that the "Secretum" is known to us only through the Arabic translation, which rests on a previous translation made from the Greek into Syriac. The Arabic translator, however faithful he may have been, could scarcely be expected to make his version, in fact a third version, tally with that in "Barlaam," with which it might have been originally identical, for this had since become part of another though a different compilation which has also undergone, to a certain extent, the manipulation of the authors who have embodied it into their romance. A "Mirror" passing through Syriac and Arabic into Hebrew and Latin could with difficulty be compared with the same "Mirror" passing through some Greek intermediaries into Agapetos and "Barlaam." And yet in spite of these different translators and editors, sufficient points of resemblance can be found between "Barlaam" (Agapetos) and the "Secretum."

28. This relation between "Barlaam," Agapetos, and "Secretum" should cause no surprise, for the "Secretum" has undoubtedly been compiled under similar conditions which prevailed at the compilation of "Barlaam." Of these two the "Secretum" must be the older, since Agapetos in the sixth century had utilised already a similar text for his "Mirror of the Kings."

29. We find further in the Byzantine literature also other "Mirrors," in which perhaps portions of the "Secretum" are embedded. They are akin to the Western development which followed upon the publication and propagation of the Latin "Secretum." Steele has given a list of more or less elaborate works which start directly or indirectly from the "Secretum" and have the same object. They are political "Vade-mecums" for kings and princes. In Greek we have among others, and also enjoying great popularity, the rather elaborate exhortation of the Emperor Basil (867-86), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty on the throne of Byzantium. In a series of chapters the Emperor advises his son, Leo VI, on his behaviour and conduct, on alms-giving, on education, on courage, on judgment, on humility, and chastity. This writing reflects the teachings of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos, probably also that of "Barlaam." Krumbacher (l.c., p. 458) refers also to other sources for this compilation of the Emperor Basil, such as the anonymous "De Politica Sapientia," published by A. Mai (Script. vet. Nova Coll., ii), further Nikephoros Blemmyde's treatise on the "Model of the King" and on the duties of the Princes, and another anonymous letter "About the King," published by Vitelli. To these sources I add, also possibly a Greek version of the "Secretum."

30. Leaving out other writings, I refer finally to one of the latest developments, the so-called Teaching of Neagoe, Prince of Wallachia (sixteenth century), to his son. It is a very voluminous compilation, following the same lines as the other "Mirrors of the Kings" hitherto mentioned, but interesting for the fact that the portion of the "Mirror of the King" retained in "Barlaam," together with the apologues, have been introduced into this larger book ascribed to Neagoe. It has been preserved in a Greek MS. in one of the cloisters on Mount Athos and in ancient Roumanian and Slavonic versions. The

relation in which they stand to one another and the sources from which that teaching has been evolved have as yet not been examined. Perhaps portions could be traced to the "Secretum."

31. The "Secretum" belonged, without doubt, to a larger cycle of similar compilations, and may represent one of the oldest versions of "Mirrors" after pseudo-Isokrates. It is not here the occasion for entering upon a detailed comparison between these different recensions of Eastern and especially Greek "Mirrors of the King." It must suffice to have drawn attention to a series of writings of which the connection had hitherto not been suspected, and to have contributed to the possible discovery of the lost original in one of the Greek texts mentioned.

32. The "War tactics" (Book ix) lead us on the one hand to the numerous writings on the art of war, composed after the time of Alexander in the period of the Diadochs, not all of which have been preserved, and on the other to the no less rich mystical literature, and the calculation of the numerical value of the letters and symbolical virtue of the names (*vide* Koechly & Ruestow, Griech. Kriegsschriftsteller, Leipzig, 1853-5, vol. ii, pp. 2, 5 ff.), or Sextus Julius Africanus, the Church historian, who devotes a chapter to the art of war in his encyclopædic work (*vide* W. Christ, Gesch. d. griech. Litt., 2nd ed., Munich, 1890, p. 724 f.).

33. The medical treatise stands by itself, and may have been the work of the translator from Greek into Syriac, who adapted the old writing to the knowledge of the time. And last, but not least, some old Greek texts on the philosopher's stone or that pure substance by means of which base metals are changed into gold and silver, have been published by Berthelot in his "Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs," Aristotle figuring very often (v. Index) as author of alchemistical writings. Further investigations

will no doubt throw more light on the composite character of and the elements that make up the "Secretum." It is a kind of encyclopædia drawn from the most diverse sources, bearing the stamp of the seventh or eighth century, resting on a somewhat late and already over-worked ancient tradition, containing fragments from contemporary literature of a more popular character. Started under favourable auspices, sent out into the world as the last word of practical wisdom of Aristotle, it has retained its popularity for centuries, and has exercised a lasting influence on European civilisation.

34. The Hebrew text, published here for the first time, rests upon the collation of four MSS., the oldest of which (A) dates from the year 1382 (British Museum Or., No. 2396); the others (O¹ and O²) are MSS. Oxford Nos. 1436 and 2386, and finally Codex Munich (M) 342. With the exception of Oxford No. 2386 the other MSS. belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have retained the divisions into books as found in the MSS., but I have subdivided the text into smaller paragraphs for easier comparison with other texts. The various readings have been added in footnotes only when they proved to be of importance. Scribes' errors have not been noticed; omissions in text A have been supplied in square brackets from one or more of the MSS., noting whence they had been taken. I have limited myself to these four MSS. because they seem to be the oldest and most accurate. Other MSS. may perhaps contribute to elucidate here and there some of the proper names which I have not been able to identify, or some other minute details of a technical character, but as they all substantially agree even in the most obscure and difficult passages they undoubtedly represent the original version of Hharizi. Following closely the Arabic original, he has left a few passages somewhat obscure. I have tried to explain them as best I could in the literal translation which I have

added, by comparison with the Latin and with other translations, notably the old English versions published by Steele.

This publication claims to be no more than a small contribution from a new quarter to one of the most interesting and fascinating chapters in the literary history and civilisation of the Middle Ages.



1. Northern pillar and lion-capital.



2. Bull-capital from southern pillar.



3. View of southern pillar with bull-capital.

XXVII.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1907-8.

By J. H. MARSHALL.


Rāmpurvā.

LAST winter's campaign of exploration opened in November with a small excavation near the village of Rāmpurvā, in the Champāran District of Bengal, well known for the Aśoka pillar discovered by Mr. Carlleyle in 1877. When Mr. Carlleyle first visited the spot, this pillar was lying in marshy ground, with its top and the bell-shaped capital attached, protruding a few feet above the surface; but the lion crowning the capital had disappeared. Proceeding to excavate around it, Mr. Carlleyle appears to have gone to a depth of some 8 feet, to have exposed most of the shaft, and to have copied the inscription on it. Nothing, however, was done either by him, or by Mr. Garriek who went to Rāmpurvā a year or two later, towards preserving the column, and the site remained undisturbed until last autumn, when I deputed my Personal Assistant, Pandit Daya Ram Sahnī, to carry out some trial digging there. I was induced to do this in view of a proposal made by Dr. Bloch to re-erect the pillar; for I was anxious, before the work was taken in hand, to ascertain precisely, if possible, its original position, and also whether any other remains existed round about.

The results of Pandit Daya Ram's investigations may be briefly summed up as follows. After trenching for a depth of 7 feet he came upon water, and at the depth of 12 feet the inrush of water from two springs was so great

that he could only go on with the excavation by the aid of continuous pumping and other expedients. In spite of great difficulties, however, he managed to reach the base of the pillar at a depth of 16 feet below the surface. Underneath the pillar was a massive stone slab, nearly 2 feet thick, originally secured in position by heavy stakes of *sāl* wood, which the water had wonderfully preserved. The shaft at the base has a diameter of 4 feet, and for the first 8 ft. 9 ins. its sides are left rough-dressed, this portion having been buried in the ground. The length of the shaft is 44 ft. 9½ ins., its diameter at the summit being 3 feet. When Mr. Carlleyle first found the pillar, the Persepolitan capital was still attached to it, but the crowning figure above the capital had been broken off. This figure has now been found buried some 7 feet below the surface, not very far from the top of the pillar (Plate I, Fig. 1). It is a single lion *sejant*, much like the lions on the Lauriya Nandangarh and Basārḥ pillars. The upper jaw is broken, but the rest of the sculpture is singularly well preserved, retaining its polish as fresh as when it was first set up. The muscles and thews of the beast are vigorously modelled, and, though conventionalized in certain particulars, it is endowed with a vitality and strength which rank it among the finest sculptures of the Mauryan period.

The inscription of Aśoka on the shaft is engraved in two columns, starting at a depth of 22 ft. 3 ins. from the top and extending down for 3 ft. 7 ins. A complete estampage of it was secured by dint of much exertion, and will be published anon in the *Épigraphia Indica*. It is almost identical with the two other Aśoka pillar inscriptions in the Champāran District, and it is manifest that the inscriptions on all three pillars were written by the same man, from the same draft copy. Thus, the peculiar spelling *mokhya-mute* in edict 6 for the Sanskrit *mokṣya-mataḥ* is repeated at Rāmpurvā again, as in the two Lauriya pillars. Dr. Bloch, who has examined the estampage, could

find not more than eight *varietates lectionis* in the Rāmpurvā inscription, when compared with the Lauriya versions of Aśoka's six pillar edicts. In two particulars, he says, the new facsimile settles doubtful points in Bühler's transcript (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 245 ff.). In line 18 in edict 4, Bühler read *kī-ti* (?); it is now evident that what he mistook for the second vertical stroke marking the long *i* is merely the *anusvāra*, placed inside the angle of *i*. In the following line we may now cancel the brackets, between which Bühler placed the *o* of *yote*. There is only one palæographical point which deserves being noticed. In line 6 of edict 5 there are two curves, somewhat resembling the usual Kharoṣṭhi form of *da*, placed on each side of the letter *na*, in the words *tisyaṃ puṇnamāsiyaṃ*, thus: . It is evident that these two marks must have conveyed some meaning, for they are certainly not later scribblings: but, what their signification was, is not apparent.

At the point of division between the rough and smooth surfaces of the pillar, which, there was reason to assume, marked the ground level in the Aśoka period, Pandit Daya Ram enlarged the digging in several directions, and discovered remains of a brick pavement, an earthenware well, and a small number of potsherds; but he found no buildings of any sort in the vicinity of the pillar, nor could he discover anything of a structural nature in the two mounds hard by. Excavation showed that these mounds are composed of yellow clay, much like that in the mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh, but they yielded no deposits such as Dr. Bloch found there.

A further discovery of importance, however, was made at a distance of some 300 yards to the south of the pillar. Here Messrs. Carlleyle and Garrick had noticed the stump of a second column protruding a few feet above the ground, but neither of them had opened up the ground to any appreciable extent around it. This stump has now been

exposed to a depth of $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and a brick platform, on a level with the pavement above referred to, has been brought to light, with the remains of a pavement around it. The stump itself, as will be seen from the photograph (Plate I, Fig. 3), is badly fractured, and appears to have been wilfully mutilated, perhaps with the purpose of destroying some inscription on it. The upper part of the shaft, measuring 18 feet long and 2 ft. 2 ins. in diameter at the top, was found lying a few feet from the stump on the brick pavement, and a little further away a Persepolitan capital surmounted by a bull (Plate I, Fig. 2). The capital is similar to the one belonging to the northern pillar, except as regards the necking, which is decorated with palmettes instead of a row of geese. The bull is, however, by no means so well executed as the lion, and fails to harmonise with the proportions of the capital on which it stands. Nevertheless, it has considerable value, as being the first portrayal of a bull in the round which has come down to us from the Mauryan period.¹ I am inclined to regard this pillar as somewhat later in date than the lion pillar to the north.

Sārnāth.

At Sārnāth, where I again had the valuable co-operation of Dr. Konow in the work of excavation, some very striking developments took place this season. The whole of the ground along the north side of the site, which we had tentatively designated the "monastery area" in the previous season, has turned out, as we had surmised, to be exclusively taken up with monastic buildings, erected one on the ruins of another at different intervals of time, and representing, so far as can be judged at present, all the most important building epochs at Sārnāth. The latest of these, belonging approximately to the

¹ A bull, it will be remembered, is mentioned by Hsien Tshang as having surmounted an Aśoka pillar at the Jetavana at Śrāvastī.



1. Upper monastery: bastion and gatekeeper's lodge of inner gateway, from north.



2. Lintel stone of late Gupta period, 16 feet long.



3. Avalokitesvara.



eleventh century A.D., was described in part in the résumé of our excavations of 1906-7 which I contributed to this Journal;¹ and the work of the past season, which has been rapidly pushed on, enables us now nearly to complete the plan of the building and its precincts. These prove to have been on an exceptionally grand scale. The main building, containing the halls and apartments of the monks, must have formed a particularly imposing block. In plan it is a rectangle, with double projections apparently on each of the outer faces,² resembling, in this respect, many of the *stūpas* of the Gupta and earlier periods found at Sārnāth. Its measurement from north to south is nearly 170 feet. The centre of the building is taken up by a large open courtyard, but here again there are wide offsets on each of the three sides that have been exposed, while, on the other hand, there are no verandahs such as we are familiar with in other monasteries. The lower part of the building consists of a high basement of brick, most elegantly moulded and carved on both its exterior and interior faces. The superstructure, which was of stone and brick combined, has almost entirely fallen, but it may confidently be asserted that there were not less than two storeys above the basement, and a fair idea of the details and decoration can be got from the multitude of fallen cornices, eaves, lintels, and other architectural members.

In front of the east entrance of this massive building was a courtyard, 114 feet from east to west, flanked by a smaller court on the south and by one apparently corresponding to it on the north. This court was paved with heavy blocks of rough sandstone, once covered or intended to be covered with a floor of concrete, and no structures appear to have been built within it. The

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 998.

² The north and west outer faces have not yet been excavated.

entrance to it from the east must have been singularly attractive, having been flanked with handsome bastions on the outside and provided with a gatekeeper's lodge on the inside. What remains of the northern bastion and of the gatekeeper's lodge are shown on Plate II, Fig. 1,—the bastion on the left of the wall, the gatekeeper's lodge on the right. Both structures are faced with finely chiselled brick, and the bastion is enriched with a variety of carvings.

Passing through the gateway from the first court, we come to an outer and more spacious court, measuring 290 feet from east to west, on the eastern side of which is another gateway, not quite in a line with the one above described, nor with the same orientation. The plan of this second gateway is more elaborate, and the proportions are much more massive than those of the first, but the design of both must have harmonised well together. On the outside are bastions of the same sort (now, unfortunately, all but level with the ground), and on the inside there is the same kind of gatekeeper's lodge as at the inner gate, but between the bastions and the lodge we have, instead of the simple cross wall, a large gatehouse measuring 61 by 28 feet and containing several chambers. The foundations of this gatehouse go down to a depth of 8 ft. 2 ins., and were manifestly intended to carry a high superstructure.

Beyond this second gateway, to the east, as proved by the walls continuing in that direction, still one other courtyard, if not more, can be traced out, and it may be that a third gateway has yet to be found of still larger proportions than the second.¹ To the west, also, of the monastery buildings, there are other extensions to be followed up. A feature of some interest in this

¹ These gateways bring to mind the *gopurams* of many South-Indian temples, which grow smaller and smaller as one approaches the central shrine.



1. Lower (Gupta) monastery: interior view, S.W. corner.



2. View of Lower (Gupta) monastery from the north.



direction is a great drain—a veritable *cloaca*—which appears to have carried off all the water from the monastery. It measures, internally, 6 feet high by 3 ft. 4 ins. wide, being thus sufficiently large for a man to clear it. The walls of the drain are of brick, but the floor and roof are constructed of heavy stone slabs.

Up to the present, then, we have traced this great monastery over a stretch of ground extending more than 760 feet from east to west, the whole south side of which is bounded by one long and almost straight wall stretching right from the larger gateway on the east almost to the western limit of the site. In earlier days this extensive area was occupied by several monasteries, which, towards the eastern end of the site, extend a little further south than the later monastery. Parts of three of these monasteries, dating back to the Gupta epoch or earlier, have been excavated this season, and have been found to be in a remarkably good state of preservation. One of these is on the west side of the later monastery buildings, and two are on the east of the same. So far as can be judged at present, all are more or less of the same character and date, and conform in general to the type with which we are familiar from examples at Kasiā and other places, though certain details in them are new to us. In the centre was a square open court, and around the four sides of it were disposed the cells and halls or common-rooms of the monks, with an open verandah in front of them facing on to the court. The outer walls vary from 6 to 11 feet in thickness. They were plainly intended to carry upper storeys. All the walls are of brick, which is left rough in the interior of the cells, but has a chiselled surface in the open corridors and other exposed parts of the building. Stone was employed for the columns, pilasters, and architraves, and also for pierced window screens, some of the designs of which are particularly interesting. Wood, however, appears

Sanskrit
palace
at Kasiā
see
Brihatsamhita

to have been used for the door lintels on the ground floor, and was no doubt employed more extensively in the upper storeys, where lightness of material was important. Some of these features can be seen in the photograph in Plate III, Fig. 1, which shows the interior of the middle monastery at its south-west corner. The doorway appearing to the left of the picture opens into one of the monk's cells. When it was excavated, the four courses of carved bricks above the lintel were found still in position, though sagging somewhat in the centre; but the old wooden lintel below them had almost completely perished. The bricks were, therefore, carefully removed course by course and replaced again over a new lintel. The central courtyard was paved over with brick, as likewise the verandah colonnades in front of the cells. A low wall, rather more than 2 feet high, into which the stone columns were built, divided the latter from the former, and covered drains were laid from the corners of the courtyard underneath the verandah and cells, to carry off the rainwater from the open quadrangle. The three monasteries, as they stand, belong in the main, we believe, to the late Gupta period, but, in the few places where trenches have been sunk to a lower level, earlier structures (going back probably to the Mauryan period) have been found beneath the walls, while various later rebuildings are also discernible. The excavation of the stratum below the Gupta buildings ought to furnish results of immense value, although the finds are likely to be less numerous than in the upper strata. A small object, but one of exceptional interest, found at a depth of some 20 feet inside the westernmost of the three monasteries, is the terra-cotta head shown in Plate IV, Fig. 6. The Western Hellenic influence in the modelling of the features is very apparent; indeed, there is nothing whatever Indian about them. For the origin of the hat and the lappets on each side we must almost certainly look to Persia.

So much for the excavations of the past season in the monastery area. In describing what we have done among the *stūpas* and shrines to the south of it, I will start with an interesting group of remains that have been brought to light on the north side of the Dhamekh Tower. All the ground around this monument had been excavated many years ago by Major Kittoe, and the many *stūpas* discovered by him had long since been destroyed. It was generally supposed, therefore, that nothing more remained to be discovered; but a trench carried northwards from the tower soon disclosed the fact that Major Kittoe's excavations had in reality only touched the uppermost stratum, and that the monuments below this stratum still remained undisturbed. Among the *stūpas* and other buildings which have now been cleared by us, three distinct levels and some intermediate ones can be differentiated. The lowest of these goes back to the late Gupta period, the second to the eighth or ninth century A.D., and the uppermost to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. It was to the last-mentioned level that the structures excavated by Major Kittoe appear to have belonged. No doubt other strata exist still lower down, but these have not yet been penetrated. Of the structural character of these monuments nothing need be said here, as they are almost entirely of brick and plaster, analogous to what had already been found in other parts of the site, but some of the small finds made among them are well worth mention. Most beautiful of all is a miniature figure of Avalokiteśvara, which I judge to belong to the eleventh century A.D. It is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and the carving, though of a somewhat stereotyped character, is executed with a delicacy and refinement which would do credit to a Chinese artist. In the same level was found a long and finely cut inscription of the first half of the twelfth century A.D.: it records the construction of a *vihāra* by Kumāradevī, the queen of Govindacandra of Kanauj.

To the second stratum belongs a series of three well-preserved stone reliefs, one of which is reproduced in Plate II, Fig. 3. They stand between 3 and 4 feet high, and are very characteristic of the sculpture of that period, which was fast losing the freshness and vitality of the Gupta work. The facts that all three were found together in one spot and were apparently from the same chisel suggest that they had probably been dedicated together in the shrine near which they were found.

Another part of the site where valuable results have been obtained, is at the Jagat Singh *stūpa* (Plate III, Fig. 2). In spite of the attention given to this particular monument by previous excavators, there were reasons for hoping that, with the aid of more careful and thorough excavations around its base, a good deal more might still be discovered; nor were our hopes disappointed. All the different periods of rebuilding can now be clearly distinguished, and several interesting new features have come to light. Most important of these is a circular ambulatory, or *pradakṣiṇa*, which belongs to the third rebuilding of the *stūpa*. This *pradakṣiṇa* is nearly 16 feet across, and is encircled by an outer wall, now standing to a height of about 4 feet, through which four doors gave access, one at each of the cardinal points. This, so far as I know, is the only example we have in India of a circular walled-in *pradakṣiṇa*. At a later date this passage was filled up, and access to the *stūpa* proper was then provided, by bricking up the doorways and placing flights of six steps against the outside. Each of the four flights of steps is made of a single block of stone. Outside the *pradakṣiṇa* wall only a relatively small space has yet been cleared, but it is obvious that crowds of small monuments compass it round on every side. To the north-east of the Jagat Singh *stūpa* further headway has also been made in clearing the long broad passage, the western end of which was opened out last



6. Sārnāth.



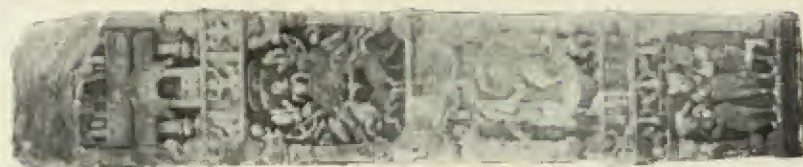
7. Sūrya: from Billuar.



5.



4.



3.



2.



1.

Rail-posts recently restored at Bodh-Gayā.

Rail-posts from Sārnāth.



year. In the course of this work, many late statues were found: an example is shown in Plate II, Fig. 4: what figures this sculpture represents, is uncertain, but it affords a striking instance of contamination of ideas between Brahmanical and Buddhist iconography.

It remains to mention the digging to the north and north-east side of the Main Shrine, excavated by Mr. F. O. Oertel in 1905, and between it and the long wall of the late monastery on the north. This area is mainly devoted to *stūpas* and shrines of much the same type as those in other parts of the site. But among them two finds stand out prominent. One of these is a particularly fine lintel stone of Gupta workmanship, 16 feet long, and in an admirable state of preservation (Plate II, Fig. 2). It is decorated with figures of Jambhala, a Bodhisattva, dancing girls, and other scenes. The other is a railing in the late Mauryan style, which appears to have been brought from some other place and re-erected where we found it, probably in the Gupta period. As it now stands, it consists of twelve uprights arranged in a rectangle. A specimen of two of the posts is shown in Plate IV, Figs. 1 and 2. No structure was found within the railing, but there were signs everywhere of a conflagration, and numerous clay sealings of the Gupta period were found on the floor, and, mixed with earth and ashes, both inside and outside the railing.

Bodh-Gayā.

The mention of the railing above reminds me that the pillars belonging to the famous railing at Bodh-Gayā,¹ which were hidden away in an obscure corner of the Mahant's house, have now at last been rescued and set up again along with the others around the temple. The

¹ According to Dr. Bloch, this is the correct modern pronunciation of the name, not *Budh-Gaya* as it is often spelt. The name is believed to mean "the Gayā of the Bodhi-tree incarnation of Viṣṇu."

recovery of these valuable monuments we owe directly to Lord Curzon, without the aid of whose influence and persuasion they could certainly never have been restored to their original place. A photograph of some of them as they are now set up, is shown in Plate IV, Figs. 3, 4, and 5. Dr. Bloch, who has been able to examine them carefully since their removal, draws attention to an important historical point which becomes clear from the inscriptions on two of these pillars.

"On one of them," he writes, "I read:—

Raño Brahmanitrassa pājāvatiye Nāgadevaye dānaṃ ;

i.e., 'this pillar is the gift of Nāgadevā, the queen of king Brahmanitra.' The queen of king Indramitra likewise is mentioned as the donor of another one of the pillars. I think there can be no doubt that these two kings, Indramitra and Brahmanitra, are identical with the two kings of the same names, of whom a number of copper coins have been found in Northern India.¹ Both of them either belonged to or were contemporaries of the Śunga kings, to whose time the erection of the Gateway of the Stūpa of Barāhat, now in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, must be ascribed on the strength of the inscription on it. The Bodh-Gayā railing evidently belongs to the same epoch, or, in other words, it is something like a hundred years later than Aśoka, whose name has been wrongly brought into connection with it by the modern expression 'Aśoka railing at Bodh-Gayā.' Of the sculptures, the most interesting naturally is the well-known Sūrya relief, of which Rajendralala Mitra gave an excellent photograph in plate 50 of his 'Buddha Gaya.'² The most striking point about it are the *four* horses, drawing the chariot of Sūrya,

¹ See Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 80 and 84.

² This photograph has been taken from a cast of the pillar made for the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It would have been impossible to procure so good a photograph of the pillar in the position in which it stood at that time.

instead of the usual number of seven. That Greek art has been responsible for this number of horses is likewise beyond dispute. The subject appears to have been a favourite one in the last centuries B.C., like the bathing of Lakṣmi by two elephants which is represented on one of the other railing pillars at Bodh-Gayā. We find Sūrya and Lakṣmi again over two of the doors leading into the interior of the Ananta Gūṃphā on the Khandagiri Hill in Orissa. There, too, Sūrya is represented standing on a chariot, drawn by four chargers. In later times this number is changed into seven, and nearly all likeness with the Greek prototype vanishes. However, one occasionally meets with a still more Indian type of Sūrya, of which a photograph is reproduced on Plate IV, Fig. 7. It is taken from an image placed in the back wall of a modern temple at Bilhari, the ancient Vilahari, the capital of the Chedi kings, now a large village in the Jubbulpore District of the Central Provinces. The number of the horses is seven, arranged in two rows of four and three, in the same manner as along the steps leading to the Black Pagoda at Konārak in Orissa. The figure of Sūrya is seen squatting inside a disc, placed upon a wheeled platform, upon which we observe another squatting figure, evidently Aruṇa, the personification of dawn. The most striking point in the Bilhari image, however, appears to be the disc in which Sūrya has been placed. It is highly probable, at least, that this arrangement goes back to the figure of a wheel, which in India, as elsewhere, was one of the first symbols of the divine power of the Sun that man began to worship. The subject, of course, requires a fuller treatment than can be given to it here, but, given the fact that in India, as elsewhere, the wheel was worshipped in early times as a symbol of the Sun,¹ we at once grasp the true origin of the

¹ How widespread and popular the Sun worship in India once must have been, becomes evident to us from the many small clay horses which we now find put up as offerings at most of the Muhammadan

Buddhist symbol of the 'Wheel of the Law,' the *dharma-cakra* as they used to call it. It was an adoption by the Buddhists of one of the common symbols under which the *numen divinum* was at that time represented in India. But, although Buddha himself claimed to be an *Āditya-bandhu*, or 'descendant of the Sun,' by birth, his followers did not use the symbol of the Sun as a representation of their teacher, evidently because at that time it had not yet become the custom to glorify his person. His teaching, the Law, the *dharma*, was the main object to which the early Buddhists turned their attention, and the wheel was equally suitable to represent the progress of the Law, which from the beginning appears to have been likened to the victorious progress of a great conquering monarch, a *cakravartin*."

Another figure which strikes me as of some interest is the one below Lakṣmī, shown in Plate IV, Fig. 4. On the head of this figure the *uṣṇīṣa* is undoubtedly portrayed. But whom, then, does the figure represent? I must confess that the answer is a riddle to me, but, whatever it may be, this figure at least proves that the *uṣṇīṣa* was no new feature introduced by the Gandhāra school of art.

Sahet-Mahet.

Owing to serious famine in certain districts of the United Provinces, the excavations at Kasiā had to remain in abeyance this season, and Dr. Vogel's operations were transferred to the site of Sahet-Mahet, on the borders of the Bahraich and Gonda districts, in order that use might be made there of famine labour. This is the site where General Cunningham located the once celebrated

Durgāhs in North-Eastern India. The people now explain these clay horses as *Pir-kī-samīrī*, 'the equipage of the Pir.' In reality, however, they go back to the same class of votive offerings of which a great number has been found, e.g., in Olympia; see Sophus Möller, "*Urgeschichte Europa's*," 1905, p. 116.



1. Mahet : Kacheli Kutf from N.E.



2. Sahet : Image of Jambhala.



3. Mahet : Image of Vrishabhvanatha.



Śrāvastī, and it will be seen from the following remarks by Dr. Vogel, and from a special note contributed on the subject to this Journal by him (page 971 above), that the discovery of a copperplate in one of the monasteries has now definitely proved this identification to be correct.

"It will be remembered that Cunningham identified the main site, known as Mahet, with the ancient city of Śrāvastī, the capital of the Kosalas, and the mound of Sahet, situated a quarter of a mile south-west of Mahet, with the famous Jetavana of Buddhist celebrity.¹ Mr. V. A. Smith, however, rejected Cunningham's identification as disagreeing with the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, and believed that he had found the true site of Śrāvastī near the village of Bālāpur in Nepal territory, close to the spot where the Rāptī river emerges from the Hills.² I must mention here, also, that, subsequent to Cunningham's exploration, Dr. W. Hoey carried on excavations at Sahet-Mahet in 1884-5.³

"The circumstances which led to the selection of this site for excavation enabled me to extend the digging over a relatively large area. I had, moreover, the benefit of the assistance of Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, whose services Mr. Marshall had kindly placed at my disposal and who did most of the supervision at the Sahet site. The nature of the work to be done was to a large extent conditioned by that of previous explorers. It soon became evident that, among the numerous buildings attacked by Cunningham and Dr. Hoey, hardly any had been wholly excavated. In consequence the published plans are incomplete, and, I must add with regard to those of Dr. Hoey, inaccurate. In these circumstances it seemed to me necessary, first of all, to continue and, if possible, finish these buildings.

¹ *A.S.R.*, vol. i, pp. 330-348, and vol. vi, pp. 78-100.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 503-531, and 1900, pp. 1-24.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxi (1892), pt. i, Extra No.

"The two principal monuments of Mahet, which are locally known as Pakkī and Kachchī Kuṭī, and had been partially excavated by Dr. Hoey, first claimed my attention. The Kachchī Kuṭī proved to be the rectangular plinth of a large temple built of brick and approached from the west by means of a flight of steps (Plate V, Fig. 1). This plinth, as it stands, is a reconstruction of an earlier square plinth, the west wall of which is still extant inside the later structure. Both these buildings were once decorated with terra-cotta panels, fragments of which came to light in great numbers at the foot of both the earlier and later walls. The difference in style of these terra-cottas points also to their belonging to different periods. Their fragmentary state made it impossible in most cases to decide on the nature of the scenes represented, but none of them appear to have any connection with Buddhism. One of the few complete panels discovered shows the familiar figure of Hanumān fighting a Rākṣasa, and leaves no doubt that the edifice to which it belongs was a Brahmanical temple. Another panel, reconstructed out of various fragments, seems to refer to some legend of Kṛṣṇa's childhood. It is a point of interest that in the foundations of the earlier temple there were found the remains of a circular structure which evidently is the remnant of a small Buddhist *stūpa*.

"As regards the Pakkī Kuṭī, I agree with Mr. V. A. Smith that it is a solid building, and that the supposed rooms excavated by Dr. Hoey are merely spaces filled with earth for the sake of economy. The absence of doors and windows can leave no doubt on that point. Most probably it is a *stūpa*, though it should be noted that no staircase was found. The objects found in excavation do not give any clue as to the religion to which it belonged. At the foot of the south wall we came on three shafts consisting of rings of baked clay 4 to 5 inches high and $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 feet in circumference. One

of these shafts was found to be continued to a depth of 6 ft. 8 ins. below the foot of the wall. The lowermost ring contained six earthenware pots, with pierced bottoms, placed upside down. Whether these shafts did duty as drains or wells, or served some other purpose, I cannot decide, but drains of similar form and construction are frequently met with on other ancient city sites, for instance, on that of Mathurā.

"Due east of the Pakkī Kuṭī is a mound adjoining the ramparts of the city. Dr. Hoey sank a shaft from its top to a depth of 30 feet through solid masonry, from which he rightly conjectures that this building is a large-sized *stūpa*. Another large building, west of the Pakkī Kuṭī, remains still to be explored. It is a large flat mound, rectangular in shape; its north-east corner is occupied by the tomb of Sayyid Mirān.

"It will be seen from Cunningham's account that the outline of the ancient town is clearly marked by a row of mounds enclosing the Mahet site. At several places along the south and west side I made cuttings, in order to trace the city wall and to locate the position of the gates. But no structural remains came to light; apparently these mounds are merely earthen ramparts, and the brick walls which once crowned their tops have completely disappeared. On the north-east side, however, my endeavours were successful. Not far from the group of monuments described above is a gap in the ramparts, which is known as Nausahrā Darwāza. It is named after the adjoining strip of land, called Nausahrā, which separates Mahet from the Naukhān, an ancient bed of the Rāptī. Here excavations revealed remains of a gate flanked by two bastions and a heavy wall, both built of large bricks (18 by 11 by 3 inches). These ruins, which are of undoubted antiquity, dispose of Mr. Smith's conjecture that the Old Rāptī has cut away large portions of the ancient city and reduced it to half its original size.

"The Jaina temple of Sobhnāth in the western portion of the Mahet site was further explored. In clearing the courtyard in front of the temple numerous images were unearthed, all of which betray a late date. An example of them is shown in Plate V, Fig. 3.

"At Sahet our excavations comprised a considerable number of buildings, mostly small *stāpas* and temples, which it will be unnecessary to describe here in detail. The Buddhist character of these remains had already been established by former explorers and was confirmed by our researches. In the northern portion of the site the three shrines Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of Cunningham, are the most prominent. In No. 3 he discovered in 1863 the colossal Bodhisattva statue¹ (now in the Calcutta Museum), which, as stated in its inscription, was erected by Friar Bala, together with a parasol post, 'at Śrāvasti, in the Kosambakuṭī on the Lord's Promenade.' On that account Cunningham believed this temple to be a descendant of the Kosambakuṭī shown on the well-known bas-relief of Barāhat. It is obviously many centuries younger than the image, which belongs to the early Kuṣāṇa epoch. Moreover, it follows from the inscription that the statue must originally have stood in the open, sheltered by its stone umbrella. The expression 'the Lord's Promenade' refers to a kind of structure which, from literary sources as well as actual discoveries, appears to have been common on famous Buddhist sites. Cunningham² found such a 'Buddha's walk' outside the northern wall of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. From the existence of a row of stone pillar bases on both sides of the promenade he inferred that it had been covered by a roof.

"In connection with the mention of the Lord's Promenade in the Bodhisattva inscription, it is interesting that in

¹ Bloch, *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxxvii (1898), pt. i, pp. 274-290, and *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 179-192, and *Mahābodhi*, p. 8.

² *A.S.R.*, vol. xvi, Preface, p. iii.

front of the supposed Kosamba-kuṭi a structure came to light which I believe to represent such a monument. It is a solid brick wall, running from east to west, decorated with moulded brickwork, and approached by a flight of steps built on against the centre of its north face. The orientation is the same as that of the 'Buddha's walk' at Bodh-Gayā. I do not pretend for a moment that the *caṅkrama* discovered at Sahet is the one referred to in the inscription; it was found at the surface of the mound, and obviously belonged to the latest building period. But it may be assumed that at important places of pilgrimage there existed a continuous tradition, and that monuments connected with events of the Buddha's career were always rebuilt on exactly the same spot where such an event was believed to have taken place. Our *caṅkrama* may, therefore, be a remote descendant of the one mentioned in the Bodhisattva inscription.

"Among the buildings unearthed in the southern portion of Sahet, the most important is the large monastery¹ partly explored by Dr. Hoey and now completely excavated. It faces east, and contains, as usual, a central courtyard enclosed by corridors and rows of cells. In one respect it differs from the ordinary type of a Buddhist convent. In the course of my Kasiā excavations I found evidence that in some Buddhist monasteries the cell facing the main entrance (i.e. the central cell of the western row, if the entrance faces east) served the purpose of a chapel. This explains why such a cell is usually larger in size than the others.

"In the Sahet Monastery we find, on the west side of the courtyard opposite the entrance, a chamber surrounded by a procession path. It has an anteroom which is entered from the east. Here we have, therefore, a distinct chapel, evidently developed out of the chapel cell of the

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, op. cit., pl. v, No. 21.

older type of monastery. To find room for it, it became necessary to project the central portion of the western wall, an arrangement not met with in any of the Kasiā monasteries. The late date of the Sahet convent is apparent from an inscribed stone slab¹ discovered by Dr. Hoey inside the courtyard, and was further confirmed by inscribed sculptures found in the course of last winter's excavation.

"Among these I may notice a statuette, 1 ft. 10 ins. high, of Jambhala, the god of wealth (Plate V, Fig. 2), whose image, strange though it may seem, appears to have been a necessary adjunct of a Buddhist convent. It was found in the courtyard near the north-east angle of the ante-room of the chapel. The halo is inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the eighth or ninth century. The image is made of the spotted red sandstone of Mathurā. Other sculptural fragments found in Sahet are made of the blue stone of Bodh-Gayā; e.g., two portions of a Tārā figure (1 ft. 5 ins. high), and a fragment of a figure of Śiṃhanāda Lokeśvara (1 foot high) which, judging from a votive Sanskrit inscription, belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century. A curious find made in the same building is a Buddha figurine of Persian chalk, 2½ inches high, with a Tibetan inscription on the reverse. These, and other finds made in Sahet, go far to prove that it was an important place of pilgrimage even in the expiring days of Indian Buddhism. On this point, however, there need no longer exist any doubt, as a last and most important discovery—that of a copperplate—made by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni at Sahet, has proved that, as Cunningham first proposed, this site does mark the famous Jetavana, the favourite abode of the Buddha. For further particulars I may refer to my note in this Journal (page 971 above), in which the question of the identity is treated in detail."

¹ Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii (1888), pp. 61-64.

Takht-i-Bāhi.

In the Frontier Province Takht-i-Bāhi has again, after a space of thirty years and more, begun to yield its splendid treasures to the spade. Five years ago I urged upon the Local Government the importance of clearing up this famous site completely, and effectually conserving its valuable remains; but it was not until the end of 1906, when Dr. D. B. Spooner had been appointed Superintendent on the Frontier, that an opportunity offered itself of taking the task in hand. In the first season the work of clearance was started in the court of the main *stūpa*, and at the same time the two chapels, whose superstructures are still well preserved, were strengthened and repaired. This year it was continued in the monastic quadrangle to the north-east, and afterwards in the long court between it and the court of the main *stūpa*. It was in the latter court that a large number of *stūpas* and sculptures were brought to light in 1871, but it soon became apparent that the earlier excavations had been little more than surface diggings, and that there were many more treasures yet to be found in it. Dr. Spooner, who personally conducted the excavations, describes the discoveries thus:—

"The long narrow courtyard, running east and west, and connected with the court of the main *stūpa* by a flight of sixteen steps in admirable preservation, is crowned by a multitude of little *stūpas*, some of which still preserve portions of the stucco friezes with which they were originally ornamented, though none, I regret to say, are quite so admirably preserved as the one discovered last year at Sahribahlol. The plan and details of these *stūpas* will be published later, on the completion of the work as a whole. For the present, the most important thing to notice is the extraordinary number of the sculptures recovered. Considering the fact that Takht-i-Bāhi had been officially excavated (and, whatever

one may think of the method of the excavations, at least so thoroughly exploited as to have furnished a large proportion of the Gāndhāra pieces known to scholars until recently), the extent of this year's yield seems almost incredible. The legendary scenes recovered were not especially numerous, but several among them are of interest and value, alike for the extreme delicacy of the carving and for the manner in which the subject is treated. Not a few of the most beautiful of these scenes occur on pedestals, of which a great number were recovered. One such stone shows two scenes from the legend of Kāśyapa, the right-hand one with the Buddha in the fire temple and the hermits mounting ladders on the outside with jars of water to extinguish the supposed conflagration, and the left-hand one with, curiously enough, the same fire temple standing quite empty, with a few figures beside it turned expectantly toward the right. The interior appears to have been slightly injured, and it may be that originally the serpent was here represented: if so, the scene must be chronologically prior to the other, although the order of the two would seem to be against this assumption. Another interesting pedestal shows the Buddha seated under a tree in the centre of the composition. His right hand is uplifted in the *abhaya-mudrā* posture, and he is facing directly to the front. To his right are two standing figures, holding heavy bags in their hands, which they are evidently offering to him, while behind them is a third figure standing at the head of a reclining bullock heavily laden, behind which appears a horse's head. On the Buddha's left an unusually fine bearded Vajrapāṇi is seated, with his *vajra* in the left hand and his face turned toward the Buddha, while at the extreme proper left of the whole a very large covered bullock waggon is seen, the details of which are worked out with great carefulness. Evidently an attempt is being made to stop



1.



2.



3.



4.



this waggon, or even to back it, as one man is leaning heavily against one of the bullocks in an obvious attempt to force him backwards, and another is making an effort to roll back one of the heavy wheels, while the driver is leaning forward in a very energetic manner, belabouring the bullocks with a thick stick. The heavy bags which are being presented on the right, and the sylvan nature of the scene as indicated by an occasional tree here and there, might make one think at first that this was a novel representation of the gift of the Jetavana, it being conceivable that the laden bullock and the bullock cart both bear treasure. But the fact that the scene occurs on the pedestal of a figure representing the austerities of Gautama makes this very doubtful, and I hesitate to suggest at present any interpretation for it. Unfortunately, the ascetic figure is broken and incomplete, but its general excellence and interest can be seen from the remarkable head reproduced in Plate VI, Fig. 1. So far as I am aware, no representation of this subject superior to the present piece has been found, save the exquisite sculpture recovered by the late Sir Harold Deane at Sikri and now exhibited in the Lahore Museum.

"As a class, the most interesting figures, as well as the most beautiful, are the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, of which large numbers were rescued from the débris. Several of these are not only in admirable preservation, but also of an excellence quite unsurpassed in Gandhāra art. One Bodhisattva, more than life-sized, is especially remarkable. The right side of the figure is lost, but the head and shoulders, shown in Plate VI, Fig. 2, are practically uninjured, and are of very unusual interest, as can be seen from the illustration. But the real interest and value of this collection cannot be judged by the mere sum of its sculptures. A feature of much importance is the extraordinary variety observable in it. The sculptures range from the extreme of excellence almost to the extreme of

decadence, although no figures appear to be of quite so late a date as the sculptures at *Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī*. A characteristic example of this decadence is shown in Plate VI, Fig. 3, where the whole composition betrays lateness in its elaboration as well as in the inferiority of the sculpture itself. A peculiarly interesting point in this sculpture is the crescent moon on the canopy above the Buddha's head. If the figure were a Bodhisattva, one would remember the contention about the connection between Śiva and Avalokiteśvara, and the interpretation would seem simple. But, with the figure an unmistakable Buddha, I confess that the crescent is as puzzling as it is interesting. Before closing, I should like to add that the theory propounded by me, in the final account of the *Sahribahlol* sculptures published in the *Annual of the Archaeological Department* for 1906-7, as regards the representation of Maitreya in Gandhāra art, has now received abundant confirmation in the *Takht-i-Bahī* sculptures. Wherever a figure wearing the hair in a large loop to the left is sufficiently preserved to show the left hand, the attribute is regularly the alabastron, so that, when this fact is added to the arguments advanced at the place quoted, I feel that there can be very little reasonable doubt remaining. The type I would so identify is shown in Plate VI, Fig. 4."

Another site in the Frontier Province to which Dr. Spooner has devoted some attention, is that of *Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī* near Peshawar, where M. Foucher proposed to locate the famous *stūpa* of Kanīṣka. Dr. Spooner writes as follows:—

"The arguments set forth by M. Foucher in his monograph *Sur la Géographie Ancienne du Gandhāra*, which need not be repeated here,¹ are so convincing that his

¹ One point only calls for mention. The name *Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī* does not, in my opinion, mean "le tumulus du grand roi," but merely "the Sayyid's mound." The land on which the mounds stand was given by

conclusions have been generally accepted, Mr. Vincent Smith going so far as to declare definitely that the foundations of Kanishka's great *stūpa* are still to be traced outside Peshawar city.¹ But the results, it will be seen, of the present explorations warn us of the need for greater caution.

"In commencing my excavations, the suggestion made by M. Foucher, that search should be made in the first instance for the hundred *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as lying to the north and south of the pagoda, was followed, and trenches were sunk radiating from a central point at the southern edge of the main pagoda mound. But, although four out of five trenches were taken down to a considerable depth, I regret to say that no trace of any such structures was found. The remains actually met with were as follows:—

"About 70 feet from the southern edge of the mound, a rough brick pavement appeared, at a depth of about 10 feet below the surface. The edge of this was cleared for a width of some 8 feet over a length of 120 feet, disclosing at the extreme west a few bricks forming the foundations or basement of certain buildings now lost, and at the extreme east, a circular structure faced with stucco, which may have been the base of a *stūpa*, or more probably, judging from the undecorated nature of the remains and the absence of sculptural finds in the neighbourhood, the base of a small circular tower. More important than these

Mahmād of Ghazni to an ancestor of the present owner, according to the latter's account; and, as the members of this family are all Sayyids, and consequently addressed by the title of *Shāh-jī*, it would seem unsafe to see, with M. Foucher, an echo of the ancient designation in the modern name. Besides, the more natural vernacular rendering of "le tumulus du grand roi" would be *Shāhī-Dheri* or *Pādshāhī Dheri*.

¹ This remark, as it stands, can never have been true in modern times. No remains whatever were traceable on the surface, and the majority of monuments met with were found to be buried to a depth of from 8 to 12 feet. It should be noted, further, that the mounds lie outside the Ganj gate, not outside the Lahore gate as stated.

was a massive temple building toward the centre of the trench running from the edge of the platform toward the north. Only the basement of this building remains, but this is remarkable for its strength and solidity. The construction is, in the main, of the usual Gandhāra type, but, instead of its being built of blocks of slate with the interstices filled with small pieces of the same material, we here find large dressed stones with the interstices filled with piles of bricks. This is not, however, any necessarily sure proof of a late date; for, running out from this building to the north, is a narrow platform in the typical Gandhāra style, which from its position cannot be older than the main building. That this building was a shrine or temple, furthermore, was abundantly proven by the sculptural fragments recovered in its débris. On clearing the space to the north of this building, two other basements were found in alignment with its western wall, and still further to the north, under the edge of the mound itself, another massive wall running east and west, which appears to have been the outside wall of a *stūpa*, or at least of the solid platform from which the *stūpa* plinth arose.

"These are the chief monumental remains recovered,¹ and the difficulty of forming any final judgment on their basis is obvious, for there is nothing about them to determine their date or origin. The sculptural fragments, however, afford a more satisfactory clue. They are almost without exception of extreme inferiority. The great majority are of stucco, singularly coarse and unpleasing, and the very method of their manufacture points to a late period. The pupils of the eyes are regularly indicated, which is almost never the case in true Gandhāra art, and

¹ A few undecorated brick structures were unearthed further to the east, but their apparent lack of connection with the other remains, and their much higher level, lead me to think that they are relatively modern structures of no significance, and I accordingly leave them out of consideration.



1. North-east view of Western Hill.



2. North-east view of Eastern Hill.

until such are found, the connection of the site with Kaniska must remain doubtful. In my opinion, therefore, it seems fair to assert that, in general, the results of the present exploration, however inconclusive, at least throw doubt on the identification proposed. We have not found what we expected, and, while it cannot be claimed definitely that the identification is disproved, it is undeniable that the negative evidence is strongly against it. It is hoped that further researches can be carried out in the course of the coming winter, when possibly more conclusive evidence will be found; but, until that time, the identification of Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍherī with the great *stūpa* of Kaniska must, in my opinion, be accepted with increased caution."

Sankaram.

In the Southern Presidency, fresh ground has been broken by Mr. Rea this season at Sankaram, near Anakapalli in the Vizagapatam District, and some further valuable researches have also been made by the same officer on the well-known site at Amarāvati and among the prehistoric remains at Perambair. The semi-structural, semi-rock-cut, and impressive nature of the Sankaram group of monuments invests them with a peculiar interest, and it is a matter for congratulation that there is still much scope for excavation on the site. The discovery, too, of the familiar pyriform coffins known previously at Pallāvarān and other places, is a matter of no small moment, as it affords us definite means of dating this class of coffins and, at the same time also, the elongated type on short legs which Mr. Rea's researches at Perambair show to have been contemporary with it.

"The two low rocky hills near Sankaram, known as Bojjanakonda," writes Mr. Rea, "stand east and west, and, like many of those in the neighbourhood, are formed of a series of rough black porous rocks which crop out



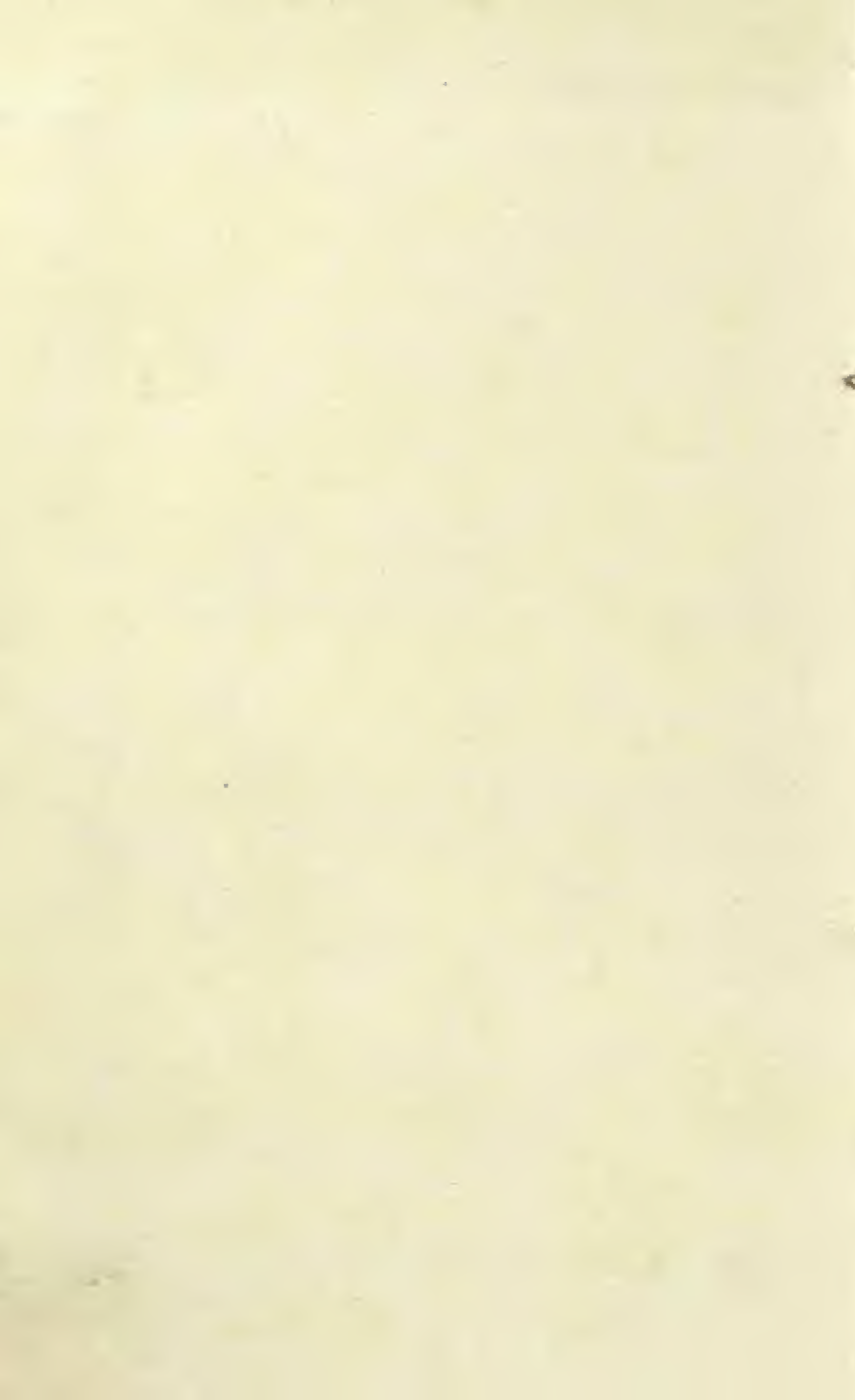
1. Bronze statue from Amarávatí.



2. Sculpture from Zogu pagoda, Promé.



3. Delhi Fort: Rang Mahal.



along the ridges particularly, but sometimes on the hill sides also. Natural caves are met with in places, which have been used by ascetics as cells of retreat. These caves are sometimes left in their natural state, and in other cases the walls have been chiselled into rectangular form.

"At the western hill at Sankaram the outcrops of the rock on the summit are numerous, and practically every one has been carved into a *stūpa* (Plate VII, Fig. 1). Two of the largest are 30 feet in diameter, and are complete in outline. These *stūpas* are grouped in no definite plan, their position and size being determined by the outlying pinnacles of rock. They have probably been votive in character, the donors to the shrine having apparently had them cut out, instead of erecting structural ones as they did at other places. Excavation of some of their earth-covered bases has shown that they were originally covered with stucco.

"On the east hill (Plate VII, Fig. 2) the small rock *stūpas* are less numerous, but there are several caves with pillars and rock-cut sculptures. One large *stūpa*, on the summit there, is partly cut out of the rock, but, this being fractured and incomplete, the missing parts are made good with brickwork. There is no dome to this *stūpa* at present, but undoubtedly there has previously been a brick one, for the lower part of the *stūpa* has been found on excavation to be encased in a brick wall, which doubtless extended higher. *Stūpas* are grouped around the base, and these are of rock, wherever rock exists, but on one side they are constructed of brick, and are arranged in a line with two small *caityas* beside them.¹ This is not the place, however, to attempt a full description of these remains; let it suffice to say that

¹ I examined the brick *stūpas*, and in the centre of two of them found stones cut in the form of a *stūpa*. These were undoubtedly reliquaries. The small receptacle on the top probably contained a small bone relic.

they are certainly among the most remarkable in the Presidency.

"On the eastern ridge of the east hill was a mound containing brick *débris*. It appeared unpromising on a first casual examination, but, on excavation, it has proved to be a *caitya*, with various buildings around and in front, and surrounded by cells, some of which are structural and some, at a lower level, rock-cut. In this respect it is, as far as I know, unique. In these cells numbers of interesting objects were found, among which I may notice some rare coins of the Chalukyan king Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 663-672), clay inscribed seals, clay estampages representing *stūpas*, some of which are tokens and others architectural ornaments, some pottery of various classes, a small *stūpa* in pottery, a small *liṅgam*, and a neolithic celt. Much excavation work, I should add, requires yet to be done, not only to the structural but also to the rock-cut remains."

Amarāvati.

In respect of this locality Mr. Rea writes as follows:—
 "At Amarāvati, excavation has been continued on the mound which extends for a considerable distance all around the site of the central *stūpa*. The previous year's digging was chiefly confined to the sites of the gates at the four cardinal points. This work has been continued during the past season, and, in addition, explorations have been undertaken at various other parts of the mound. In every place thus examined, extensive traces of walls, rectangular and circular, have been found; but, owing to the long-continued practice of the villagers of digging in the mound for bricks, the walls are seldom in a perfect condition. Everything, however, continues to show that a very extensive series of buildings existed on the site. Sculptures and columns (plain, carved, and inscribed) have been found. Perhaps the most important find was a gold relic-casket in a pottery vessel, embedded in a ball of mortar. It was found,

not in position, but in some loose earth thrown out by some of the diggers for building materials. Some bronze images of Buddha were also found (Plate VIII, Fig. 1). Another curious find was a number of pyriform funeral urns standing in a group near a circular wall which is evidently the base of a *stūpa*. These tombs are identical with the prehistoric tombs of that shape found at Pallāvaram and other such sites.

"As to the prehistoric remains at the Perambair hills, I may say at once that they form a most important group. In the main they consist of stone circles enclosing earthenware tombs of pyriform and elongated cist shape, the latter of which are curious in that they generally stand on three rows of short legs. Some excavations were previously conducted at this group, but a much more extensive exploration was undertaken during the past season, with valuable results. Many articles in iron, ornamental conch-shells, beads, and pottery, were found. Among the latter several are of unique form, particularly long jars on three legs, with spouts around the rim."

Prome.

Of his exploration at Prome in Burma, Mr. Taw Sein Ko sends the following summary :—

"According to the Burmese Chronicles, Prome or Śrīkṣetra was founded by King Duttabaung 101 years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, i.e. in the year 442 B.C.¹ Its antiquity must be comparatively high, as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) as the kingdom of the Piu, and as it was known to the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hsien Tshang and I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century A.D. and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. It is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodesh, and the Irrawaddy

¹ [It is presumed that Mr. Taw Sein Ko is only using B.C. 543 as the "orthodox" date of the death of Buddha.—ED.]

(Airāvati) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. During the solar eclipse of January, 1907, and the Ardhodaya Festival of February, 1908, large numbers of Hindus flocked to Prome to bathe in its sacred river. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery, about fifteen years ago, at Lébaw, a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza railway station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula *Ye dhammā hetupabbharā*, etc., which are incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script dating from the seventh to tenth century A.D.¹

"The site of Śrīkṣetra is now called Yathemyo, the 'City of the Hermit,' and is five miles to the east of Prome, and the railway station of Hmawza is included within its area. The ruins, consisting of earthen ramparts, walled enclosures, burial grounds, and pagodas in all stages of decay, are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about 10 miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the railway station as the centre. So far, there are very few data available to throw light on the history of these remains. As to epigraphical records, two inscriptions in an unknown script were found, in 1907, by General de Beylié in the Bébé pagoda and Kyaukka Thein, and a broken piece of a votive tablet, containing seventeen effigies of the Buddha with a Sanskrit legend, was found, with many others, among the débris in the core of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. Of the latter, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows:—'The scripts are written in Nāgari characters which were current in Orissa and Northern India about the twelfth century A.D. I read it as follows:—*ām=Anirudadevena ka(ā)*—'. The inscription is apparently broken both at the beginning

¹ Published at pages 101-102 of the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. v.

and at the end. It probably records that Anirud(dh)adeva made a present of the tablet on which the inscription is engraved, or that he prepared the mould in which it is cast.¹ Aniruddhadeva is the same as Anawrata, the hero-king of Pagan, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. The native chronicles relate that, while building the Shwezigon Pagoda at Pagan, he deposited in its relic-chamber a number of holy relics which he had obtained by ransacking the ancient shrines of Prome. The records are, however, silent as to whether the Bawbawgyi was one of the edifices which he robbed. The discovery of this votive tablet at least indicates that this pagoda had acquired some sanctity even during the time of that great conqueror.

"Of the pagodas themselves, the best-preserved is the Bawbawgyi; and this one is now undergoing such measures as are necessary for its permanent upkeep. It is a cylindrical structure with a slight horizontal indentation about the middle, cone-shaped above, and crowned with an iron *ti*. The base consists of five terraces, 26 feet in height. The body of the pagoda is 73 feet high, the conical drum 24 feet, the *amlaka* 5 feet, and the *ti* 25 feet, making a total of 153 feet over all. A peculiarity of the Bawbawgyi is that in the middle of the pagoda is a vertical hollow, 10 feet in diameter and 80 feet high, a feature which I have found in none of the pagodas at Pagan.¹

"From among the sculptures discovered I attach a photo of one only, which comes from the Zegu Pagoda (Plate VIII, Fig. 2). In the upper panel the Buddha is represented, with an aureoled head, and flanked by two crowned and well-draped figures, each carrying a fly-flapper. In the centre of the lower panel is a tree flanked by two deer, on either side of which are two worshippers in an attitude of adoration."

¹ A parallel to this may be found in the Maniyār Maṭh structure at Rājgir, unearthed two years ago.

This sculpture plainly derives its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the seventh century A.D., and may be earlier. The figures on each side of the tree (?) appear to me more like horses.

Delhi.

Muhammadan monuments, as a rule, offer little opportunity for new discoveries by the spade, but some features of much interest which the spade has brought to light in the Delhi and Agra forts during the past season well deserve to be chronicled here. The Rang Mahall at Delhi forms one of a chain of buildings along the eastern or river face of the palace, through all of which passed the waterway called *Nahr-i-Bahisht* by *Shāh Jahān*. The palace long did duty as officers' quarters, and it was only three years ago that Lord Curzon rescued it from the misuse to which it was being put. It was then decided to remove the multitude of modern walls and other accretions by which it had been transformed, and to restore it to some semblance of its former self, excavating and laying out, at the same time, the gardens between it and the *Diwān-i-Āmm*. While engaged on this work Mr. R. F. Tucker divined that the old marble fountain channels might still be found intact beneath the modern floor of the palace, and accordingly opened up the basement of the building, with results that more than fulfilled his expectations. The chief feature brought to light was a broad marble channel, 130 feet and more in length, which forms a continuation of the waterway from the south side of the *Khāss Mahall*. The bed of the channel is of white marble, inlaid with lines of black, while the sides are elegantly moulded. Traces of a bridge, too, level with the floor of the court, were revealed.

Besides this channel, there is a marble fountain basin of exceptional beauty in the centre of the palace. Below the

moulded edge of the basin are three shallow carved and inlaid borders, the lowest of which is specially attractive in design, and in its middle is an open lotus flower of twenty-four petals, with a smaller flower in its centre. From this originally sprang a lotus-bud cup, from which the water jet issued; but this has vanished. The spandrels in the four corners are carved and inlaid, but very few of the stones remain. From this basin the water once flowed to the west along a short length of channel, and fell over a double row of candle niches into a marble tank below, decorated with a cusped and moulded border. This is in a somewhat damaged state. It is said that the marble basin now standing in the Queen's Garden formerly stood in this tank; and Sayyid Ahmad Khān gives a drawing showing it in this position. A view of the Rang Mahall, as now opened up, is shown in Plate VIII, Fig. 3.

Agra.

The discoveries in the Agra Fort are connected with the imposing palace built by Akbar, known now as the Jahāngiri Mahall. Thanks again to Lord Curzon's influence, the local military prison has lately been removed from the southern end of this palace, and much is now being done to preserve this part of the building along with the rest. Among the measures undertaken for this purpose was the removal of several feet of débris from the prison quadrangle, which has brought to light a spacious paved courtyard 140 feet square, together with a range of buildings and courtyards to the east of it, undoubtedly of Akbar's period. Inside, the chambers are in a good state of preservation, but the exterior has been ruthlessly mutilated. On the north and south sides the court is bordered by shallow chambers, of which, unfortunately, little remains, save the foundations. Further to the north, and abutting on the south wall of the Jahāngiri Mahall, is a long narrow court, with a range of urinals, etc., which

served the palace. The subterranean arrangements of these are very complete, culminating in one of the capacious drains intersecting the fort almost from side to side. To the west is a confused mass of foundations not fully excavated as yet. Evidence seems to be forthcoming to prove that some of these are the remains of the earlier fort on this site, razed to the ground by Akbar.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

COLONEL TOD'S NEWSLETTERS OF THE DELHI COURT.

My attention was called to these manuscripts by a note in an article by Mr. Karkaria in *East and West* for March, 1902, vol. i, p. 547. The collection is thus described in Mr. Morley's "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the R.A.S. Library":—

"No. CXXXIII.

"Akhbarāt-i-Darbār Ma'ālī Akhbārs, or papers relating to the transactions of the Court of the Emperor Aurangzeb for the following years of his reign, 1-14, 17, 20-21, 24, 36-39, 42-49, together with Akhbars of the Court of Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh (third s. Aurangzeb). A large parcel written in Shikastah, on separate slips of paper, and enclosed in a Solander case.¹ Size 8 ins. by 4½ ins."

The collection has been made up into bundles, one for each year, and each bundle contains a number of small slips of brown paper, which are frequently written on both sides. These are written by various hands, and are sometimes quite legible. But the writing is Shikastah, and vowels are not marked, and in many instances I could not read the words. Some bundles of the later years of Aurangzeb are much larger than the others. The slips are arranged according to the order of the Muhammadan months, and each bundle has a paper band inscribed with the Samvat year which corresponds to the Muhammadan

¹ A Solander case is defined in Whitney's Century Dictionary, where it is described on the strength of an extract from *Notes and Queries*, as a box which opens both in front and at top, and as the invention of Dr. Solander, the naturalist who accompanied Captain Cook. The box in the R.A.S. only opens at the top.

one. There does not appear to be any account by Colonel Tod of where the papers had been kept and of how he got possession of them, but from the Nagari endorsements on them it would appear that they had belonged to a Hindu Serishta, and presumably to one in Rajputana. Apparently they are notes by the court agent of some Rajputana prince of the daily occurrences of the Moghul Court.

Mr. Karkaria thought that the papers would yield valuable historical matter, but, so far as I have examined them, this is not the case. The entries are very short, and the incidents recorded are very trivial. They consist mainly of notices of promotions of officers, of the grants of robes of honour, and of such occurrences as that the emperor visited the chief mosque at such and such an hour, or that he visited the shrine of some saint, or went on a hunting expedition.

In their present state the papers do not correspond altogether with Mr. Morley's description. I could not find the records of the 1st, 2nd, and 11th years of Aurangzeb's reign, and there are a few slips relating to the reign of Bahādur Shah (Aurangzeb's second son, and successor). These are for a few days of the last month of the 2nd year of his reign, and do not seem to contain anything of interest. One entry records the promotion of Nizāmu-d-daulah to the rank of 8,000 personal and 7,000 two-horsed troopers.

The first entry in the papers of Aurangzeb's reign is dated 25th Muḥarram of the 3rd year, and records a short journey of the emperor in a *takht-rawān*. The second refers to the presentation by Rānā Amar Singh Zamindar of Udaipur of a hundred gold muhrs. In the record for the 9th year there is a notice of Roshan Ārā Begam's having sent a collation (*ḥāzarī*) to her father, and of its being graciously received. In the 8th year two pods of musk are presented by Maharajah Jeswant Singh, and in the same year Aurangzeb went to the mosque and also

inspected the elephants. In Ramzān of the 13th year he visited his father's tomb, and recited the *fātiḥa*. In the same month and year the faujdār of Tirhut and Darbhanga reports that the climate of that part of Bihar does not agree with him, and asks for a transfer, which is granted.

Doubtless the papers must contain entries of names, etc., which would be useful to anyone who was writing a history of Aurangzeb's reign, and I suggest that the papers be carefully preserved, and placed in a larger box than that which now contains them. The early date of Colonel Tod's Akhbārs makes them interesting. A similar collection of Akhbārs is described in Rieu, Supp. to Persian Catalogue Or. 4608 and 4909, p. 55a, but they are of the date 1795, whereas Tod's begin with 1660.

The following account of Colonel Tod's papers is given in the *Asiatic Journal*. It will be seen that it is not quite correct. I am afraid that the newsletters will not throw any light on the poll-tax question; but it is much to be desired that someone would make a more thorough examination of them than I have been able to accomplish.

ASIATIC JOURNAL, Vol. XXVI, O.S. (1828), p. 335.

"Col. Tod also transmitted several additional files (altogether amounting to some hundreds) of original MS. Akhbārs, or newspapers of the Mogul Court . . . The newspapers are principally of the reign of Bahadur Shah, from 1707 to 1712, a period, Col. Tod remarks, of considerable importance to Indian History, following immediately the war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb, when the feudatories of Hyderabad, Bengal, Oudh, etc., erected their separate States, and the Jāts of the Panjāb and their brethren west of the Chumbul, those of Lahore and Bhurtpore.

"These documents will also, it is expected, throw a great light upon the real cause of the decline of the Mogul power in India, viz., the institution of the Jezeya, or

capitation tax, which for ever alienated the Rajput Princes, one of whom, Rānā Rāj Sing, resisted it, not only with his sword, but with his pen."¹

H. BEVERIDGE.

AN UNUSUAL USE OF THE NOMINATIVE.

Both in Latin and in Greek occur cases in which the nominative case is used when normally the vocative would be expected to appear. As examples may be given, for Greek, Aristophanes, *Birds*, 665, ἡ Πρόκρη ἔκβαλε; for Latin, Horace, *Odes*, i, 2, 43, *almae filius Maiae*, or Livy, i, 24, 7, *audi tu, populus Albanus*. The explanation of the usage must probably be syntactical; the noun in the nominative is in apposition with the subject of the imperative mood; only thus can the use of the article in the Greek example be explained, although the cases in Latin might be merely imitations of the other declensions, when nominative and vocative are alike, by the second declension.

Delbrück,² who recognises the use in these languages, expressly denies that examples are found in Vedic. *A priori* this is not very probable, and, as a matter of fact, various passages exist in which either we must recognise the presence of this idiom or we must alter the text. Now it should at once be admitted that it is quite easy to put too high a value on the text tradition of Vedic works. As a matter of fact, in many cases the text is wretchedly preserved, and even in the Rgveda itself there are clearly numerous errors. On the other hand, if a construction is

¹ This refers to the letter, of which a translation by Boughton-Rouse appears in Orme's "Historical Fragments," p. 232. The letter is there ascribed to Jeswant Singh, see a note to Elphinstone's "History of India," 4th ed., p. 560. I have not seen Mr. Weston's text and translation.

² *Vergl. Synt.*, i, 397. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, pp. 6, 7, ignores the usage. Cf., however, his *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 190, n., and Böhtlingk, *Z.D.M.G.*, xli, 183, for *bhuvan* with second person (a contamination).

not impossible and has parallels, it is hardly justifiable to amend it out of the texts.

In Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii, 7, the MSS. and editions all read *śrutam me mā prahāsīh*. Further, the reading has independent support in the version of the Ṛgveda Khila, iv, 8, 5 (ed. Scheftelowitz, p. 121), where stands *śrutam me mā prā hāsīh*. The sense of this must be simply, "My learning, forsake me not"; it cannot be as Scheftelowitz suggests (p. 123), "das von mir Gehörte möge man nicht verspotten." That would require *hāsīt*, and the only v.l. is a very badly supported *hāsīt*.¹ The reading *hāsīt* is a mere feeble conjecture to save the grammar, and could never have become corrupted into the difficult *hāsīh*. The only other course of emendation open is to read *śruta me* as a vocative, which is, of course, palaeographically the easiest possible emendation, but which yet leaves it remarkable that *śrutam* should appear in all, or nearly all, the MSS. It may be added that the parallel *mā tvam hārsīh śrutam mayi* of the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, iii, 17, 1, is too changed to afford assistance.²

In the more or less similar passage, Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, vii, 1, there is *ṛtam mā mā hīmsīh*, followed shortly by *dikṣe mā mā hīmsīh*. The manuscript evidence is unanimous, and is confirmed by the fact that in the Śāntis, prefixed and appended to the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad in the Ānandāśrama edition, the words occur precisely in that form. No doubt the commentator took them as meaning "Do not harm my Ṛta" (where either *mā* is possibly a double negative, or *ṛtam mā* accusatives of whole and part, a very rare Vedic use), but equally without doubt is the fact that the words mean, "Ṛta, harm me not." Here again *ṛta mā* is possible, but not probable.

¹ Of course, *hāsīt* from *has* is possible (cf. e.g. *sākṣye*, Atharvaveda, ii, 27, 5, with Whitney's note), but it is very unlikely. Conceivably, too, *hāsīh* might be regarded as a third person, just as Weber takes *nyāh* in Atharvaveda, xviii, 1, 25, see *Berl. Sitz.*, 1895, p. 830.

² Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, x, 134, conjectured *hāsīh*.

In Atharvaveda, xiv, 1, 35, occurs *Aśvinā*—*avalam*. Whitney alters to *Aśvinā*, calling it a "necessary correction," but Shankar Pandit defends the traditional text. Similarly, in i, 32, 3, Whitney amends *nirātaksatām* for the text *yād rōdasī rējamāne bhūmīś ca nirātaksatam*. Perhaps the right reading is *nirātaksatam* (for the nasalisation cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, 302), but cf. iii, 22, 2, and R̥gveda, iv, 49, 3. In iii, 2, 4, the MSS. and Shankar Pandit read *vy ākūtaya eṣām itātho cittāni muhyata*; Whitney emends to *cittāni*, and the question is complicated by the *ākūtayah* being unaccented (the suggested compound *vyākūti* is unlikely). In iv, 12, 1, *rōhany asi rōhany*, the commentary understands *rōhanī* at the end as vocative, and Whitney would prefer a vocative *rohini*. In vi, 22, 3, the MSS. have *udaprūtas Marūtas tāñ iyarta*, the Taittiriya Saṃhitā, iii, 1, 11, 8, has *Marutas*, and Whitney would prefer *ūdaprutas Marutas*. In iv, 2, 3, Whitney in his translation emends (with one MS. and apparently the commentator) *āhva-yethām* to *āhvayetām*, *rōdasī* being the subject.¹ The R̥gveda prototype, x, 121, 6, has instead *krīndasī—abhyākṣetām*, but that is not conclusive. On the other hand, in iii, 1, 6, both editions concur in changing to the nominative the vocative *Indra*,² and other passages, e.g. vi, 50, 1; vii, 20, 1, illustrate the confusions of reading and accent common in the Atharva.

It would be easy further to enlarge the list of possible examples, but I do not think much would be added to the weight of the evidence.³ On the whole, I think it is simpler to assume the use of the nominative as practically

¹ Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xviii, 11.

² Cf. also *kṛta* in R̥gveda, vi, 58, 3, where the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, iv, 14, 16, and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii, 5, 5, 5, have *kṛtāh*.

³ e.g. *devā* in R̥gveda, i, 184, 3, if we accept Pischel's explanation (*Verl. Stud.*, i, 18). See also Atharvaveda, ii, 14, 5; vi, 1, 1; 67, 2; vii, 89, 3; xi, 6, 23; xviii, 4, 1, 6; perhaps xviii, 3, 63, with Whitney's notes.

a vocative in effect; and the classical parallels render it absurd to deem this use impossible, and the step from the common attributive use (as in *Rgveda*, viii, 24, 3, *sá na(h) stāvāna é bhara rayiṃ citráśravastamam*, or i, 69, 1, *bhūvo devānām pitā putráḥ san*; x, 89, 12, etc.) is not a long one. In vii, 88, 6, *yandhí smā vipra(h) stuvaté vārūtham*, *vipra* would be perfectly natural. In Bloomfield's *Concordance*, *vipra* is printed, where the absence of accent leaves the form doubtful.

Further, the use furnishes a reasonable explanation of the numerous examples¹ of the type *Índras ca yát kṣáyathah saúbhagāya*, *Rgveda*, ix, 95, 5, which exchanges with the type *Índras ca sómam pibataṃ Bṛhaspate*, iv, 50, 10; cf. also *á yád ruháva Váruṇas ca návam*, vii, 88, 3.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

REPORT ON THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, PRESENTED
TO THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
ORIENTALISTS.

The Linguistic Survey of India has made satisfactory progress since I had the honour of submitting a report to the Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists. I laid before that Congress four sections of the work, viz. :—

Vol. II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.

Vol. III. Part III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Vol. V. Part I. Bengali and Assamese, and Part II, Bihārī and Oṛiyā.

The following is the proposed list of volumes of the Survey :—

Vol. I. Introductory.

Vol. II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.

¹ Haskell, *J.A.O.S.*, xi, 66. The construction has parallels in Greek : Monro, *Homeric Grammar*², p. 155 ; Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, iv, 28.

- Vol. III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of the
Himālaya and North Assam.
Part II. Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups
of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
Part III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups
of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- Vol. IV. Muṇḍā and Dravidian languages.
- Vol. V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
Part II. Bihārī and Oṛiyā.
- Vol. VI. Indo-Aryan languages, mediate group
(Eastern Hindi).
- Vol. VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group
(Marāṭhī).
- Vol. VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western
group (Sindhī, Lahndā, Kāśmīrī, and
the 'Pīśāca' languages).
- Vol. IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
Part I. Western Hindi and Panjābī.
Part II. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
Part III. Bhīl languages, Khāndēśī, etc.
Part IV. Himālaya languages.
- Vol. X. Eranian family.
- Vol. XI. 'Gipsy' languages and supplement.

It has been found necessary to divide Vol. IX into four instead of three parts, owing to the fact that to have included the Bhīl languages in the part devoted to Rājasthānī and Gujarātī would have made the third part too unwieldy in size.

As regards the progress made in these volumes—

- Vol. I. Must necessarily wait till all the rest has
been finished.
- Vol. II. Has been printed, and was laid before the
Fourteenth Congress.
- Vol. III. Part I. This is finished and is now being
printed off.

Part II is finished and was laid before the Thirteenth Congress.

Part III is finished and was laid before the Fourteenth Congress.

Vol. IV. Has been printed.

Vol. V. Both parts have been printed and were laid before the Fourteenth Congress.

Vol. VI. Printed. Was laid before the Thirteenth Congress.

Vol. VII. Printed.

Vol. VIII. Partly finished and in type, only Sindhi and Kāśmīrī remain to be dealt with.

Vol. IX. Part I. This has long been finished in MSS., but the Introduction cannot be prepared for press till the remaining parts have been printed off.

Part II. This is finished and is now being printed off.

Part III. This has been printed.

Part IV. I am at present at work on this. About half the manuscript has been prepared, and part of this is in type.

Vol. X. All complete and in type, except Balōchi and a language spoken in Wazīristān known as Ormuri.

Vol. XI. Not yet touched.

Only two complete volumes therefore remain untouched.

These are :—

Vol. I. General Introduction.

Vol. XI. Gipsy languages and Supplement.

Since the last Congress the following sections have been printed and issued :—

Vol. IV. Muṇḍā and Dravidian languages.

Vol. VII. Marāṭhī.

Vol. IX. Part III. Bhil languages and Khāndēśī.

I have the honour to-day to lay these sections, and also the final proofs of Vol. III, Part I, and Vol. IX, Part II, before the present Congress.

I take the opportunity now presented to me of again expressing my gratitude to my friend and assistant, Dr. Sten Konow, for his invaluable help. Each one of the three complete sections presented to-day comes from his pen. Besides these he has written Parts I and III of Vol. III.

I think that, when it is published, Dr. Konow's section on the 'Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himālaya will be found of more than ordinary interest. Following the lines originally laid down by B. H. Hodgson, he has been able to separate out a remarkable group of what he calls 'Pronominalized' Tibeto-Burman languages. These extend from Kunāwar in the Panjab in the west, along the southern face of the Himālayas, as far as Darjiling in the east, and are scattered over this area amid a number of non-pronominalized cognate languages. Their chief peculiarity lies in the great freedom—almost without limit—with which they employ pronominal suffixes in the conjugation of the verb. This peculiarity and several other remarkable facts (including the close resemblance of the forms of the earlier numerals) has enabled Dr. Konow to show that these languages, although Tibeto-Burman at the present day, are built up on a substratum of an entirely different linguistic family—the Muṇḍā. The Muṇḍā languages at present occupy the central hills of India, and traces of their influence are observable even in the Aryan languages of the Eastern Gangetic Valley. Hence there must once have been a time when they were far more widely spread than they are to-day, and have extended as far north-west as the Panjāb Himālaya. This, taken in connection with Pater Schmidt's proof of the connection of the Muṇḍā languages with Khasi and with Mōn-Khmēr, and, perhaps, ultimately

with the languages of the Pacific even as far as Easter Island, opens out questions of wide ethnological interest.

The section on the Bhil languages has offered us no surprises. Hopes were entertained that closer enquiry into these forms of speech might reveal some secrets as to the ethnological relationship of the Bhils themselves. But this hope has, I regret to say, come to nothing. The Linguistic Survey shows that all the Bhils speak various forms of an Aryan language closely akin to Gujarātī. The vocabulary sometimes shows slight traces of Dravidian influence, but these few words may easily have been borrowed from neighbouring Dravidian tribes, and there is nothing to show that they belong to the original stock of the language.

The Aryan languages of the East and Central Himālaya — Khas Kurā of Nēpāl, Kumaunī, and Garhwālī — the sections dealing with which are now complete in manuscript, show some interesting results from the collision between Aryan and Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. The Aryan languages we know, from history, to have been brought by immigrants from Rājputānā. The old Aryan language of the Khasās seems to have died out. The presence of the numerous Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages in the same country has strongly influenced the Rājasthānī grammar brought by the immigrants, and, especially in Khas Kurā, we come across several instances of an Aryan noun declined, or an Aryan verb constructed, according to the rules of Tibeto-Burman grammar.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CANBERLEY.

July 15th, 1908.

BHOJAPURA, NEAR KANAUJ.

The inscription at Pehevā or Pehoa, in the Karnāl district (line 9, *Ep. Ind.*, i, 187, ed. Bühler; *ante*, p. 768), mentions the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu "on the bank of the Ganges in famous Bhojapura, near famous Kanyakubja," तथा श्रीकन्यकुब्जा[सप्त] श्रेभोजपुरे गंगातीरे. When writing about Kanauj (*ante*, l.c.) I did not know the position of Bhojapura, and guessed that it might be a suburb of the imperial city. In reply to my enquiry, the Collector of the Farrukhābād District has kindly sent me a report by a Tahsildār, which shows that the village Bhojapura still exists in the pargana of the same name. It stands on the same side of the river, namely, the right bank, as Kanauj, and is distant from the city about 30 miles by road and 35 miles by water. The oldest building now visible is a mosque with an inscription attributed to the time of Ālamgir or Aurangzeb. But there is a local tradition that an ancient temple of Someśvarnāth, which formerly stood on the bank of the Ganges, was destroyed by a Rājā named Makrand in the days of Ālamgir. The Ganges now flows at a distance of 2 miles from the village.

The Tahsildār states that the name of the city is written in Nāgarī as कन्नौज, Kannauj, and in the Persian character as قنوج.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

August 10th, 1908.

THE COINAGE OF NEPAL: SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

In the present note I wish to add one or two remarks and to make one or two minor corrections which I had intended to make on receipt of the proofs of my paper, had it been possible to send them out to me for revision. I would note that none of the corrections now made in

any way affect any of the arguments or conclusions of the paper.

The Early Coinage.

1. Referring to the objects in front of the lion on the obverse of the coin of Jisnu Gupta (Pl. I, Fig. 8), on p. 717, l. 20, I have said, "The upper one is a flower consisting of six petals round a centre, and the lower one appears to be a lotus leaf." This is a mistake. The lower object is the lion's raised paw.

2. The obverse and reverse of coin No. 6 of Amśu-varman (Pl. I, Fig. 6) have by mistake been transposed on the plate, and also in the description of the coin on p. 719. The reverse of this coin on p. 719 should therefore be read as obverse, and the obverse as reverse.

3. With reference to the device of the sun surrounded by rays, on the reverse of the coins of Amśu-varman, Professor Lévi suggests that it may be a rebus for the name Amśu, 'a ray' (Lévi, "Le Népal," vol. ii, p. 143).

4. The reverse of coin No. 8, of Jisnu Gupta, in the list on p. 719 has been described as "ornamental symbol" only. This symbol is an ornamental form of a "*Nandipada trīśūla*," or trident, with the two hoofs of the bull *Nandi* at its base. This is referred to on pp. 677 and 678, but should also have been entered in the description of this coin in the list.

The Malla Coinage.

1. The sentence in the twenty-fourth line of p. 697, with reference to the name of Vira Narsimha, whose name I have given as the seventh ruler of Pātan, that "His name does not occur in the *Vamśāvalī* or in Wright's table," is, of course, a slip of the pen for "or in Bendall's table," to which reference is made in the case of this and the other names of rulers now added.

2. The reference to the mohar of Rāṇajita Malla in the fourth line of p. 700 should be Pl. II, Fig. 8, and not Pl. I, Fig. 6, as given.

3. In referring to the mohar of Jaya Pratāpa Malla (No. 12, Pl. II, Fig. 12), which he copied from the Moghal rupee, I have said (p. 707, l. 9), "The upper line of characters on the reverse appears to be intended for the commencement and last portion of 'Shāh 'Alauḡir,' from whose coins Pratāpa Malla would therefore appear to have copied them." This should be "Shāh Jahāḡir," from whose coin it was copied, and is correctly given as such against this coin (No. 12) in the list on p. 724.

I would remark, in regard to this, that the introduction of floral decoration over the field of the coin by Jaya Pratāpa Malla would also appear to have been taken from the coins of Shāh Jahāḡir.

4. The word "within" should be inserted before the words "the central circle" in the third line on p. 708.

5. The last figure in the dates of the following coins, which has been given as '6,' should be '5,' and their dates should therefore be as given below :—

PAGE.	COIN No.	NAME OF KING.	DATE, NEWAR ŚĀKA.	A. D.
724	12	Pratāpa Malla	775	1655
728	26	Vīra Mahindra Malla	835	1715
734	56	Yoga Narendra Malla	805	1685
734	58	Yoga Narendra Malla	805	1685
736	64	Hṛḡi Narasiṃha	835	1715
738	69	Jaya Rājya Prakāśa Malla	855	1735

6. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 57 in the list on p. 734, the sentence "In triangles, to l. vase for offerings, to r. standard" should be "In triangles, to r. vase for offerings, to l. *cakra*."

7. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 58 on p. 734, the words "Light pointed figure" should be "Eight-pointed figure."

8. In the description of the reverse of coin No. 64 on p. 736 the words "and *pādukā*" should be omitted, as I do not, on re-examining the coin, think that the two objects which I have described as a '*pādukā*' are intended for it, but are merely ornamental, and are not the shape of feet.

9. In referring to the title "*Samgītārṇava Pārava*" assumed by Yoga Narendra Malla of Pātan (p. 706, l. 13), I have only referred to one of his coins (No. 55) on which this title occurs. It also occurs on his coins Nos. 58 and 59 (*vide* those coins in the list, pp. 734 and 735).

10. I find that in giving the list of symbols which occur on the Malla coins (pp. 699-703) I have omitted the sun and moon, which appear on most of the coins, except those of the early type, as the Malla kings claimed descent from both the Solar and Lunar races.

11. In referring to the design adopted by Pṛthvi Narāyana Śāha for the mohar of the Gorkhā Coinage, I have said (p. 703, l. 20) that it "was copied by his brother Dala Mardana Śāha when king of Pātan (No. 75; Pl. VI, Fig. 13)." This requires some further explanation, as Dala Mardana Śāha reigned at Pātan from 1761 to 1765 A.D., though the coin bears date 1768 A.D., and Pṛthvi Narāyana did not conquer Nepal until that same year. Pṛthvi Narāyana, however, struck coins after his first conquests, and previously to his final conquest of the three kingdoms, as shown by his coin (Pl. VII, Fig. 1), which bears date 1676 Śāka, corresponding to 1754 A.D.

12. The date A.D. of the coin of Dala Mardana Śāha, referred to above (coin No. 75, p. 739), is given in the list as 1678 A.D. This should be 1668. The Newār date (888 N.S.) is correctly given.

The date on this coin of Dala Mardana Śāha is difficult to explain. On the death of Viśvajita Malla in 1761 A.D., the Pradhāns went to Noākot and asked Pṛthvi Narāyana to become king of Pātan. He declined, but proposed

his brother Dala Mardana, whom they accepted, and who reigned for 4 years, from 1761 to 1765. The *Vaiṣṇāvali* says that "being a Gorkhali he did everything without consulting the Pradhāns, who were therefore displeased and expelled him. Then they brought a descendant of Viśvajita, named Tejanarsimha Malla, and made him Rāja. He reigned for three years"¹ (1765 to 1768). It is curious that there should be no coin of Dala Mardana bearing date of the years that he is recorded to have reigned, but that a coin should have been struck by him three years after he ceased to be king, and in the year that his brother Pṛthvī Narāyana conquered the country.

E. H. WALSH.

KṚṢṆA-DATTA MIŚRA, KĒŚAVA-DĀSA, AND THE PRABŌDHA-CANDRŌDAYA.

Professor Hultzsch (*Epigraphia Indica*, i, 220) has shown that the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra was written between 1050 and 1116 A.D.

The celebrated Hindi poet KĒŚAVA-DĀSA Miśra, of Orchā in Bundēlkhaṇḍ, wrote the *Vijñāna-gītā* in Sam. 1667 (1610 A.D.). It was dedicated to Vīra-siṁha, brother of Indra-jita Siṁha, and son of the Bundēlā king Madhukara Sāhi of Orchā. The *Vijñāna-gītā* is a Hindi paraphrase of the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya*. In the preface KĒŚAVA-DĀSA states that his father's name was KĀŚI-NĀTHA Miśra, and that his grandfather was KṚṢṆA-DATTA Miśra, who was a great paṇḍit.

Professor Hultzsch refers to the coincidence between a passage in the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya*, in which Kīrtti-varman's general, Gōpāla, "having crushed the ocean-like army of Karna, obtained the splendour of victory in battle, just as Madhumathana, having churned the

¹ Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 251.

milk-ocean, obtained Lakṣmī," with a corresponding passage in the Mahōbā inscription. An exactly similar statement is made in the *Vijñāna-gītā* about Vīra-siṃha, who fought the Pramaras and Tōmaras,—राज-श्री जिन मध्व जई समर अनेक समुद्र, who churned many oceans of battle, and took therefrom the Lakṣmī (or prosperity) of the kingdom. For further information about Vīra-siṃha see below.

It is stated by paṇḍits in India, and is commonly believed, that Kēśava-dāsa's grandfather was the author of the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya*, but a comparison of dates shows that this is impossible. Either the two persons are quite distinct, or else Kēśava-dāsa has omitted some names from his genealogy.

The Bundēlās, under whom Kēśava-dāsa lived, were quite distinct from the Candēlās, under which dynasty the author of the *Prabōdha-candrōdaya* lived. In the preface to the *Kavi-priyā*, Kēśava-dāsa gives the following genealogy of the Bundēlās :—

- (1) Vīra, of the Gaharwār clan.
- (2) Karaṇa, a great conqueror.
- (3) Arjuna-pāla, born at Mahōnī.
- (4) Sāhana-pāla (? Sōhana-pāla).
- (5) Sahaja-karaṇa.
- (6) Naunika-dēva.
- (7) Pṛthvirāj.
- (8) Rāma-siṃha.
- (9) Rāja-candra.
- (10) Mēdinī-malla.
- (11) Arjuna-dēva, a conqueror and pious.
- (12) Malakhāna, fearless in battle.
- (13) Pratāpa-rudra. Founded the city of Orchā (1531 A.D.). Kṛṣṇa-datta Miśra was his spiritual instructor.
- (14) Bhārati-candra. Fought Shēr Shāh. He had no son, and was succeeded by his brother.

- (15) Madhukara Sāhi. He had many contests with Akbar. (He died in 1593 A.D.) He left nine sons—Dulaha Rāma Sāhi, Hōrila Simha, Rōdala Simha, Ratna Sēni, Indrajita, Raṇajita, Śatrujita, Vira Simha, Hari Simha.
- (16) Dulaha Rāma Sāhi succeeded Madhukara, and was praised for his bravery by Akbar. He left Orchā and founded the Chandēri State. Succeeded by his son.
- (17) Rāma Sāhi (1612–20 A.D.). His son was
- (18) Bhāratha (Bhārata) Sāhi (1620–46).

Here Kēśava-dāsa's genealogy ends. It was to Vira Simha, the son of Madhukara Sāhi, that Kēśava-dāsa dedicated the *Vijñāna-gītā*.

Vira Simha died in 1627 A.D. He was a great warrior, and made the name of Bundelā a terror to the surrounding states. At the head of a troop of desperados he murdered Abū'l Faẓl at the instigation of Prince Salīm (afterwards Jahāngīr). Akbar, in consequence, sent troops against him, but on that monarch's death he was taken into favour by Jahāngīr.

On pp. 20 ff. of the Bundelkhand Gazetteer there is a genealogy of the same family, based on Lāl Kavi's *Chattrā-prakāśa*, which differs slightly from the above.

CAMBERLEY.

September 3rd, 1908.

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE PĀNDAVAS AND THE KAURAVAS.

The great importance of the questions raised by Dr. Grierson in his note on pp. 837 seq. of the *Journal* will perhaps justify a very brief reply.

The point I made was simply that in the Vedic literature there is no trace of any distinction, either (a) racial or

(b) religious, between Kuru and Pañcāla, and that that literature lends no support to any theory which makes the Pañcālas earlier immigrants or anti-Brāhmaṇical, by which term I alluded to what appears still (p. 843) to be Dr. Grierson's view, viz. that the Pañcālas were guided by Kṣatriyas who introduced and held unorthodox views. I took exception to the view that, assuming that the Pañcālas were Bhāgavatas,¹ that fact showed that they were under Kṣatriya guidance, on the ground that there was no substantial evidence that Bhāgavatism is not due to the Brāhmaṇas, just as much as the Brahman doctrine known to some of the older Upaniṣads.

Against the argument from the main body of the Vedic texts for the connection of Kurus and Pañcālas, a connection asserted by all Vedic scholars, including Professor Macdonell, Dr. Grierson can only set the theory that the compound Kuru-Pañcāla does not prove relation any more than "the frequent use of similar compounds at the present day does so in similar cases," and he even suggests that the compound may refer to the country inhabited by two sets of opposing tribes. This argument can be left to its own merits; more substantial are the references to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (pp. 841, 842), but I am unable to find in them a single hint of opposition between Kuru and Pañcāla—they help to confirm my view that the Vedic literature has no trace of the alleged split—and Drupada's actions have no bearing on Vedic times when he was not known, and do not distinguish Kuru from Pañcāla. The Epic shows clearly that later Kuru and Pañcāla might and did fight, but it never hints that they fought on religious or racial² grounds; the Vedic literature shows us the two tribes united—probably originally called by one name (Kuru-Krivi)—and living in close union. Any theory which at

¹ For which there is no specially decisive evidence.

² In the sense that the Pañcālas were earlier immigrants than the Kurus, and might almost be called different nationalities (p. 838).

the present day claims that the war has its roots in differences of race or religion is certainly revolutionary.

For even in the Epic¹ the war is Kauravas *versus* Pāṇḍavas, not Kuru *versus* Pāṇcāla. The theory that it is Kuru *versus* Pāṇcāla is due to Lassen and was accepted by Weber, and Holtzmann later invented the famous 'inversion' theory which von Schroeder adopted. Both theories, however, belong to pre-scientific study of the Epic, and Dr. Grierson must have strangely misread the foremost authority on the Epics, Professor Hopkins, if he does not see that he rejects either view, for reasons to my mind absolutely convincing.² To Lassen, too, we owe the theory of the armed strife of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya, but he wrote when Vedic studies were yet young, and I hardly fancy that Dr. Grierson will find any Vedic scholar to accept the theory of Viśvāmitra as a Kṣatriya in the Veda, which flatly contradicts all the evidence, nor do I hesitate to hold that all Vedic Rṣis were Brāhmaṇas. In a sense there was in India a long struggle between Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa, but it was not waged by weapons, nor is it reflected in the struggle of Kaurava and Pāṇḍava, Kṣatriyas equally.³

The first of Dr. Grierson's statements on p. 843 is answered by the preceding remark. The second rests on the unproved hypothesis of the Kuru land alone being Madhyadeśa, and the equally unproved theory that Kuru and Pāṇcāla were opposed. Against (3) the theory of learned and unorthodox Kṣatriyas, I can now quote—if I may for the moment share Dr. Grierson's reverence for authority—the great weight of Professor Bloomfield's opinion (see above, p. 883). As regards (4), if there were no unorthodox Kṣatriyas—and the tasks assigned to

¹ Correct 400 A.D. on p. 838 of Dr. Grierson's article to 400 A.C., which is evidently meant.

² See *J.A.O.S.*, xiii, 61 seq.; *Great Epic of India*, p. 397.

³ The true relation of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya is well laid down by Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, xiii, 72.

them in the Epic preclude their having given much time to speculation—they could hardly exist among the Pañcālas. As regards (5), the Pañcālas no doubt lived east and south of the Kurus, but not of Madhyadeśa, which even in Varāhamihira's time included Pañcāla (above, p. 787). As regards (6), the evidence for polyandry in Pañcāla is confined to Drupada's consent to the marriage of his daughter with the Pāṇdavas; the amount of explaining away it receives in the Epic forbids our assuming that it was a common practice in Pañcāla; it may have been forced on the king by his allies, who evidently controlled his actions. For replies to (7) and (8) see above.

Of the other remarks in Dr. Grierson's note, I must take especial exception to the view that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa does not place the Kuru-Pañcālas in the Madhyadeśa, and that there was a usage which reckoned the Kurus as the Madhyadeśa *par excellence*. It is perfectly true that in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii, 14, the word Madhyadeśa does not occur, but there occurs the phrase *asyāṃ āhruvāyāṃ madhyamāyāṃ pratiṣṭhāyāṃ diśi*, which is with all deference, I submit, better Vedic Sanskrit than Madhyadeśa, and, indeed, I am not aware of any passage in the Brāhmaṇas where Madhyadeśa occurs. When it is found, in Manu, ii, 21, it extends to all the country between Himavant and Vindhya, east of Vinasana¹ and west of Prayāga, and in the Pāli books the expression means, according to Rhys Davids,² the whole of Aryan North India; at any rate, it does not denote the land of the Kurus, and so an attempt to identify the land of the Kurus and Madhyadeśa lacks any foundation.

For the close connection of Kuru and Pañcāla may be adduced the significant fact that Āruṇi, the great figure of Brāhmaṇism, was a Kurupañcāla (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi, 4, 1, 2). The Pañcālas, indeed, must be regarded as

¹ See Bühler, *S.B.E.*, xiv, 2.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 91.

a Kuru stem amalgamated with other Aryan elements;¹ the name no doubt is due to the fact of union, and when we find in the older books, the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa and the Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā,² Kurukṣetra alone mentioned, we can draw no argument from that fact to the barbarous or un-Brāhmaṇical character of the Pañcālas.

As for the relation of Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Bhakti, it is surely impossible to assert that an atheistic faith, like the Sāṃkhya, or a faith with an external and inorganic deity, like the Yoga, is essentially connected with a faith which has meaning only because of the existence of a true deity. That it is possible to graft much of the detail of Sāṃkhya and Yoga into the system of the strict Vedānta is seen in the Vedāntasāra; the same process is still easier with the Bhakti doctrine, and, moreover, all Indian philosophy is based on a common set of doctrines which preclude much originality in details. But in this case the fundamental doctrines of Sāṃkhya and Yoga alike, so far as they are original, are quite inconsistent with Bhakti.

I must conclude with a mild protest against the use of evidence of relationships derived from the Purāṇas and the pseudo-Epic, as on pp. 841, 842 of Dr. Grierson's note. It belongs to an antiquated theory of method, is utterly unsound in principle, and can lead to no useful result.³

A. BERTRIE DALE KEITH.

¹ Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 213 seq.; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 404 seq.

² See von Schroeder's ed., i, pp. xx, xxi, and cf. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 209, 218 seq.

³ To obviate misunderstanding it should be noted that I have never doubted the obvious fact that there are earlier and later immigrants into India, but only that the Pañcālas and Kurus respectively represent these different strata. If (as mentioned on p. 836 of my note) the Mahābhārata had given us a war of Kuru-Pañcāla against Kosala-Videla-Magadha, the ethnological and linguistic evidence would have come in very satisfactorily, as explaining the ultimate basis of the war. But the Epic does not give us this, nor does it lend any support to the strange theory adopted in the new edition of the *Indian Empire* of the 'ring fence' (cf. Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 882).

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

Mr. Keith will forgive me for not carrying on the controversy. I have said what I had to say in my last note, and I confess that after reading what he now says I remain impenitent and unconvinced. I cannot quite make out whether my theory is revolutionary because it is new and startling or because it is based on old and effete arguments, but, at any rate, I am grateful to him for giving me an opportunity of acknowledging that in my last note I omitted to state that Professor Hopkins did not accept the 'inversion' theory. That theory, however, does not affect my argument one way or the other.

I should like to add one thing which was accidentally omitted in copying out my last note for the press. It is about the Krivis. Sāyana (*Rg-vēda*, II, xvii, 6) says that they were Asuras. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that 'Krivi' is an old name of the Pañcālas. Therefore, Mr. Keith's orthodox Pañcālas of the Madhyadēśa were Asuras. Somebody—I, or Sāyana, or Mr. Keith, or the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*—must be wrong here, and I leave the problem for others to solve as best they can if the Pañcālas in those early times did live in the Madhyadēśa.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

September 11th, 1908.

ON THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF JOSHUA.

Dr. Gaster, on the 16th June, read a paper before the Society on his new discovery, of which he gave an admirable synopsis in the last number of the *Journal*. This appeared almost simultaneously with his Introduction and Text in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* for July (vol. lxii, part ii). I ventured, at the conclusion of his paper, to question the

critical value of the book, and submitted that the learned lecturer had not made out an even *prima facie* case for its antiquity. His claim for the independence and age of his book was, in his paper, based upon general grounds, which scarcely warranted the assumption, and now that the text has appeared we can but feel the more convinced that we are dealing with a quite modern compilation borrowed by the Samaritans from the Jews, and not even borrowed without acknowledgment!

The book consists of twenty-four chapters, of which nearly half correspond, almost verbatim, with the Massoretic text of about half our Biblical Joshua. It will be remembered that Joshua is naturally and almost equally divided into a historical and geographical part. The historical portion is reproduced in half of the Samaritan book. The other half contains Midrashic stories about Joshua and his legendary war with Shobach and alliance with Nobach, king of the two and a half tribes on the other side of the Jordan. Dr. Gaster admits that the legends here incorporated, "which seem to have been in circulation as early as the second century B.C., were readily taken up by the Jewish Midrash and by the Samaritan adaptors of the Book of Joshua," but claims that as to the part parallel to the Hebrew Massoretic text, "it must be an old Hebrew text taken over by the Samaritans, and handled by them in the same way as they handled the text of the Pentateuch, and even with greater freedom."

In 1902, a well-known Hebraist, A. M. Luncz, published in his Hebrew annual *Jerusalem* (vol. vi, part ii) "The Book of Joshua of the Samaritans in Hebrew." In a short introduction he pointed out, quoting Kirchheim, that previously only an Arabic version had been known, but that "one of the learned Samaritans in Nablous" had given him a Hebrew version written in Hebrew and Samaritan characters in parallel columns, which differed greatly from the Arabic. Its resemblance to the Biblical

text, apart from intentional alterations and additions, was so great that it would have seemed to have been derived therefrom, except that he doubted whether present-day Samaritans had sufficient mastery of Hebrew to have been able to compile a book of which the first chapters were taken from the Biblical text, incorporating alterations contained in their Arabic Joshua, and the last were translations from the Arabic. Such a task would not have been easy for Jews, and, besides, the Samaritan who sold him the book only charged him the price of a copy. And so, without committing himself to a definite opinion, Luncz admits the possibility that it might have been composed by one of the Samaritan scribes in ancient times, and leaves it to the critics to decide. Luncz's text occupies 16 pages 8vo, and ends at xxiii, 3 of Dr. Gaster's edition, with an editorial note promising the continuation as soon as it reaches the editor's hands.

In the following number of *Jerusalem* (part iii) the learned and well-known scholar David Yellin gives a short review, entitled "Book of Joshua or Chronicle?" in which he says that the published text is not a version of the Samaritan Book of Joshua translated by Kirchheim, nor a contemporary Samaritan forgery, but simply a Hebrew version of Abu'l-Fath's Chronicle, which he composed in both Arabic and Hebrew in 856 Heg., but that where borrowed from the Biblical Joshua the Arabic version greatly condenses the narrative. Yellin then points out that the Hebrew is full of gross Arabisms, and he gives seventeen prominent instances, which are, he adds, characteristic of Samaritan literature and liturgy throughout Moslem times down to the present day.

Dr. Gaster is therefore hardly justified in saying that Luncz "printed a bare transcript of [a similar copy] in the *Jerusalem* periodical. It shared, evidently, the fate of the Samaritan original, it has remained unknown and unrecognized." Dr. Gaster's view is rather that which at

first sight commended itself to Lunetz. But so far the consensus of authority is on the side of Yellin. Professor Harnack, in an interview with the correspondent of the *Standard*, Baron von Gall, in a letter to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Rev. M. H. Segal, of Oxford, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Professor Sigmund Frankel, of Breslau, in the *Tag*¹ (Berlin), have given various arguments against the authenticity of the Hebrew text of the Samaritan Joshua. Finally, Dr. A. S. Yahuda, of Berlin, in a paper read before the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences on the 30th July,² and in another read before the Orientalist Congress at Copenhagen on the 16th August, has given the weightiest grounds for rejecting the work as a late compilation, and in its present Hebrew form perhaps not twenty years old. For technical criticism the Arabist is referred to Dr. Yahuda's paper, but he makes one or two historical points which are outside "the philological aspects of the book," with which Dr. Gaster did not deal in the précis of his paper which appeared in the last number of the *Journal*.

The reference in chapter 24 to the scroll of the law, written by Abisha, son of Phineas, "in the 13th year since the entry of the children of Israel to Palestine," could not possibly have been written before the fourteenth century. This scroll is first mentioned by Abu'l-Fath in 1355, and, as Yahuda claims, the real writer was Abisha, the son of Phineas, High Priest of the Samaritans between 1304 and 1358, of whom great wonders are related in the Samaritan Chronicles. Perhaps he was regarded as a sort of reincarnation of his illustrious ancestor (?) and namesake.

Yahuda also mentions the Hebrew translations of the

¹ And the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of 15th August; see also the *Jewish World* of 26th June, and Dr. Gaster's reply in that of 3rd July.

² Published in *Sonderabdruck, Ueber die Ueuechtheit des Samaritanischen Josuahbuches*, Berlin, Reimer, 1 Mark.

Shobach episode, published by Samuel Shallum in the *Juchasin* of 1566, in which, as I pointed out in the discussion after Dr. Gaster's paper, he says, "I have found and seen it in a book of the Chronicles of the Samaritans, and they record that they saw it in a Midrash of the Jews." מצאתי ראיתי בספר זכרונות הכות"ם וזכרו שראו אותו במדרש אנ של היהודים. That is surely a Samaritan admission that their book was based on Jewish sources and not an independent text.

At the Orientalist Congress, Yahuda drew attention to the correspondence between the Samaritans and Scaliger and Marshall, published by Juynboll in the introduction to his edition of the Arabic text of Joshua, from which it appears that the Samaritans at that date possessed the Book of Joshua in Arabic only, and that they asked for and obtained in 1687 the Hebrew text of the Book of Joshua from England!

The Samaritans even of to-day are not absolutely devoid of culture and literary ability. Jacob ben Aaron,¹ their High Priest, not only speaks Hebrew, but has written in Arabic a book on the History and Religion of the Samaritans. Nine chapters of this have been translated by Dr. Barton into English (*Bibl. Sacra*, lxi, pp. 385-426). Jacob himself could have been capable of this Samaritan mystification.

All these considerations make it almost impossible to credit that this Hebrew text now published is in any way independent of the Massoretic text. Anyhow, the Samaritan Joshua is interesting enough to have attention called to it once again, and we are grateful to Dr. Gaster for having made it popular.

E. N. ADLER.

September 15th.

¹ For his genealogy, etc., see Cowley in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 73.

MY REPLY.

Mr. E. N. Adler enters again the list of protagonists against the authenticity and antiquity of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, which he now describes as being possibly a compilation of the last twenty years. He has fortified himself with the apparent testimony of some Continental writers, contained in short notices in daily papers, and with the paper read by Dr. Yahuda in Berlin and at the last Congress of Orientalists. He is leaning on a broken reed and must not be surprised if he finds his hand pierced. For the time being I will limit myself to some of the points which he raises, guided by his new-found masters and being thereby misled.

Until I published the text, no one in Europe or America knew of the edition of Luncz, not even Mr. Adler. And what I said in my paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society on July 16th stands absolutely uncontradicted. I am not dealing here with the so-called Arabisms; they belong to the philological part of the investigation, which will be carried on in another place. But Mr. Yellin as well as Mr. Luncz, who know the Samaritans thoroughly, are of one opinion, that there is not a man living among them who could write such a Hebrew book. The fact that the actual High Priest can write Arabic treatises, which on examination may be found to be unacknowledged copies from older Arabic Samaritan writings, is surely not quite so valid an argument for his Hebrew scholarship as Mr. Adler would like us to infer.

There are, however, the so-called historical points, which Mr. Adler evidently adopts unreservedly from Yahuda, and with these I must deal in detail. It is a pity that Mr. Adler should pin his faith on Yahuda, and should not have taken the trouble of verifying the statements made somewhat rashly by the former. There is first the question of the Scroll of Abisha, which is mentioned at the end of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and in reality

belongs to the 'Chronicle,' and not to the Book itself, which finishes with the death of the High Priest Eleazar. According to Yahuda-Adler, Abul-Fath was the first to mention this Scroll, and therefore the Book of Joshua must have been composed after 1354, the time of Abul-Fath. Yahuda evidently does not know anything about Samaritan literature. As I had stated in my Introduction to the edition of the Book of Joshua that I could not trace that Scroll in any older book than Abul-Fath, he was satisfied to copy my statement, and to draw from it quite an erroneous conclusion. It would take too long to repeat the entire history of the Scroll as given by Abul-Fath. Vilmar, in his Introduction to the Arabic edition of that Chronicle, has already drawn attention to the 'solemn exhibition' (not the *finding* as Yahuda wrongly translates) of that Scroll on the eighth day of Tabernacles by the then High Priest, Pinehas, amidst the rejoicings of the people. From this notice Yahuda (and Adler) have drawn the conclusion that the 'exhibition' was really a 'find,' and that the 'find' was nothing else than a pious fraud perpetrated by that High Priest, who showed the people suddenly a copy of the Law written in the thirteenth year after the entry of the Israelites into Canaan. For what purpose such a fraud should have been committed just then no one knows, and none of these writers venture even to suggest. But the whole incident bears a different meaning. I do not expect Yahuda to know anything about the Samaritan Chronicle which Mr. Adler has published, but one might expect that Mr. Adler at least should know it. If he looks up pp. 99, 100 of his edition he will find that in the middle of the thirteenth century, *circa* 1250, the Temple of the Samaritans was destroyed by some invading hordes, very likely the invasion of Babekan; that most of the Samaritans were carried away into captivity, that they were rescued by the Samaritans in Damascus, and that only a few ventured to return to

Sichem; furthermore, that shortly afterwards another calamity befell them in that place, in that they were dispossessed of another important site. It was only in the time of Pinehas that they enjoyed again some peace, and then, in sign of the settled condition, the old Scroll, which evidently had been hidden, was again shown publicly to the people on the day in which it was customary to show it regularly every year; so it has been the custom ever since, and no doubt so also in the time before those calamities had overtaken them. Mr. Adler in looking further at his Chronicle would find (p. 101) that Pinehas had two sons, of whom *Abisha* was the younger, and did *not* succeed his father in the position and dignity of High Priest, the place being rightly taken by his elder brother Eleazar. Nothing remarkable is mentioned of him, except that he was an inspired *poet*. In which chronicles has Mr. Adler found that "great wonders are related of him"? I have found none in his Chronicle, nor in my copy, nor in the older "*Tolidoth*," ed. Neubauer. Is it then likely that Pinehas the High Priest would attempt to palm off on a credulous multitude a *brand-new copy* of the Law written by a *boy*, for Abisha could not have been very old in 1355, when that event is related to have happened? And how can anyone believe that a man like Abul-Fath, versed in the lore of his people, could have been deceived by such a palpable forgery? He had seen the Scroll, he copied the inscription, and speaks of it with great veneration and respect. This alone ought to suffice to prove the higher antiquity of that Scroll.

Again, I ask of those who with an air of dogmatic infallibility put forth such an extraordinary theory, that they should have searched the Scriptures a little more carefully and try and see whether the Scroll has really not been mentioned in any earlier writings prior to the date of Abul-Fath. If they had done so they would have found what I have found since, that this Scroll of Abisha is

actually mentioned in the old chronicle, "the Tolidoth," ed. Neubauer, composed in the first instance in Damascus in the year 544 Heg. (1149 A.D.). This book is, moreover, one of the avowed sources of Abul-Fath, who mentions it distinctly and borrows largely from it. We find then (p. 11) the following words:—"In that year (i.e. the thirteenth year after the entry of the children of Israel into the land of Canaan) wrote Abisha the son of Pinehas the son of Eleazar the son of Ahron the priest—the peace of the Lord be upon them—the holy Scroll which is found in the town of Sichem—may the Lord protect it—and is preserved in the house of the High Priest unto this very day." Thus the Scroll of Abisha was known in Damascus already in the year 1149 to be in existence and preserved in Sichem, at least two hundred years previous to the time of Abul-Fath and the 'invention' of it by the High Priest Pinehas, who, by the way, was not the son of *Eleazar*, as given in the Scroll, but the son of *Joseph*. But what is still more preposterous is the assertion that the Scroll in question, which none of them had seen, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. I have seen it, and I possess portions of a scroll dated 544 Heg. (1149); I have also minutely examined and partly photographed the dated scroll of 562 Heg. (1166); and I state that the Abisha is at least some centuries older than either of these, or of any other scroll which I have seen in Nablus.

Dr. Yahuda, and after him Mr. Adler, refer to Juynboll, and say that the letters which passed between the Samaritans, Scaliger, Huntington, and Marshall are reprinted there. It is passing strange that Yahuda, who avers in his paper mentioned by Mr. Adler that he could not obtain the book of Juynboll, should now suddenly be able to refer to it. He may have since discovered the book, which is not so scarce at all. But then he ought to have owned that he had committed a grave error in his assertions, and to have pointed out the fundamental fact,

which governs the whole problem, viz. that the author of this Arabic chronicle, known also as the Book of Joshua, states clearly that he "had translated *this Book from the Hebrew into Arabic*." Why is this not mentioned? The answer is obvious. It would have destroyed at once the whole edifice erected by the disingenuousness of Yahuda. But let this pass. Juynboll has *not* "published that correspondence" at all; he merely refers to two or three points in that correspondence. It is incomprehensible, not to use a stronger expression, to find that Yahuda, with whom Mr. Adler evidently identifies himself, should have suppressed the sequel of that sending out of a Book of Joshua. Juynboll gives the passage in full, both in Arabic and in Latin translation, p. 7, in the note overflowing from p. 6. They write in reply that they have compared the book sent to them, and it appears not to be a Samaritan book at all, but that it must be one of the Jews'. It contained the passage that the twelve stones taken out of the Jordan were placed on Mount Ebal, and they write—"Nos enim in nostra Lege legimus, his (lapidibus) illos (Patres) ædificasse (aram) in monte Gerizim." As they speak of the twelve stones having *been built upon* Mount Gerizim, they evidently refer to the Book of Joshua, and not to the Pentateuch. They evidently rejected it as spurious. It must be pointed out, what has hitherto been overlooked or quite misunderstood, that they had asked for the Book of Joshua not because they had none, as Yahuda and his spokesman here seem to imply. They had asked also in every letter sent from the East for a copy of the *Pentateuch*. Surely they did not stand in need of another copy from Europe. They asked for such books as would be a proof positive, an irrefutable evidence, and a token from their brothers beyond the seas with whom they entered into correspondence that they were real Samaritans, and not members of any other sect, Jews or Karaïtes. If they

did not possess a Book of Joshua distinctive and different from that of the Jews, representing their own dogmatic views and favouring their claims, they would not have asked for a similar copy as a token of recognition of religious unity. The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were the only Biblical books which would carry more or less weight, and these alone would be considered as valid tokens. Hence the demand for a copy of the Book of Joshua in addition to the Pentateuch.

I fail to understand the repeated reference by Mr. Adler to the Yuhassin and the Shobach legend inserted there by the Constantinople editor Shallum. Since Scaliger no scholar has written on the Book of Joshua without referring to it. The reference is therefore somewhat stale. But why does Mr. Adler harp on it? It was not I who wished to prove that it *was not of a Jewish origin*. On the contrary, all my arguments tended in the direction to prove that all the interpolations into the old text were of a purely Jewish-Aggadic or legendary origin, and that I had found in the Aramaic Targum a striking parallel to it. It is Yahuda, on the contrary, who asserts that this legend is of a late Arabic origin. Reland, whose knowledge of Arabic literature was unrivalled, and even greater than that of Yahuda, places it in the *third* century, long before any Arabic literature existed. The words of Shallum fully bear out my contention even more than my opponents imagine. I contend that the Book of Joshua has been incorporated at an early period into the 'Chronicle' of the Samaritans (*vide* my letter in the *Times* and the paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society), that ancient Jewish materials had been used by the old compiler, and that these legends had been inserted into the text like the other legends known as Apocrypha into the books of Daniel, Esther, etc. Shallum says exactly the same thing: "He found this legend in the *Chronicle of the Samaritans*." And what

is more valuable still: "that the Samaritans stated that they had seen it also in a Jewish Midrash." So it must have existed in a Jewish book of Biblical legends. I have not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of that statement, for I have found not only in the Targum mentioned above another episode of the Shobach legend missing in the Hebrew recension of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, but also in other *old* Jewish books of Biblical legends, one going as far back as to the Chronicle of Jerahmeel and the Latin Pseudo-Philo. When I published the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (1899) I intuitively referred to them as Hebrew Samaritan legends. I refer notably to the Kenaz legend, ch. lvii, § 35, p. 171, and Introd. p. xeviii. Yahuda concludes from Shallum's note that the Samaritan Book of Joshua must have been originally composed in Arabic and not Hebrew, for Shallum does not know the Hebrew (where does he say so?), which therefore could not have yet existed in 1566. Accordingly the Samaritan author of the *Arabic* original of the Book of Joshua copied a Jewish Midrash, consequently also written in Arabic. This is certainly a startling discovery. It would be unique in Hebrew literature. It is for the first time that we hear of the Jews writing their legends in Arabic. No such Arabic Hebrew Midrash has hitherto been known. Equally serious is the other argument advanced by Mr. Yellin and endorsed by Mr. Adler. Mr. Yellin maintains that the book is not a forgery, but "simply the Hebrew version of Abul-Fath's Chronicle which he composed in both *Arabic and Hebrew* in 856 Heg. (1355), but that where borrowed from the Biblical Joshua the Arabic version greatly condenses the narrative." The Hebrew Samaritan Book of Joshua is then no longer a modern composition, but dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century, 1355 being the date of the Arabic Chronicle. It is somewhat fatal to the theory that Abul-Fath is the author of the Arabic and Hebrew version, that in

giving the list of his authorities Abul-Fath should mention expressly the Book of Joshua as one among them. A comparison with the Chronicle ed. Juynboll proves beyond doubt his absolute dependence upon that source. De Sacy already has noticed this literal dependence. It is a vicious circle in which my critics move. They start with Abul-Fath. Nothing anterior could have existed, and here we find Abul-Fath copying calmly an older Chronicle and the author of that Chronicle affirming at the very beginning of his work that he had translated it from *the Hebrew*. He lived at least 150-200 years before Abul-Fath, the reputed author of the Arabic and Hebrew versions of the Book of Joshua.

I must stop now. Mr. Adler has succeeded in condensing into his short note so many of the 'striking' proofs against the antiquity of the Book of Joshua that I might feel tempted to follow him into all the dark nooks and corners and to show up all the contradictions and impossibilities which he has gathered unto himself. But the day has not yet set on the Book of Joshua, and opportunity will still present itself to supplement these very brief remarks by which I hope to have gauged properly the standard of Yahuda's erudition and the flimsiness of his boasted arguments. They rest on a complete ignorance of Samaritan language and literature and on the suppression of facts fatal to his theories. I greatly regret that my friend Mr. Adler should have placed confidence in the superficiality of those who have hitherto not yet proved worthy of that confidence. In one respect Mr. Adler has changed his opinion since he spoke on the occasion of my paper. He believes now in the scholarship of the modern Samaritans. I do not. I have not changed my opinion. I differentiate between the persons and the books. My faith rests only on internal evidence, and whether the Samaritans would have declared the book to be old or to be new, I would

not have taken their word for it. It is difficult to fathom the workings of the Samaritan mind.

I reserve to myself the discussion of the so-called Arabisms and the linguistic proofs, which, as I may state already now, do not stand on a higher scientific level than the literary proofs and historical evidences adduced hitherto. Other arguments will have to be advanced and stronger proofs shown if the true character of the Book of Joshua and the claim for its antiquity are to be successfully assailed.

M. GASTER.

September 22nd, 1908.

DHAMEK AT SĀRNĀTH.

In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1904-5, Mr. Oertel informs us, on p. 60, that in a Jain manuscript of the seventeenth century "Benares is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage, and, near it, at a locality called Dharmekṣā, is said to have been a famous Bodhisattva sanctuary. This can only refer to the locality of Sārnāth, where the great Buddhist stūpa is still known as Dhamek. Mr. A. Venis, who kindly verified this reference for me, renders the *Dharmekṣā* as 'the pondering of the law,' a very appropriate name for the place where the wheel of the law was first turned."

I am not in a position to state what were the components into which Mr. Venis resolved the compound *Dharmekṣā* when he rendered it 'the pondering of the law.' The words used to translate it do not correspond in meaning to any technical expression adopted in Buddhist terminology, as far as I can at present remember; and it is in terms of Buddhist metaphor that a figurative expression of special significance, and obviously Buddhist, should, where possible, be explained.

As students of Buddhism are aware, the term *dharmacakkhū* is frequently used to denote the eye which

apprehends the *dhamma*, Skt. *dharma*, the fundamental truth of Buddha's system summed up in the formula (*manto* or *mantra*): *Ye dhamma hetuppabbavā*, etc. This suggests the obvious derivation of the word *dharmekṣā*—*dharma* + *ikṣā*, 'beholding or seeing the *dharma*,' the state of one possessed of the *dhammacakkhā*. When we turn to the narrative of the First Sermon delivered by Buddha at Benares, we find that, when he had propounded the Four Truths, he announced to his hearers that, when he had understood these Truths, his eyes were opened. His hearers were by the sermon enabled to apprehend the *dhamma*. This gives a clear and plausible explanation of the name Dhamek as applied to the stūpa erected on the spot where Buddha's first disciples, the five young men who had preceded him to Benares, heard and apprehended the Truth, becoming possessed of the *dhammacakkhā*.

The Sanscrit *dharmekṣā* (*dharma* + *ikṣā*) would in Pāli be represented by *dhamma* + *ikkha* = *dhammekkha*, and this would by normal detrition become *Dhamek*.

W. HOEY.

September 16th, 1908.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF CHINA TO THE END OF THE CHOU DYNASTY. By FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Ph. D., Professor of Chinese, Columbia University in the City of New York. The Columbia University Press, 1908.

The appearance of this well-printed and attractive little volume, in which Professor Hirth has published a course of lectures, "addressed," he tells us in the Preface, "to such university students as did not intend to become specialists in the language and literature of China," is an encouraging sign of the interest taken by the United States in the ancient history of the Far East, which recent political events have brought so much to the front. The author gives two quotations from Goethe on the flyleaf, describing how, in 1813, about the time of the battle of Leipzig, when patriotic cares preyed upon his soul, Germany's great poet took refuge in the history of China, and suggests that the novelty of the study and the very diversity of the subject may have a like salutary effect on the minds of some of his readers. Should this appeal be successful, we have before us an ideal sketch of its early history and development, based more or less on modern lines of research, and generally free from the vagaries that have attracted other writers on the subject.

The human mind seems to work much alike all over the world, and the earliest mythological speculations of the Chinese extend from the creation of the world out of chaos through a long fabulous period, during which the useful arts of life were severally discovered, till at last we come to historical times. The Chinese themselves have no traditions of any immigration from abroad, and they

appear, from native accounts, to have been living in the north-western part of what is now called China from the earliest times, and to have gradually evolved their peculiar civilisation as an agricultural community. The various stages are marked by them, as with us, by a Palæolithic time, when beams were shaped for houses and boats were hollowed out by rough stone axes; and a Neolithic time, when tools and weapons were more carefully fashioned out of jade and other hard stones; until copper, bronze, and iron in their turn replaced stone in the usual order.

Professor Hirth sagely concludes that the wisest view we can, therefore, take of the origin of the Chinese is the agnostic. He criticises the ingenious, but hopeless, attempts of Terrien de Lacouperie to explain the early cultural developments as offshoots of Babylonian civilisation, and dooms his bulky tome on the subject to share the fate of De Guignes' attempt, before the French Academy in 1758, to prove that the Chinese had grown out of an Egyptian colony.

Having cleared the ground so far, and adopting for the nonce the dates of the native scheme of chronology, he proceeds to divide the period covered by his lectures under the following four headings:—

1. Mythological and Legendary (2852–2358 B.C.).
2. The Confucian Legends (2357–1766 B.C.).
3. The Shang, or Yin, Dynasty (1766–1122 B.C.).
4. The Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B.C.).

The Chou Dynasty is further subdivided into five characteristic and well-defined periods:—

1. Period of Imperial Authority (1122–1053 B.C.).
2. Decline of Central Power (1052–697 B.C.).
3. Century of the Five Leaders (696–586 B.C.).
4. Age of Lau-Tzi and Confucius (585–476 B.C.).
5. Contending States (475–221 B.C.).

Reference must be made to the pages of the book to follow the pleasing way in which the outlines of the

sketch are filled in. The latest and best authorities are constantly consulted, such as Professor Chavannes in his translation of the Shi-ki annals, and Professor Legge in his edition of the Chinese classics; a lecture of the latter, indeed, is transferred bodily from the *China Review* into the present book, occupying over ten pages (207-217) in small type. Many interesting questions crop up incidentally: that of the Hiung-nu, for example, whom Professor Hirth thinks identical with the Huns of Europe and of Turkish extraction, and fairly proves his case; and that of the fairy divinity Si-wang-mu, whose recent identification, by Professor Forke of Berlin, with the Queen of Sheba is not, by the way, accepted; while the arts of writing and painting, of bronze-casting, pottery, and silk-weaving, the invention of the mariner's compass, and of its forerunner, the geomancer's south-pointing needle, all these come in for an illuminating word of notice.

It is the fashion nowadays to deery Confucius, and Professor Hirth is not quite free from the tendency when he cites (p. 41) a missionary's gibe against the sage, suggesting that he may have altered the cyclical date of an eclipse—"to bring it into conformity with his imperfect astronomical knowledge, and especially with his prejudices against the possible reading of his original, caused by his ignorance of the precession of the equinoxes"—a gratuitous supposition, which is as unlikely as it is cumbersome. It seems rather a pity that Professor Hirth should have been moved to propose a new system of transliteration for Chinese words, when we are just getting used to the Wade orthography followed in Giles's and Goodrich's dictionaries, but there is no time to labour the field here. It is explained at length in the introduction of the book, and there is besides an appendix full of chronological tables, and a useful outline map of China during the Chou dynasty at the end. The *mise en scène* is, in fact, unusually complete, and the story is well worthy of perusal. S. W. B.

ANGLO-CHINESE COMMERCE AND DIPLOMACY (mainly in the Nineteenth Century). By A. J. SARGENT (M.A. Oxon.), appointed Teacher of Foreign Trade in the University of London, at the London School of Economics. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1907.

This is a preliminary sketch of the history of our relations with China in their bearing on the interests of commerce by a skilled statistician, who has taken the trouble to study the subject thoroughly, and presents it to his readers in a masterly and instructive manner. Originally intended as a historical introduction, and delivered in the form of a few lectures some years ago in Manchester, it has, as not infrequently happens, we are told in the Preface, expanded into a volume, so that the ultimate aim of the history—the analysis and explanation of the commercial conditions of the present—is necessarily postponed. We shall look for its appearance, as the subject is of no small interest at the present moment.

The present volume is generally based on first-hand authorities, a list of which is given in an annotated bibliography, including treaties, British and foreign, official accounts of embassies, British consular reports, and reports of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. A long string of parliamentary papers is cited, and reference is made to parliamentary debates, but in the last case with a notable proviso—"China bulks considerably in Hansard, but the debates are not worth the expenditure of much time; with a few exceptions, the qualifications of the speakers seem to consist in a sufficient ignorance of the real nature of the problems with which they attempt to deal."

Mr. Sargent opens his account of the course of trade with a passage from a letter of Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of China, dated July 16th, 1596, the sentiments expressed in which, he says, would not be entirely out

of place in a diplomatic communication to Peking in the twentieth century. But this letter was not fated to reach its destination: the bearers, her faithful subjects, Richard Allen and Thomas Bromfield, met an unknown end on their long journey through hostile seas. Next come the difficulties of the early efforts to open up trade relations through the Dutch and Portuguese, until the East India Company succeeded in establishing a privileged monopoly at Canton with the Hong merchants, which lasted until 1834. The succeeding chapters develop the trade from the Treaty of Nanking to the Treaty of Tientsin, and so onwards, with an account of the massacre at Tientsin and its causes, the Taiping rebellion and its bearings, and the development of 'Spheres of Influence,' until we come, finally, to the renewal of the anti-foreign movement, and recent economic changes.

The author is gifted with the power of seeing both sides of a question, and writes with fair impartiality, indicating the Chinese as well as the British point of view in the many difficulties that have arisen at different times to obstruct the flow of commodities. He seems to deprecate too much diplomatic interference with the natural course of trade, and rallies the merchant, as well as the missionary, for their too frequent appeals to the gunboat. He emphasizes the fact that China is economically self-sufficient, but sees signs that, like Japan, she is realizing the necessity of moving with the times, the result of which would be a vast increase in material power by China becoming a nation instead of a loose federation of provinces.

"At present," he concludes, "she is in tutelage, with her financial and economic policy laid down in treaties forced on her by foreign Powers; such conditions would not be tolerated for a moment by a sovereign State possessing the power to remove them. The Chinese may be coerced into restraining their resentment for a time;

the history of their relations with European Powers proves amply that they neither forgive nor forget. Once they obtain sufficient material force, they are likely to assert, in no uncertain fashion, the claim to that right enjoyed even by minor Western nations, the right to determine for themselves the conditions of intercourse with foreigners."

S. W. B.

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR, 1878-80. Abridged Official Account. London: John Murray, 1908.

This book is a valuable record, and is a very creditable production of the Intelligence Department of the Indian Army. It is especially noteworthy on account of the plans and photographs which it contains. Originally compiled under the direction of Sir Charles Macgregor,¹ it has been revised and completed by Major Cardew of the 10th Bengal Lancers. The style of the book is simple and straightforward, and it is only here and there that we meet with an awkward expression. The meaning of the word 'consistently' at p. 2 in the clause which says that the Amir consistently denied to the British the sign of intimate friendship (*viz.* the reception of an embassy), is obscure, and perhaps it is a misprint for 'constantly.' There is little or no trace of animus in the book, though perhaps the remark at p. 467 that the independence of the political officer was possibly a contributory cause to the disaster of Maiwand, and the remarks at p. 183, etc., about Sir Louis Cavagnari's mistaken belief in Ya'qūb Khān are indications that the old antagonism between politicals and soldiers has not died out. Probably Sir Charles Macgregor's

¹ Macgregor's exploit of recovering the guns abandoned at Chardeh is only briefly referred to at p. 257, and his personal share in the matter is veiled under the vague expression of "under the direction of Colonel Macgregor."

notes contained much more on the subject and have been severely edited.

No account of a campaign can be altogether pleasant reading, and several painful incidents are recorded in this volume. Even those who approve of Lord Lytton's policy, and think that his resolution to despatch a Mission to Kabul "at all costs" was right, must regret the appalling losses of men and animals. At p. 88 we have a vivid account by Surgeon-General Ker-Innes of the sufferings of the men on the march from Gandamak to India. "Their countenances betokened great nervous exhaustion, combined with a wild expression difficult to describe; the eyes injected, and even sunken; a burning skin, black with the effects of sun and dirt; dry tongue; a weak voice, and a thirst which no amount of fluids seemed to relieve. Many of the men staggered rather than marched into their tents, and threw themselves down, utterly incapable of further exertion until refreshed by sleep and food. This was very marked in the 51st Light Infantry. Nor did the officers appear to be in any better plight. But if there was one class worse than another, it was certainly the medical officers and subordinates." At p. 165 we are told in a note that during the advance of the Southern Afghan Field Force, 11,912 dead camels were counted on the road between Chaman and Kandahar. At p. 183 there is a very striking account by Rasaldâr-Major Naqshband Khân of the attack on the Residency, though he only witnessed the beginning of the fray. At p. 244 we are told that 89 men were tried for their share in the attack, and that 49 of these were executed. But if Ya'qûb Khân were really responsible it would have been more to the purpose to have hanged him, and to have spared his soldiers, who perhaps only obeyed orders. At p. 468 we have an account of the gallant defence of his post by Major Waudby and his garrison of five men—a feat which is now commemorated at Bombay by an inscription, etc. There was an incident

in this affair which was a sort of parallel to the release of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse who could recite Euripides. The only person uninjured was a servant of Major Waudby, who could speak Pushtu, and saved himself by reciting the *Kalma*.

There is a very full account of the Maiwānd disaster, and it is accompanied by a plan. Here the reticence observed in the rest of the book is to some extent abandoned, and the misbehaviour of the Bombay Grenadiers is not slurred over, though no allusion is made to the subsequent court-martials.

H. BEVERIDGE.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF THE DECCAN. By Major T. W. HAIG. Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1907.

This book is a valuable contribution to the history of the Deccan. Major Haig has studied the native authorities in the original, and he has resided in Haidarabad, so that he has local knowledge which enables him to give many interesting details about buildings and battlefields. Most part of the book has already appeared in the *Pioneer* and in *East and West*, and it is a pity that when Major Haig republished the articles he did not strike out or alter some passages, for there are occasional repetitions. Though the work only contains 231 pages, it covers a great deal of ground, and is crammed full of dates and other facts. The necessary brevity of the narrative detracts from its charm, for picturesqueness largely consists, as someone has said, in the accumulation of minute touches, and Major Haig's space did not allow of the use of much detail. As he truly says in his preface, the history of the Deccan is not useless or tedious, but is full of interest and romance. But then the romance has to be brought out, as Meadows-Taylor brought it out in the one or two episodes touched on by

him. Perhaps Major Haig will some day give us a larger book, and make fuller use of the advances in epigraphy and numismatics, and of the manuscript histories, which, according to him, furnish ample materials for a detailed and critical history of the Deccan. The most valuable part of the book seems to me to be the descriptions of the cities and forts, such as Daulatabad, Golconda, Haidarabad, and Mahur. In the historical part there are one or two slips which it may be useful to point out. Thus at p. 40 mention is made of Khān A'zam as holding the chief command, and as being slothful. But Khān A'zam is the title of 'Azīz Koka, the foster-brother of Akbar, and the person meant is the Khānkhānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, the son of Bairām Khān. At p. 43 reference is made to the death of Malik 'Ambar, and it is stated that Jahangir, who never mentioned him when living without undignified abuse, did justice to his memory, and then follows what purports to be a quotation of Jahangir's words. The statement is repeated at p. 58, but we are sorry to say that the words quoted are not Jahangir's, and there is no evidence that he ever had the magnanimity to acknowledge Malik 'Ambar's merits. Indeed, it was hardly to be expected that he should, seeing that he not only abused Malik 'Ambar while living, but that he also seems to have plotted to have him assassinated, and expressed in the *Tūzūk* his chagrin at the failure of the attempt. It is true that the passage which Major Haig has translated occurs in Saiyid Ahmad's edition of the *Tūzūk*, p. 409, but this is in the continuation by Muḥammad Hādī, and it has been borrowed by that author from the *Iqbāl-nāma*, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 271. See also the translation of the passage of the *Iqbāl-nāma* in Elliot's "History of India," vol. vi, p. 428. At p. 215 it is stated that Muḥammad Sultan, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, predeceased 'Abdullah Quṭb Shah, but this was not so, for 'Abdullah died in 1672 and Muḥammad Sultan in 1676. He had, however, been civilly dead for several years,

having been imprisoned by his father in Gwalior. At p. 44 there is a reference to Khān Jahān Lodi, and he is described as being henceforward known as Pira the Afghan, and as having been captured and executed. This is an incorrect description of the fate of Jahangir's *farzand*. But mistakes such as these are almost inevitable in a work extending over a period from 1294 to 1803. In no other book that I am acquainted with is there such a full and accurate account of Aurangzeb's siege of Golconda. But I would deprecate the praise given to Abūl Ḥasan at p. 205. Major Haig here seems to be following the view taken by the Shiah author of the *Siyar-Mutākharira*. But surely Abūl Ḥasan was "a captive void of noble rage," and his taking his breakfast at the crisis of his fate was of a piece with his abandonment of his people and his flight from Haidarabad to Golconda. The only hero of the siege was 'Abdur Razzāq Lārī, and in his conduct towards this man Aurangzeb showed himself in his best light.

H. BEVERIDGE.

LAUKIKANYĀYĀÑJALĪḤ. PRATHAMO BHĀGAḤ. A Handful of Popular Maxims current in Sanskrit literature. Collected by Col. G. A. JACOB. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay, 1907.

It is gratifying that Col. Jacob has been able to bring out a second edition of his *Laukikanyāyāñjalī*. The field of work he has made his own is one of great value to students of Indian literature. No uninstructed diligence can pierce through the obstacle raised by such a phrase as *uṣṭra kaṇṭaka bhakṣaṇa*, or *kaphonipūda*, or perceive that the "camel eating thorns" may illustrate "what is one man's meat is another man's poison," or that "treacle on the elbow" suggests the trials of Tantalus; and it is only through such help as Col. Jacob gives that many a passage of philosophy and poetry shows its full beauty and meaning.

These phrases belong to the inner life of the nation, and only one familiar with that can bring out their significance. The maxims are of three kinds, though one often melts into the other. There is the purely popular allusion, common in different forms to all lands, sometimes merely depending on common experience, such as *astram astreya sāmyate*; sometimes on a familiar tale or idea, such as *kākākṣī golaka*, which, on the supposition that a crow has only one eye, and has therefore to move it on occasion from one cavity to another, illustrates a word or a thing or person appearing once, but serving a double purpose. The "frog in the well," representing the purely homebred man, is a fable in itself. Besides these there is the more artificial appeal to natural objects, made by the philosopher or the poet, such as *kūrmāṅga*, the limbs of the tortoise, which in their appearing and retiring illustrate production and destruction which are not real, as the non-existent cannot be produced, nor the existent destroyed; and the rose on the crystal, used to show that consciousness only appears to colour the Ātmā, but does not really affect it. The *kṛtvā cintā*, which Mr. Venis takes to mean granting your adversary a point you will afterwards disprove, belongs to the third or purely technical kind of *nyāya*. Col. Jacob in his first edition did not include technical maxims, but in the second edition he admits them, as equally needing explanation. A very characteristic maxim is *Pañka-prakṣālana*, "the washing off of mud," which is used to point out that it is better not to desire riches, even for a good purpose, since better than the washing off of mud is the keeping clear of it, even for a good end. The maxim of "the pots attached to the water-wheel" represents the varieties of fortune, but Tārānātha's explanation does not seem to me so nonsensical as it does to Col. Jacob, i.e. that it teaches that by instruction the essence of Śāstras, deep as it is, is brought up for human use. All will remember how the image was

used by S. Teresa to represent the growth of prayer, which was compared to watering a garden by the man's own toil, then by the water-wheel, then by a stream, and, lastly, by rain from heaven, the human effort being lessened and finally ceasing as the man trusts himself more completely to the grace of God.

The collection is like a gallery of miniatures, and Col. Jacob is to be congratulated on having triumphed over difficulties, not only to make, but to increase and perfect it, as he is now doing. May he be spared to shed for long on these dark paths the light of his learning!

C. M. RIDDING.

THE ESSENCE OF BUDDHISM, with an Introduction by A. H. DHARMAPĀLA. By P. L. NARASU. Madras, 1907.

Professor Narasu, in this short book, aims at "bringing together within a small compass the leading ideas of Buddhism, and interpreting them in the light of modern knowledge," and follows "the dictum accepted in all schools of Buddhism as the sole regulative principle, that nothing can be the teaching of the master which is not in strict accord with reason, or with what is known to be true." Professor Narasu is, as Mr. Dharmapāla tells us, a product of Western culture and a professor of science. What reason tells him to be true is, therefore, probably somewhat different from what reason would sanction in the eyes of a Buddhist of the older times. The book is simply and clearly written, and its chapters deal with the historic Buddha, the rationality and morality of Buddhism, the relation of Buddhism to caste, woman, asceticism, pessimism, the riddle of the world, personality, the *summum bonum*, and other topics. The Bodhicaryāvatāra is the Eastern work most often quoted. Frequent reference is made to Professor James, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Herbert Spencer, and other Western psychologists.

The chief interest of the book is in seeing what in Buddhism appeals to the scientific mind trained in the West. The very quick adaptation to Western points of view of some of the modern Oriental teachers of religion who have been in the West suggests some doubt whether the Eastern mind is so stationary as it is often supposed to be. Probably, if we knew more, we should see under its apparent stillness that there had been many currents of alien thought. The slight and eclectic, but intelligent and sincere, treatment of Buddhism in this book will appeal to those who desire to know, but have not the gifts or opportunities for study.

C. M. RIDDING.

THE JĀNAKĪHARAṆAM OF KUMĀRADĀSA (I-X), edited with notes . . . readings . . . introduction . . . a literal English translation, and with appendices, etc., by G. R. NANDARGIKAR. Bombay, 1907.

In J.R.A.S. 1901 Mr. F. W. Thomas has given an interesting account of the reconstruction during the nineteenth century of this poem from the Sinhalese *sanna* or word-for-word gloss of the first fourteen cantos and part of the fifteenth. The present edition is made from four South Indian MSS., to which Mr. Nandargikar assigns dates varying from a hundred years to recent times. Unfortunately, the introduction concerning the date of the poet, promised on the title-page, is relegated to a separate pamphlet which is to follow, and till that comes a detailed review would be out of place. The poem is artificial but pleasant, and deals with the events which led to the carrying off of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, and Mr. Nandargikar, as editor of the *Raghuvamśa*, is well qualified for editing it. The notes are clear, full, and simple, and the grammatical references are useful. A literal translation is given. It is impossible to agree with the theory of

Dr. Nandargikar that Sanskrit should not be translated into idiomatic English. It is only by seeking out the real values of words and expressions and the thought underlying them, and by trying to find their adequate equivalents in another language, that the training of great literature is given, and a slipshod translator himself misses many of the beauties of his author. Sanskrit poetry is not harder to translate than the choruses of Æschylus and Sophocles. Happily Dr. Nandargikar's practice is better than his theory. A good feature of the book is an index of verses arranged alphabetically, but an English edition of the same size would also have an index of the more important notes, and a list of rare words, such as Mr. Thomas has already given in the *Journal* for 1901.

C. M. RIDDING.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1622-1623. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office and British Museum.

By WILLIAM FOSTER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Whereas the previous volume of this series (noticed in the *Journal* for 1907, pp. 442-9) dealt with the events of four years (1618-1621), the present volume deals with those of only two years, the number of documents extant for that period being, fortunately, exceptionally large. The occurrences here chronicled are also of considerable importance in connection with the history of the English settlements in the East, including (as Mr. Foster points out in his preface) the capture of Ormus from the Portuguese, the Anglo-Dutch blockade of Goa, the temporary abandonment of the English factories in Northern India, the rupture with the Mogul authorities at Surat, followed by the conclusion of a fresh agreement (an incident, strangely enough, hitherto unnoticed by historians), and, on the east coast, the dissolution of partnership between the Dutch and English at Pulicat. We have also in the factors'

letters a large amount of valuable information (mixed with bazar gossip) regarding the death of Prince Khusrū, the rebellion of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), his utter rout, and the gradual reconquest of Gujarāt by the imperial forces. These and other matters are adequately dealt with by Mr. Foster in his admirable introduction to the letters, which latter, arranged, as they are, chronologically, form rather 'confused feeding,' though none the less enjoyable for that.

The action of the commanders of the English fleet in assisting the Persians to capture Kishm and Ormus from the Portuguese was regarded with anything but favour by the factors at Surat, and the English certainly gained little pecuniarily from the very dubious transaction. It is pleasant to read of Ruy Freire's refusal to sacrifice his Persian allies at Kishm, and his answer to the English besiegers that "rather than wee will doe that wee will ende our lives together." This reply alone would make one rejoice at the Portuguese commander's escape from the English at Surat. The story about the drugged wine, referred to by Mr. Foster in a footnote on p. xi, appears to have undergone considerable alteration in course of years, if the incident narrated by Manucci in vol. iii, pp. 222-3, of Mr. Irvine's translation be the same, the locus there being Māskat and the captors Arabs.

We have also in this volume several accounts, from the pens of English participants, of the action near Mozambique between the Anglo-Dutch 'fleet of defence' and the Portuguese outward-bound fleet carrying the new viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, in which all the Portuguese vessels were sunk or wrecked, the viceroy narrowly escaping capture. How the allies loved one another is shown by the mutual recriminations that followed. The fact is that the two great Protestant maritime powers had too many rival interests to make friendship possible, and we read of the closing of the

English establishment at Pulicat, after vain attempts on the part of the Company's servants there to get on with their Dutch partners. At Surat, Agra, etc., in like manner we find mutual bickerings, aggravated by the fact that the Mogul authorities visited the sins of each nation upon the other, the unfortunate English and Dutch factors being clapped into prison and kept in duranee vile until they had paid through the nose for their release.

As in the previous volume, so in this, we find many of the writers expressing their opinions of those they disliked in unvarnished language. Thus the Ahmadâbâd factors speak of "our infernall foe, the mischeefous Governour of this place, . . . this late retourned extortinge curr," and later of "our hellhound Governour"; while the Cambay factors write of "this tyrannous tigar," and the Masulipatam factors of "this damned Governour." Khurram is "thatt villonous Prynce," and Nûr Mahal is politely termed "that vealinous strompitt." The native authorities at Surat are "these viperous roughtes" and "lyinge, slanderouse rogues." The Dutch, we are told, "are growne a moste cruell and bloody people"; and they are spoken of as "the arch-theeves Hollanders," "borish unbred ubstartts, whoe abound in all pryde and insolenceey," "this base nacion," etc. On the other hand, we find Matthew Duke at Masulipatam writing to the Company—"My desire is to retourne for my countrie. I am wearie of India for the intollerable vices of the English. Your servantes are yearie wicked." That the English in India at that time were fond of their liquor is proved by the many requests for and acknowledgments of wine, beer, and sack on the part of the writers of these letters; and the statement of William Hill and John Glanvill at Variao that they had no drink but water is suggestive. We read of no less than eighty Englishmen "straggling drunck in Swally, Dampkine, and the like places," all on one day, and elsewhere of "toddey pott companyons," evidently English sailors.

There is much in this volume on which one might comment, but I can refer to only a point here and there. John Johnson, whose letter is printed on pp. 51-2, must, from what he himself says, have come out in the Danish ship *Christian*, which was wrecked in Koṭṭiyār Bay. This is corroborated by Giedde's journal, in which he is described at first as master (*skibber*) and then as under-pilot of the *Christian*, and is called Jan Janssen and Jens Jenssen.

Robert Young, writing from Agra to Surat, says (pp. 75-6): "Eighteen rupp[ees] at once given in pane [*pān* = betel] to certayne banyans at the feast of Wholy. Whollie in Indiston is sastilye, but methinks it is a litle to hastely given." To the word 'sastilye' Mr. Foster appends the footnote: "This is probably the Surat copyist's misreading of 'festival.'" I think, however, that Young intends a play upon words, and that 'sastilye' is a mislection for 'softely.' Thus the sentence would read, with the spelling corrected: "*Haule* in Hindustānī is 'softly,' but methinks it is a little too hastily given." (It is a curious coincidence that the English word 'hooly' has exactly the same meaning as the Hindustānī *haule*, viz. 'gently, slowly, softly, quietly.') The cloths called 'ramboetyns' were not so called owing to "some resemblance in the pattern to the red hairy fruit of the Malay 'rambutan' tree," as Mr. Foster suggests in a footnote on p. 107. The fruit in question obtains its name from the Malay word *rambut*, 'hair,' and from the same word is derived *rambuti*, 'woollen cloth,' which, with the Portuguese nasal added, gives us *ramboetyn*.

The man referred to by the Pulicat factors as their "good friend Mullay" (p. 122), "Mallaja, our principall marchante" (p. 141), and "Mallayo" (p. 238), was a person who figures largely in the Dutch records. His name was Astrappa Chetty (Malaya being an honorific title), and in 1633-4 he was succeeded by his brother,

Chinnanna Chetty (see Heeres, *Corp. Dipl. N.I.*, p. 231, n. 1), whom we find spoken of in the Batavia Dagh-Register for 1640-1 as "S^r [Sinjeur = Senhor] Chinanna" and "S^r Maleye." The name of the Dutch ship mentioned on pp. 129, 179, 182, 184 as the *Tortolle*, *Tortowle*, *Tortola*, and *Tortall*, was not, I think, *Tortel*, as Mr. Foster supposes, but *Ter Tholen*. At any rate, a ship of that name, with two others, sailed for Holland from Batavia under the command of Frederik Houtman on 31st January, 1625. 'Caranbrode,' the erstwhile Dutch chief at Achin (p. 129), is probably Nicolaes Casembroot. Perhaps 'Chemenique' (p. 133), 'Cemenique' (p. 139) represent Letchaman Naik (cf. *Corp. Dipl. N.I.*, pp. 427, 428, *et al.*). On p. 141, l. 7, 'domvine' should be 'dominus.' (In the Dutch records the ministers are always designated 'D^s' so-and-so.)

The derivation of the word 'cooly' from Kolī, the name of a tribe in Gujarāt, referred to in a footnote on p. 153, I consider quite untenable. There is not the least doubt, I think, that 'cooly' is a contracted form of the Tamil *kālīkkāran*, 'hired labourer' (from *kālī*, 'hire, wage'). The quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* under this word are very unsatisfactory, the greater number having nothing to do with 'cooly.' The word 'Indaba,' in the last line on p. 171, to which Mr. Foster appends in brackets 'Mecca?' may perhaps represent 'Judda' (cf. p. 253).

On p. 223, in a letter from President Fursland and council at Batavia to the Surat factory, dated 17th April, 1623, the writers say: "Wee knowe of noe shipps sente this yeare by the Dutch Company from hence for the Redd Sea, but certaine freemen of this place [it] is supposed are gone theather with three small phinises, the comander whereof is on Brustons, sometimes Bailive of this place. These wee make account will make noe scruple to take all they meate and can master, be they Guzeratts or others." Again, on p. 228, in a letter from Francis Futter at Masulipatam to President Rastell at Surat, dated 29th April, 1623, we

read—"In the begininge of March here arived three frigatts under the comand of Signor Brusell, a freeman, who tooke near Tannasaree a Portingall frigatt of St. Thomay, worth by their owne reporte 50,000 ryalls of eight, and sente the goodes for Battavia." As Mr. Foster has not identified the commander of this freebooting expedition, I may point out that in the *Batavia Dagh-Register* for 1624 are several references to the subject. Thus we read:—"16 d^o [January] Tuesday arrived here in the roads Commandeur Bruystens with the yachts of the free burghers named the *Diamant* and the *Rendevous*, [which] had on the way in returning from Bengale captured near Tanassery a Portuguese navett of 100 lasts coming from S. Thomee, going to Tanassery laden with salt and with some 70 to 80 packages of cloths." "18 d^o. Thursday came into the roads here the aforesaid prize of Bruystens." Again, under 12th February:—"On this date also to the officers and the common seamen of the yachts *Batavia*, the *Diamant*, the *Robyn*, the *Pearl* and the frigate the *Bruck*, equipped by some burghers of this town under the flag and command of S^r Hendrick Bruystens in the years 1622 and 1623 with commission against the common enemy, was made the donation granted per resolution of 5 February 1624, which was accepted with great gratitude and contentment by both the leaders and the common folk." Under 25th June Bruystens is referred to as "late bailiff [*balliouw*] and president of the aldermen of this town."

One of the most curious episodes to be found in this volume is that recorded in letters of August to October, 1623, from which we learn that a baker was employed at Broach baking a huge quantity of bread ('biscuits' it is called later), which, with a corresponding supply of butter, was sent down to Surat. This provision was evidently intended for the sustenance of the Company's agents when they had (as was intended if the Mogul authorities did not accede to the English demands) abandoned all the factories

in north-western India and put to sea. The Dutch misunderstood the object of this bread-baking, for in the Batavia Dagh-Register for 1624, under date 3rd March, among other items of intelligence brought by Dutch ships from Surat, we find—"Further it is understood from the advices of vanden Broecke that the English in Suratte gave out openly that all their ships would come there from the south this year, to which end they had caused to be baked in Brochia over 5,000,000 *mamoden* [mahmūdīs' worth] of bread, and that they further had bought up all other provisions that they could get; the which appears to agree with the rumour that had long ere this been current here, to wit, that the English would depart with all their people and ships for Surat." By 'the south' here is meant the Malaysian archipelago, in which the Dutch were doing their best to make the position of their English rivals intolerable.

The "Danish shipp which arrived att Plymouth," spoken of on p. 335, was Ove Giedde's ship, the *Elephant*, which put into Plymouth in January, 1622, on her homeward voyage. In some of the last letters in this volume we read of the sale, by Captain Hall, of a small English ship, the *Primrose* (which had proved "a verrey bauble," and had nearly been abandoned as unseaworthy), to the Khān of Ormus, who was very desirous to have her, for a sum which Captain Hall estimates as £1,000 more than she was worth! So the English were in some measure revenged on their quondam allies. What the khān thought of his bargain perhaps the next volume will tell us.

These letters contain many quaint expressions, such as (p. 302), "At that instant entred upon the stage Achitophell Pinchgutt (Sied Alec Cassee, I mean)"; and here and there we find a proverb quoted. Of course, there is a rich fund of Hobson-Jobsonisms, one of the best being "John Collebeeke" for Jam Quli Beg (the governor of Surat castle). Other interesting words and expressions are

'paddy' (a very early instance with this spelling), 'gyllboate' (for Arab. *jalba*), 'cowha,' 'coha,' and 'coho seeds' (coffee), and 'keptt chuckey' (kept guard).

Mr. Foster has in nearly every case succeeded in interpreting the extraordinary words that occur here and there, some of them due to copyists' blunders. In a few instances, however, I think he is at fault. Thus, the word 'inkist' (p. 66) is, I would suggest, a variety of 'inquest,' with the meaning 'inquiry to fix price' (see New Eng. Dict. *s.v.*). Again, 'ransadoes' (p. 73) is Portuguese *arranchados*, 'associates' or 'messmates.' And surely 'bout dooa' (p. 273) represents *bahut duā*, and not *but duā*, as stated in a footnote.

In the footnote on p. 210 the name of the Portuguese ship is given as *St. John* in place of *São João*. The bay in which she was wrecked, moreover, was not Delagoa Bay, but Algoa Bay, as is evident from the details given by Faria y Sousa.

Under the able editorship of Mr. Foster these volumes should prove of the utmost value to the student of the history of India in the seventeenth century.

DONALD FERGUSON.

MEMOIRS OF FIELD-MARSHAL SIR HENRY WYLIE NORMAN,
G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E. By Sir WILLIAM LEE-
WARNER, K.C.S.I. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

The author himself furnishes the best review of the life of the subject of his biography. "The reader who would follow the career of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman from cradle to grave must not expect to have his imagination kindled by the fiery zeal of a Nicholson, or the dominating personality of a Marquis of Dalhousie, or of a John Lawrence. Norman was neither a man of extraordinary genius nor a 'born king,' as the citizens

of Calcutta styled their great proconsul, Lord Dalhousie. Nor, again, did he draw to himself the hearts of men with the tenderness and love which Henry Lawrence inspired. No burning controversy surrounds his name, fanning into flame the party conflicts and jealousies of a past generation, which current literature will not allow to die out. His career was very remarkable rather than brilliant. He was endowed with a combination of many of the qualities which led the great men mentioned above to eminence. He possessed the nerve of Nicholson, the industry of Dalhousie, the high purpose of John Lawrence, and a gentleness which won the hearts of men if it did not succeed in attracting the full measure of love given to Henry Lawrence. But all his qualities and capacities were tempered by modesty. His claim upon the attention of his fellow-countrymen rests upon his achievement of the highest honors gained by the force of moral character without those advantages of wealth, interest, and social position by which others mount to exalted places . . . The son of an enterprising but not too fortunate a merchant, with no powerful relatives to advance his interests, without any special equipment as regards a liberal education—for he had not even the opportunities of study which Addiscombe College afforded—Norman at the age of seventeen, was appointed on March 1, 1844, an officer of infantry on the Bengal Establishment of the East India Company, and almost immediately began to attract the notice of his superiors and the affection of his comrades. A passionate desire to serve the Crown either in the Navy, for which he was in many ways well adapted, or in the Army, for which it was feared that his slight build might prove a disqualification, a taste for reading and acquiring knowledge which compensated for the lack of scholarly training, a remarkable memory, a winning modesty and cheerful courage that earned for him the nick-name of 'the Smiler' on the exposed and shot-riddled ridge of

Delhi, an unflinching devotion to duty, and a strong belief in spiritual power—these were the moral qualities which overcame all obstacles, and in the long run gave him assured claim to the highest offices in the gift of the Crown."

General A. Roberts, the father of Lord Roberts, under whom Norman held his first high staff office, wrote thus to him: "Your great local knowledge and talent for detail and all office duties, combined with your suavity of manner, so essential in a public officer, rendered my command one of comparative ease and confidence even in times of excitement."

And now, fifty-four years afterwards, the son, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, furnishes an estimate of his lifelong friend—"Henry Norman possessed in a remarkable degree three great qualities. The first of these, which is commonly found in eminent men of all professions, was a natural liking and aptitude for work . . . His next peculiar gift was an extraordinary memory . . . Norman possessed sound soldierly instincts. He never spared any trouble, and mastered thoroughly whatever he had to do. Whenever there was fighting or alarm [he is referring to the siege of Delhi] he was at once on the spot." Lord Roberts expresses his regret that after the Mutiny Norman's "career took him to the Military Secretariat, and the Army lost one who had given every promise of military capacity," and states his belief in Norman's "possession of many of the qualities needed in a great soldier." It is a poor business criticising, and the warmth of friendship is better than the coldness of the critical spirit. But the critic has to criticise, and to do so honestly. There is nothing to settle discussions of the might have been. There is nothing to be said about the undone but that it was not done. There is nothing certain about the mute, inglorious Miltons but the two epithets. They people the churchyards very thickly. But we have honestly to state that neither

this book nor any former knowledge induces in us the belief that Norman could ever have become a great commander, a great soldier. He had not the powers needed. He had a nature the reverse of that needed. He was not made of stern enough stuff. He does not kindle the imagination like Nicholson and John Lawrence, nor had he any of their qualities in the same measure as they. He was not so fierce and terrible. He was cast in a gentler mould. He was of a different order. He was not of their stature. Norman himself knew exactly what he wanted: he strove for it and got it and kept it. It is said that "his qualities and capacities were tempered by modesty," that is, we presume, lessened of their full force by its action. One had occasion to think a good deal about this quality of modesty in connection with public life in India. We found it of three kinds—the natural, the enforced, the assumed. Under our system of education great numbers of boys and young men are gathered together in our schools and universities, and among them any display of personal superiority, of boastfulness or hauteur, of brag or 'side' is strongly resented and forcibly repressed; modesty is enforced. Or it may be assumed as a useful and admired grace, to win good-will, to ward off the resentment ever ready to strike, the malignity ever eager for exercise. There were circumstances in the beginning of Norman's career, his entry into the service through what those who had come into it through the gate of Addiscombe would term "the back door," his lack of "social position," as pointed out by his biographer, which it might seem would make the assumption of this quality needful to him. But it continued to be Norman's most conspicuous quality all through his life, that and his gentleness. In 1859 Sir William Mansfield wrote of him—"he is as unassuming and agreeable as he is intelligent and distinguished." With reference to his Governorship of Jamaica (1883-8), it was written of him—"In Sir Henry Norman I was impressed

by his wide practical knowledge, his great memory for details, his modesty, and his never-failing good temper." With regard to his Governorship of Queensland (1889-95), it is remarked that his "modesty was that which served him best in Queensland." The grace was native in him. We may be permitted, because of the importance of recognition of the fact, to step aside for a moment to point out that in India, native India, the attitude towards this quality is the very reverse of our own. There in all things, in literature, art, religion, behaviour, prevails the immodesty of the savage state, of the lower grades of civilisation. There is displayed a monstrous self-esteem, an egregious vanity, a self-sufficiency colossal, gigantic, titanic. We, who were in a position to know, hold that among the causes of the Indian Mutiny no minor place should be given to the self-sufficiency, the sense of self-importance, the braggadocio spirit of the sepoys of the Army of Bengal. In the Brahmin sepoy the arrogance of the priest and the soldier were combined and carried to a supreme height. Vanity is a chief moving force in the present unrest in India, vanity has large display in all associations for assassination and murder—there is no superiority like that of killing.

We think all biographers have a tendency not to let their thoughts dwell so much on the earliest periods in the lives of men who have risen to eminence as on the subsequent more swelling periods; the first are held derogatory. Thus we have never seen mention of the fact that Lord Wolseley began life as a civil engineer. And yet the practical knowledge he so acquired stood him in good stead in the Quarter-Master General's Department of the Army. Civil-engineering is held of no account socially.

So here. Sir William Lee-Warner says, as above, that Norman's "claim upon the attention of his fellow-countrymen" is that he achieved high honours without any advantages of wealth, interest, social position, or

education ; it was to his credit that he did so well without "any special equipment as regards a liberal education." But a thoughtful consideration of the facts registered in the book itself show that his education in small private schools, and no doubt of the kind termed commercial, the association with his father, the trader, the man of business in Calcutta, the work done in his office, were of essential help to Norman in his career—determined the course of it.

General Roberts, in his commendation given above, makes mention of his "talent for detail and all office duties," as well as of his "suavity of manner." It was that early training, together with natural aptitude, which enabled Norman after no long experience in the department to hold with marked success the high position of Adjutant-General in the camp before Delhi. He was essentially an office man, a man of business. When he was appointed a member of the Council of India he, "with his usual accuracy of detail," recorded in his 'log' or diary that in the year he had "attended forty-one meetings of Council, 137 meetings of Committees, and spent 244 days in the office."

The biography consists of 310 pages: of these 50 contain the record of his services outside India, covering the period from 1878 to 1904, the year of his death ; the period from 1862 to 1878, which was the time in which he occupied his highest posts in India and took a share in the administration of the land, occupies but 23 pages ; the first period of his service, of lower-grade service, extending from 1844, the year of his joining the service, to 1857, occupies, roundly, 50 pages. The above divisions contain 123 pages and 55 years of service, and the whole service being 60 years, the total of pages 310, we have 5 years occupying 187 pages, more than half the book : that was the Indian Mutiny. And of those 187 pages 120 are occupied with the record of the events of $3\frac{1}{2}$ months only : that was the siege of Delhi. The largeness of the record reflects the largeness of

the occurrence. The siege of Delhi was the supreme event in the life of Norman. Its long-drawn three months and a half, that time of dire anxiety and hardship and peril, formed the refulgent period of his existence, which he looked back to on his deathbed as his time of best service.

The reorganisation of the army broken by the Mutiny, the amalgamation of the forces of the vanished King-Company with those of the Crown, was the task which mainly occupied Norman during the time—1862 to 1878—of his connection with the supreme Government in India. It is the administrative measure with which his name is chiefly connected—advantageously or disadvantageously. Lord Roberts declared, in an eulogium, that to Norman it was due "that that army was put upon its present satisfactory footing." But the result of his measures has not been considered satisfactory by less friendly critics. Their wisdom is being challenged at this day, their evil results pointed out. They provoked the most bitter animosity and hostility. Letters, piteous or furious, from his own brother-officers poured in upon Norman. His measures and his motives were denounced in the public press. There could not but be injury to the officers and men of the derelict army, injury to their interests, injury to their feelings, never sufficiently taken into account. The working of the new system produced a clogging of the machine, and Sir William Lee-Warner himself tells us that many of those first arrangements "have been swept away." He deals with the matter in his usual calm, judicial way. He accepts and makes much of Lord Roberts' eulogy, but in view of the many proved imperfections of the scheme of reconstruction he associates others with Norman in it. Norman was a worker of great schemes, not a constructor.

"His quite unrivalled memory," "his astonishing mastery of detail," his modesty, his "cautious judgment," his "indefatigable industry," these were the qualities dwelt on

by the supreme officer of State, by the Viceroy, on the occasion of his departure from India in 1877. And one who was closely associated with him in an enquiry among the West India islands twenty years afterwards speaks of him as "high-minded, unselfish, kind-hearted."

The life of Sir Henry Norman was one of continued service, and "ever as in the great task-master's eye."

The memoir is a very good one, both in scope and construction. Both as regards what it puts in and what it keeps out it is a work of art. It is written with a high appreciation and admiration of the subject of it, and yet honestly, in a calm, judicial spirit. The style is excellent. Sir William Lee-Warner has done his work very well.

R. E. F.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.
Vols. II and III. By H. NELSON WRIGHT. Oxford,
1907-8.

A notice of the first volume of this Catalogue, comprising the coins other than the Musalman series, was given in the *Journal* of last year (p. 472). These two volumes have appeared since then, and the Trustees of the Museum are to be again congratulated on the excellency of the work done by the author they were fortunate enough to secure for editing the Musalman series, and Mr. Nelson Wright himself, as well as his readers, must be pleased with the way the books have been produced.

Vol. ii deals in part 1 with the coins of the Sultans of Dehli, and in part 2 with coins of other Musalman rulers in India contemporary with them.

Part 1 begins with an Introduction containing a concise account of the coinage of the Sultans from Muhammad bin Sam (A.H. 589) to Sikandar Shah Suri (A.H. 962), followed by genealogical trees of the six dynasties of the

Sultans. The catalogue of the collection in the Museum follows, the coins, 899 specimens, being well described, with references given to former accounts of them by Thomas, Rodgers, and others, with in some cases revised readings and attributions, as, for example, it may be noted that Nos. 112-15 on p. 28, attributed by Thomas to Aram Shah, are now shown to belong to Bahram Shah, a reading which has since been confirmed by Mr. Longworth Dames, who published a coin of Aram Shah in his article on the mint of Kuraman in the *Journal* of this year (p. 406). Nos. 817, 818 have the correction made in the description of them which was proposed by Colonel Shepherd in the J.A.S.B. with regard to what was taken to be a blundered الدنيا, now accepted as الذيان, as it undoubtedly should be, for the same word is on one of the Bahmani series, and unmistakable there. The mint name on No. 82 was read by Thomas as بلتان for ملتان, in this Catalogue as املتان for ملتان, and by Mr. Longworth Dames in the above-quoted article as بنیان. Comparison with later coins of Multan corroborates the reading here given. No. 106 *rev.*, read by Rodgers (J.A.S.B., 1894) as قطایه, and attributed by him to Qutbu-d-din Aibak, is now read by Mr. Wright as رضیه, in inverted letters. The mint town of the coin No. 38 of Altamsh is still left uncertain. Rodgers read it as Ghor, Hoernle suggested Lakhnauti, Mr. Wright has (?) بلکور. By the figure on plate i it seems rather بلکور, with a dot over the first letter, and perhaps, as Von Zambaur proposes in his careful review of this volume in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1908, Band i, Nagor in Rajputana is the place intended.

Part 2, sec. i, gives an excellent account of the kings of Bengal and their coinage by Sir James Bourdillon. The description of the 240 specimens in the Museum is the best and fullest account we have yet had of this remarkable series, curious as it is in pattern, lettering, and titles. In

it are comprised nearly, if not all, the coins previously described in the B.M. Catalogue, and in papers in the J.A.S.B. and *Journal Asiatique*. Sec. ii, contemporaries of the early Sultans; sec. iii, Kashmir; sec. iv, Bahmani; sec. v, Jaunpur; sec. vi, Gujarat; sec. vii, Malwa, present nothing remarkable. Most of these series have been lately more fully described by other writers. Appendices of Hijra dates, mint towns, glossary of titles, and a good map of India illustrating the mints of the Muhammadan rulers, complete the volume, which is illustrated by 25 plates.

Vol. iii, a book of 360 pages and 22 plates, is entirely taken up with the coinage of the Mughal emperors of Dehli.

The introduction of 82 pages is an especial and commendable feature of the book, as it gives under the heading of each mint town its situation, the periods during which the mints were used, the number of coins in the collection struck at it by each emperor, the honorific epithets of the town and the peculiarities of the pieces issued at it, and the couplets upon the coins. Some additions to and variations in the list of mint towns given in "The Manual of Musalman Numismatics" are made. Ausa in Bidar district, Bahraich in Oudh, Burhanabad, probably near Ahmadnagar in the Dekhan, Bairath in Rajputana, and Purbandar in Kathiawar are added. Mirath, the author thinks, should be rather read Mirtha, a fortress near Ajmir. Mustafabad is identified as Rampur, Nusratabad as Dharwar, Gokulgarh is located in Mewar on the borders of Bikanir, Zafarabad is considered to be Bidar rather than the town of that name in the North-West Provinces, and Zafarnagar a town south of Ahmadnagar, and not a name for Fathabad. Good reasons are given for these changes. Of the couplets: the one attributed in the B.M. Catalogue to Nikusiyar, in error, as was pointed out by Mr. Irvine in 1899, is rightly altered to be one of Muhammad Shah. The couplet on the interesting coin of Shah Alam Bahadur

Shah, struck at Tatta with the name of Muazzam on it, should be noticed—

سکه مبارک در هفت کشور زد بر مهر و ماد
شاه جهان ثانی سلطان معظم بادشاه

and also the ones on the half-rupee of Jahangir from the Kabul mint—

همیشه باد ز دارالعباد حی قدیم
رواج سکه کابل بنام شاه سلیم

and on the Akbarnagar rupee of the same emperor—

سکه در اکبر آباد زد شاه گردون بارگاه
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر بن اکبر بادشاه

and an improved and probably correct rendering of Ibrahim's couplet—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل کریم
شاه شاهان محمد ابراهیم

It may be observed that throughout the book the author gives Shah Alam I as the short title of the successor of Aurangzib instead of Bahadur Shah, as he is usually styled in numismatic and other books. It may be correct to do so, but it is inconvenient, and a change which is liable to cause confusion.

Regarding the coins of Akbar, the author gives reasons for thinking that the 'Alif' coins were issued before the year 1000 of the Hijra, and began to be so about the year 987, when Akbar probably promulgated his designs for a new era.

It is often a question whether a coin struck in a native State of India during the reigns of the last three or four emperors should be included in the Imperial coinage, for many were struck of the patterns of Shah Alam and Muhammad Shah by local Rajas, both during the life of the emperor and after his death, without, in some cases, much regard to the date and regnal years. The rule usually

followed is that mentioned in the B.M. Catalogue, Mughal Emperors, p. cviii, viz. to class under Imperial all those coins having the emperor's name, which have also legible mints and consistent dates (i.e. dates in which the regnal and Hijra years are in accord). But there are always doubtful cases, such, for instance, as coins issued from the many mints under Mahratta rule, named in Mr. Ranade's paper "Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule" (Journal Bombay Branch R.A.S., vol. xx).

It may be useful to add a few notes on some of the later coins in this Catalogue, made partly from an old notebook of J. Prinsep and partly from information gathered in Western India. No. 2080 is the Nagpur rupee of Prinsep, known in the bazars as 'Bhonsle,' and was a common currency in Nagpur and Kampti fifty years ago, but the word 'Surat' in full on this specimen is a surprise. No. 2122 is the 'New Nagpur' of Prinsep's list, but the name 'Katak' on it contradicts that so far as regards the mint town, but the coin was probably issued during the time when Katak was held by the Bhonsle Rajah after capture by the Mahrattas. No. 2257 appears to be a Bikanir State coin, the top line of *rev.* being the coiled snake with raised head, and بیکانیر of نیر instead of بندر مغا ? (Webb, plate vi); the mint mark confirms this. It is marked 'Sardhana' by Prinsep. No. 2449 is figured in Webb (plate vii) as a coin of Khetri, but without the line containing the mint name. Was the name Muzaffargarh given to Khetri at any time? No. 2485 is marked by Prinsep as 'Fursee,' presumably from پہرہا, Hind.; the place of mintage is not known. No. 2486 Prinsep figures as a coin of Kishangarh; it is probably the coin of that State described by Webb (No. 1, p. 68), but not figured by him. No. 2487 is attributed by Prinsep and also by Hoernle (J.A.S.B., 1897, p. 267) to the Orcha or Tehri State in Bandelkhand; اورچہ has been read on one specimen.

There are good appendices of chronological index, note on the Ilahi era of Akbar, tables of ornaments or mint marks, and map.

The arrangement of the matter in the Catalogues is admirable, and the editing has been most carefully done. A word of praise should be added of the printing, the plates, and especially the Arabic type.

O. CODRINGTON.

AUSGEWÄHLTE ERZÄHLUNGEN AUS HEMACANDRA'S PARISISTAPARVAN. Translated into German by JOHANNES HERTEL. Leipzig, 1908. (Bibliothek morgenländischer Erzähler, Band i.)

In this interesting book Dr. Hertel, whose numerous writings on the Pañcatantra have established his position as one of the highest authorities on the Indian fable literature, translates the fables found in the *Parisīṣṭa-parvan* of the Jaina, Hemacandra, an appendix to that remarkably dreary work, the *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacarita*. He is to be congratulated on the choice of subject, for the fables are quite worth being made known to the student of literature. It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hertel has accomplished very satisfactorily the work of translation. He apologises for the inevitable inability of a translator of an Indian Kāvya to do justice to the form of the original, but the apology is not in place. The simplicity of his prose version is really much more appropriate to the subject-matter of the poem than the elaborate plays on words and the similes of the orthodox Kāvya style, which in the original are incongruously blended with proverbial phrases and popular expressions. Hemacandra cannot be compared as a literary artist with Phædrus or Babrius; he does not even take the trouble to remove the most obvious inconsistencies in the narrative.

On one or two points exception may perhaps be taken to the renderings adopted by Dr. Hertel. In iii, 78, he sees¹ (p. 236) a reference to the crow which dressed itself up in a peacock's feathers, a fable known to Phædrus² and Babrius,³ and Dr. R. Schmidt⁴ has accepted this view. The suggestion would be very interesting if correct, as the word *mayûravvamsaka*, which Dr. Hertel renders as 'false peacock,' occurs in Pāṇini, ii, 1, 72, and thus we would have a striking instance of the importation into Greece of an Indian fable. But Professor Jacobi⁵ has conclusively shown that this cannot be the sense, and that the real meaning is a 'peacock used as a decoy,' or more generally 'traitor,' the sense known to Patañjali, for Hemacandra, in the commentary to his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, recognises that the compound means *mayûra eva vyaṃsakah*, 'the peacock is the betrayer,' and Vardhamāna (A.D. 1140) expressly explains the expression as it occurs in the *Gaṇa* in this sense.

Again, in ii, 317, Dr. Hertel renders⁶ *arthamāteva* as 'like the mother of Artha,' and refers to the fact that in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, iv, 1, 51, Artha is personified as the son of Dharma and Buddhi. The suggestion is ingenious, but hardly convincing; in fact, the reference is rather far-fetched, and, at any rate, the objection he advances to Böhtlingk's rendering, 'eine Mutter mit zutreffendem Namen,' viz. that the following *iva* renders it impossible, is clearly inadequate,⁷ for the use of *iva* to qualify any quasi-metaphorical expression is common from the Vedic literature onwards, *iva* and *eva* being hardly distinguishable

¹ Cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, lxii, 113-18.

² i, 3.

³ lxxii.

⁴ *Z.D.M.G.*, lxii, 119.

⁵ *Z.D.M.G.*, lxii, 358-60.

⁶ Cf. also *Z.D.M.G.*, lxii, 362.

⁷ In any case, it is obvious that no stress can be laid on a distinction of *va* and *ai* in Sanskrit MSS.

in this sense.¹ Or, again, the suggested reading in iii, 124 (p. 267) of *tilaudanādibhiḥ* for *tilodanādibhiḥ* ignores the fact that the Sandhi *o* in the case of *odana* is regularly used in the later literature, and occurs even in some Sūtra texts.²

In connection with his translation Dr. Hertel has published in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lxii, 361-9, contributions to the lexica from the Parisiṣṭaparvan. He points out rightly that the use of *dohada* in i, 246, and elsewhere, is not fully covered by the definition in Böhtlingk's Dictionary. The word, indeed, has hardly received satisfactory treatment even in the new edition of Monier-Williams' Dictionary. The sense *saṃskāradravya* attributed to it by the Śabdārṇava may well be recognised in the Meghadūta, 77; and in the Ratnāvalī (p. 297, l. 32, ed. Cappeller), in the words *aālakusumasaṃpajjanadohalaṇṇ śikkhiā, dohala* cannot well mean anything but 'the mode of satisfying the craving,' which may also be the sense in the Meghadūta.

Dr. Hertel has increased the practical value of his translation by a short introduction on the Jaina religion, based on Bühler and Jacobi's writings, and by a large number of literary references to parallel versions of the fables related. It may be convenient to note that on pp. 242 seq. he gives a translation of the first of the two tales of Śakuni and Śakataṛa, which are found in two MSS. of the Hitopadeśa—one in the Bodleian (MS. Wilson, 341)—and which have been published by himself in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lv, 489 seq.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ For R̥gvedic examples of the use, wrongly called 'late' by Scheftelowitz (*Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda*, p. 79), cf. Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxi, 823. The use is very common in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iii, 2, 6, has *vāghbrāhmaṇam ivopadāharati*, while the parallel Sāṅkhyaṇa Āraṇyaka, viii, 10, has *brāhmaṇam evopadāharati*. Both the Pet. Lexx. and Monier-Williams recognise this use.

² See Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, 320.

THE RISE OF MAN. By Colonel C. R. CONDER, LL.D.,
M.R.A.S. London: John Murray, 1908.

If we were to characterise this work in a single sentence, we should say that it is an impressionist's view of general history, and that many of the writer's impressions are not ours. Colonel Conder claims to treat his subject in a scientific manner; he is never tired of saying that modern views of history are entirely different from the ancient; and yet, if we omit those portions of the work which deal with philology or recent archaeological explorations, we are more reminded of Bossuet's *Histoire Universelle* and similar works than of anything recent. Colonel Conder has had a scientific training; he is an explorer, a philologist, and an archaeologist; and when he talks of Syria and Mesopotamia, of the Accadians Babylonians and Jews, or of the Bedouin or the Turkish Empire, he is always instructive, and usually at his best. Not that he is entirely 'according to Cocker' even here; his transliterations and his dates are not always those which Mr. King has accustomed us to; witness the date he assigns to Hammurabi (2139-2094 B.C., p. 90); but he is entitled to speak on such subjects with the authority of a master, and we must respect his opinion even if we do not agree with it. So also in his dealings with the Moslem world. His picture of the Palestinian peasants haunted by the dread of ghosts and *jinn*s is drawn from the life (pp. 3 and 4), and his account of Islam as a religion is full of the sympathy born of actual contact.

On the other hand, Colonel Conder has many prejudices. He has a great objection to philosophy; the man who invented the lens did more for the world than Plato has done, and the Idealists "confuse the existence of realities with the existence of our perception of realities." He is a good Bible Christian and a hater of priestcraft. He is a philologist, and philology supplies him with the key

to the original habitat of man, which he locates in the barren mountains of Armenia; he will have nothing to do with anthropology in determining questions of race or of primitive religion. Lastly, he is an Orientalist, and everywhere exalts the great Oriental empires at the expense of the Western ones. His predilections show themselves even in little things. Thus he depreciates S. Sophia, the *chef d'œuvre* of Justinian, because it is Byzantine, and lauds the Dome of the Rock, a beautiful but minor Byzantine work, because it was erected by order of a Caliph. His utter failure to understand the work of Rome and of the Roman Empire would alone suffice in our opinion to put him out of court as a historian of mankind.

The author states at the outset that his object is to trace the purpose which underlies the social history of man; in other words, despite his dislike of philosophy, he starts with a metaphysical conception, the belief in final causes. With this we have no quarrel; but as Colonel Conder professes to be engaged in a scientific work, we demand that it should be treated scientifically. Many devout believers, like the late Bishop Stubbs and Professor Laurent, have held the same belief, and yet have denied that a science of history is possible. On the other hand, a recent scientific work, while discarding final causes altogether, professes to show that man is the half-way house between the perishing brute and immortality. Some men—for instance, members of the Royal Society, Professors, possibly literary men, and so forth—have a fair chance of becoming immortals; the savage certainly has none. The poets are prophets, and in this matter Browning sixty years ago anticipated the *savant*. However, to return, Colonel Conder, having started with his thesis, a thesis which we ourselves accept, ought at least to have referred to the difficulties which lie in the way of scientific proof; the great part

which personality and what we call chance play in the ordering of events, and the impossibility of verification or prediction. A still greater defect is that we are nowhere told what this purpose is. We are vaguely assured that "natural causes—causes over which man had no control—brought about the great changes which resulted in the spread of knowledge and in the taming of wild tribes," a statement which is only partially true. We are further told that "the Christianity fitted to 'overcome the world' cannot be that of the dark ages or of the stormy days of Reformation. It cannot even be that of the Fathers or of the Apostles, though it will be that of Saint Francis and of Penn," a statement which the opponents of the Cowper-Temple clause would dispute. The Dean of Westminster once said that every historian was of necessity an optimist; this is also Colonel Conder's opinion and the opinion of most Englishmen; but we have still to take into account the pessimism of French writers and of the *fin du siècle* literature. If we add two statements incidentally made, the first that differentiation is the necessary antecedent of a higher unity, an idea so magnificently treated by Hegel in his epoch-making Philosophy of History, the second that the main duty of the individual is to transmit its experience (not its personality) to its offspring, a physiological idea, we have the sum-total, so far as we can gather, of Colonel Conder's teaching regarding the main object of his book. We hardly required 350 pages to prove such vague truisms and generalities.

In truth the value of the work lies neither in its science or its philosophy. We have neither a study of institutions, or demonstration by the comparative method, or analysis of religious psychology, or a study of environment, or any of those things to which recent writers have accustomed us. We have a readable and lively, although partial, sketch of general history, occasionally illuminated by

special knowledge, but often disfigured by dogmatic pronouncements on very disputable matters. Colonel Conder's dogmatism is disconcerting even when we are inclined to agree with him, as we often are. Of course, the temptation to dogmatise must be great when one has to discuss everything in human history from neolithic skulls to Professor Cheyne's latest opinions, and that within the compass of 350 pages. We are only thankful that he did not begin his history of mankind, like a good friend of ours, with the nebular theory. We grant all this, and still—and still—we could have wished that Colonel Conder's statements were less rash, his pronouncements less dogmatic.

The general reader, however, will find in the work much that is entertaining, and some things which are probably new to him. Excluding a brief introduction, the book falls into two parts. The first part, of about 150 pages, is devoted, half of it to a study of early man, his original habitat, the origin of race, and the prehistoric migrations, the other half to a general history of civilisation from the time of Gudea of Tell Loh, say 2800 B.C., down to the present time, special attention being paid to the history of the Asiatic monarchies, ancient and mediæval. The second part, of about 200 pages, is taken up with the history of religion, commencing with animism and magic and culminating in a history of Christianity. In this part we have an elaborate argument for the antiquity of the Pentateuch, since Colonel Conder, like a good many archaeologists, belongs to the conservative school of Biblical critics. Ranging over such a multitude of subjects, the specialist will cry halt at many a passage. For instance, since one-quarter of the work is devoted to early man, we should have thought that an account of the numerous centres of prehistoric civilisation would have formed a fitter introduction to the main business of the book than speculative questions about primitive man, of whom we

know nothing, or questions of the origin of race, which, *pace* Colonel Conder, cannot be settled by philology. Some such account should certainly have been included, since the continuity of history is the theme which Colonel Conder had to illustrate, and a study of the prehistoric civilisations is the obvious starting-point. He devotes a good deal of space, it is true, to the early migrations of men, but most of what he says is founded upon philological speculations, and therefore, in our opinion, upon a very insecure basis. On the other hand, there is a mass of archæological and ethnological evidence regarding the condition and distribution of prehistoric men in Europe, Asia, and North Africa which should have been utilised. Colonel Conder's account of the neolithic skulls and skeletons of France, Belgium, and Italy, excellent in its way, is the least part of the matter. Again, when we come to recorded history, we miss any clear conception of what civilisation means, and what we are to look for as proved. There is no attempt to show the exact value of each stage of civilisation, its special characteristics, or its contribution to the permanent possessions of mankind. Moreover, we doubt whether the religious aspect of any civilisation can be properly realised apart from its social structure in constructing any true conception of the past. But the field which Colonel Conder's work opens up is so large that it is necessary to resist temptation. Only two little trifles we would note. Why does Colonel Conder say that "Iberians from Spain were *repulsed* by the Silures in Cornwall" (p. 53)? In his note he quotes Tacitus, and Tacitus says that the Silures settled in Cornwall. "*Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt.*" Again, why does he make the English take "Delhi during the seven years' war" (p. 149)? We suppose that Colonel Conder is referring to the battle of Buxar, but it was a long step from Buxar to Delhi. A truce, however, to our criticisms and our questions. If we were attempting the same task,

we would doubtless say much that is equally questionable. We therefore end where we began. The book is the work of an impressionist, but it is one which the general reader can thoroughly enjoy.

J. KENNEDY.

SEMITISCH UND INDOGERMANISCH. VON HERMANN MÖLLER, ordentlicher Professor an der Universität Kopenhagen. H. Hagerup, 1907.

This is the work of one who has tried honestly to show, and not without success, not only that there is connection between the Semitic and Indogermanic languages, but also to give a detailed exposition of the laws which govern the phonology of these two groups. The present part deals with the consonants, and whatever may be the opinion of the reader with regard to the success of the comparisons, the author will doubtless receive the thanks of all those interested in the study for placing the matter so fully before them. Even if we eliminate those comparisons which are necessarily the result of chance, we get in this section of the work, which contains nearly 400 pages, an amount of material which proves an exceedingly close connection at some early period which it is now difficult to estimate.

Under the examples for *r* (§ 3) we find the well-known comparisons of the Heb. *eres*, Assy. *ērītu*, with 'earth,' from an original Indogermanic *er*; the Latin *cornu* with the Heb. *qeren*, as well as such things as the connection of the Arab. reduplicate *tartara*, the Assy. *tarāru*, with the Gk. *τάρταρος*, Lat. *terreo*; the Heb. *qereb*, Assy. *kīrbu* (for *qīrbu*), the Gk. *βρέφος*, 'part of the body,' 'young,' etc. It is also pointed out that there are roots in which the Semitic *r* is represented by *l* in Indogerm.,

especially after labials, as in *p-r*-, 'to be full,' in which the Arab. *u-f-r*-, 'to be or become full,' etc., as well as the Heb. *pārd*, according to Barth, from *p-r-u*-, 'to be numerous' (distinct from *p-r-i*-, 'to bring forth fruit,' which is the Indogerm. *p-l-u*-, 'much'), are compared.

Another series is seen in *d-r*-, 'vian tarere, treten,' lengthened to *d-r-k*₂-, the Heb. *derek*, 'way, road,' with which the author compares the Latin *tero*, 'reibe' > 'betrete.' Lengthened with *d*, it is the English *tread* (*trudge*, if that be not a secondary formation, would be nearer). Connected with the original and pre-Indogermanic *p-r-g*₂-, the author quotes the Gk. *πῑλεος*, 'ax,' the Assyr. *pīlaqu*; and in *g*²-*r*-, 'to swallow,' 'throat,' he sees the Heb. *garm*, 'throat, neck,' whilst the reduplicate Arab. *gargara*, 'he swallowed,' reminds one of 'gargle,' generally derived from the Fr. *gorge*, but possibly imitative, and connected with the Fr. *gargariser*, Lat. *gargarizare*. As is to be expected, other comparisons are less obvious, as the Heb. *qerah*, 'ice, hail, cold,' which the author compares, by a change from *r* to *l*, with *gla* in the Latin *glacies* (Lith. *gėl-menis*, 'violent cold'). The original root is described as being *g*²-*r-n*-, lengthened from *g*²-*r*-, 'to be cold, to freeze.'

Though here and there the etymologies may be regarded as uncertain, and by some as even forced, there is no doubt that it adds much to our knowledge, and is in all probability as thorough a work as can at present be produced upon an exceedingly interesting branch of philology. The author knows the literature of the subject well, and often quotes his predecessor in the field, the Assyriologist, Friedrich Delitzsch.

T. G. PINCHES.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES. Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese. By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE. Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*. Bombay : Bombay Education Society's Press, 1908.

The title of this work sufficiently explains its scope and contents : of the 106 pages which it amounts to in all, the first twenty-three are devoted to the exposition of the author's plan for a systematic universal scheme of grammar ; the thirty-five following contain a grammar of Andamanese (with special reference to the speech of the Bêa tribe) ; and the remaining forty-eight comprise a grammar of Nicobarese (with special reference to the Central dialect of that language), both on the lines of the projected plan.

It would require a very intimate acquaintance with these two languages (such an acquaintance as the author possesses, but very few other Europeans share) to give an adequate estimate of the success of the application of his principles. So far as a mere outsider can judge, his exposition gives a very clear view of two difficult forms of speech, one of which (the Andamanese) is most peculiar and singularly unlike anything that we are accustomed to. So far as this goes, it would seem that the scheme has proved capable of being applied to such cases. It must also be pointed out that it was applied in outline by Mr. Sidney Ray in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1902 to a short text in sixteen selected languages of various types, and in that instance also (so far as the experiment went) it met the requirements of the case.

It seems to me that this is the proper way of testing such a plan ; *solvitur ambulando* is the only practical line to follow. Sir Richard Temple starts *a priori* with the principle that "as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human

beings, there must be some fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be." But is speech a 'convention'? Is it not rather the outcome, to a great extent the unconscious and spontaneous outcome, of the mental nature of those who use it? And are we entitled to assume an identity of such nature throughout the human race? Unquestionably for any speech to develop and maintain itself there must be in the mind of the hearer much the same kind of way of looking at things (whether that be natural or acquired) as in the mind of the speaker, if there is to be a perfect understanding between the two. But speech has not been 'devised' (has not, I should prefer to say, developed) with an end to universal mutual intelligibility, but only for communication within a limited circle, originally probably in all cases very homogeneous from the psychological point of view. It seems to me that the principle from which the author starts is not quite a sure foundation for his system.

Everyone is agreed that writing the grammar of one language on lines derived from another is a fundamental mistake; it would be superfluous at this time of day to insist on the way in which the teaching of English grammar has been needlessly complicated and confused by following the principles of Latin. How much more has the grammar of uninflected, entirely alien languages been mangled by forcing them on to what some one has well styled the 'Procrustean bed' of Indo-European accidence and syntax. Any attempt to strike out a new and improved method of recording such fundamentally alien languages must be welcomed. The author, following a hint given by the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, has thought it necessary to devise a set of entirely new technical grammatical terms for the parts of speech; our old friends the noun, verb, etc., are replaced by such new ones as indicator, predicator, and so forth. This, it is to be

feared, will prove a stumbling-block to many; nothing is so much a matter of habit as the use of an old-established terminology, and it cannot be denied that the introduction of a completely different one puts a considerable strain on the attention and memory of the reader; like the suggested new phonetic spelling, it worries him. On the other hand, there is the advantage claimed for it that it is free from the misleading associations of the old set of terms.

Certainly that is true, so far as matters of accidence are concerned; the word 'predicator' conveys to us no suggestion of conjugation, with its complexities of voice, mood, tense, and so forth. From these it is entirely abstracted, which is no doubt a great point gained, assuming that the word 'verb' was, in fact, by reason of early associations incapable of being freed from these ideas. But I am not sure that even this is the conclusion of the matter. What about syntax? Sir Richard Temple begins his analysis of speech with the sentence: rightly, as I conceive it, and, indeed, almost necessarily. A sentence, however, may, as he justly remarks, be composed of one word or more (in either case, to be a sentence it is necessary that it should be capable of conveying a complete meaning). It is when we come to analyse the sentence that the difficulties begin. For the very next step in the argument is that when a sentence consists of more than one word, it has two parts, the subject and the predicate, the matter to be discussed or communicated and the discussion or communication of it. On the face of it, this proposition seems incontrovertible. But are we not here already getting involved in our European (or Indo-European) system of logic, the product of our particular mental idiosyncrasy arrived at by the analysis of our own languages, which themselves are products of our mental characteristics? For it very soon becomes plain that the new term 'predicator' is but the old

verb "writ large." But that assumes a system of syntax fundamentally, in its broad outlines at least, resembling ours, with the noun (or its substitutes) as subject, the verb (or its substitutes and amplifications) as predicate, and so on into the further subdivisions of the analysis.

Is this system, which is so familiar to us that we find it difficult to think at all outside the lines that it lays down, really of universal and exclusive validity? Is it not possible to conceive a language that should marshal its parts of speech (i.e. represent the mental relation of its ideas) in quite another way? Why should the verb necessarily fall into the predicative part of the sentence? Could it not just as well be the other way about? By this I do not mean anything analogous to the old Indo-European verb, in which the inflectional suffixes embody a pronominal subject; here it is open to anyone to make the analysis into subject (represented by the pronominal termination) and predicate (being what is left of the verb shortened of its pronominal termination). What I conceive as possible is the treatment of the verbal idea, the action, process, or (if one may so style it) the dynamic element of the sentence, as the subject, making the words that we should take as subject, object, etc., subordinate to it, while the real predicate (which in an affirmative sentence of this sort would be merely an affirmation that the action expressed by the verb-subject is an actuality) would either be represented by a particle of affirmation or be already implicitly involved in the form of the verb-subject itself.

To me such a syntactical system, strangely different as it is from the normal form of our own, seems quite conceivable, nay more, I believe it to exist sometimes as a fact. Take as an example the following Malay sentence (not made up by myself *ad hoc*, but extracted from Gerth van Wijk's "Sprakleer der Maleische Taal," 2nd ed., p. 96, and presumably derived from a genuine Malay prose-work):
di-chium-nya dan di-tangis-nya oleh bonda-nya akan

anak-nya itu (I spell it in our English quasi-Hunterian fashion, not in the Dutch spelling of the original). Now, of course, we can render this into English simply thus: "the mother kissed and wept over her child." No question here but that the mother is the subject of the sentence. But that is not the way in which the sentence presents itself to a Malay. The verbs *di-chium* and *di-tangis* are passive in form, and the mother is the *agent*. Why not, then, render it (into less idiomatic English) "the child was kissed and wept over by its mother"? The objection to this is that it does not grammatically represent the original any more than the first rendering did. *Akan anak-nya itu* cannot be the subject, grammatically, because *akan* is a preposition used to connect a verb *with its object*. If we want to analyse the sentence literally as it stands, we must construe it thus: *di-chium*, 'was kissed' (impersonal, simply expressing the actuality of the fact that kissing occurred); *nya*, 'by her' (i.e. the mother); *dan*, 'and'; *di-tangis*, 'was wept' (impersonal, like the preceding verb); *nya*, 'by her' (i.e. the mother); *oleh*, 'by'; *bonda*, 'mother'; *nya*, 'of it' (i.e. of the child); *akan*, 'over' (literally 'to'); *anak*, 'child'; *nya*, 'of her' (i.e. of the mother); *itu*, 'that' (but it has not in this context much more force than our definite article 'the'). If one would render it into something like English as nearly as possible as it stands, it would be "there was kissing and weeping by its mother over that her child."

In this rendering we have been forced by the structure of our own language to analyse the passive impersonal verbs *di-chium* and *di-tangis* into (1) the verbal nouns 'kissing' and 'weeping,' plus (2) a verb of affirmation, 'there was'; but then we see that in the original the kissing and weeping really embody the subject, both grammatical and psychological, of the sentence, and that both the subject (which is further qualified by the words expressing the relations to it of the mother and child

respectively) and the predicate (the affirmation of the actual occurrence as a fact) are contained in the two verbs. I confess that I am unable to fit such a sentence into Sir Richard Temple's scheme without doing violence to its natural structure, and I suspect that similar difficulties may occur in the case of other languages, especially in such sentences as we are accustomed to call impersonal. No doubt all such expressions can, by the exercise of a certain amount of ingenuity, be twisted into any system of syntax; but does not this greatly resemble the old Procrustean treatment that we all want to have done with? I confess that this seems to me an almost inevitable consequence of any system of grammatical terminology arrived at *a priori* and aiming at universality of application.

What, then, can one do to get over the difficulty? Every language (or group of similar languages) has its own set of parts of speech, resembling to some extent no doubt but not exactly coinciding with those of other tongues, and uses them in its own way. The task of the student of any language is to discover what, in that particular language, the parts of speech are and how they are used. When he has collected his individual facts and tabulated them, then only can he draw up his final terminology for the parts of speech and his rules for their use, arriving at them inductively from observation of the individual phenomena of the particular language. Such, it appears to me, is the really scientific order of proceeding. But it stands to reason that while he is carrying on his investigations, the student must have some provisional general scheme in his mind of what he is looking for, and that seems to me to be where the utility of Sir Richard Temple's plan comes in. As a provisional formal system of verbal categories I conceive that it may be of great service in the nature of a general ground-plan; probably in the majority of cases it would be sufficient in itself,

though in some instances it might need to be supplemented or modified to meet special requirements. It might be necessary in the case of some languages to give somewhat different definitions of his terms, or perhaps to add to them by subdividing some of them. But the general framework of the terminology might remain.

To what extent precisely the terminology as a whole will be conveniently applicable to any particular language, can (I think) only be ascertained by experiment. No doubt it is true, as Sir Richard Temple remarks, that *accidence* arises properly out of syntax. But this really means that the *accidence* of a language arises out of its own syntax, and it is conceivable that forcing a language into a syntactical scheme that is not really its own may result in singularly complicating the rules we shall have to draw up when we come to the delineation of its *accidence*. Would it, to take an example given by Sir Richard Temple, be an advantage (either from the theoretical and systematic, or the practical point of view) to class the Latin form *domino* as an *illustrator* (adverb)? One does not feel sure that it would conduce to easier comprehension; the relations between form and function are so complex and irregular that it seems best to keep the two things as much as possible apart; but, at any rate, one must not allow the study of the one to put difficulties into the study of the other.

It is impossible, within the limited time and space available, to attempt to touch upon, let alone discuss, all the points which this highly suggestive scheme seems to raise. The reader should turn to it himself and study it with the attention it deserves and requires, for it is not by any means easy reading, as was inevitable from the nature of its subject, but it deals very thoroughly (if its initial postulates be granted) with the principles involved. There is in places a good deal of repetition, but every separate proposition deserves to be critically

considered and practically tested. This, however, is really outside the competence of a mere reviewer, who must necessarily confine his remarks to a very limited number of salient points, whereas the work ought really to be exhaustively discussed by specialists from various points of view in articles of adequate length.

I cannot part from this work without saying a few words about the two languages which are discussed in it. Both are of very special interest. The Andamanese because it is the speech of one of the most primitive, perhaps really quite the most primitive, of the races of man. The Negritos, both in their physical and mental characteristics, in their social condition and in their beliefs, have a strong claim to represent primitive man more closely and correctly than any other surviving race. It so happens that most of the Negrito communities, even such as have preserved a relative (though not unmixed) purity of blood, in other parts of their old domain have lost their own languages and adopted those of alien, more civilised neighbours. This is the case in the Malay Peninsula, where the Sēmangs speak a substantially Mon-Khmer language, and also in the Philippines, where they speak a Malayo-Polynesian one. In the Andaman Islands, on the other hand, they have preserved their own tongue, and a very curious one it is. Like most languages of 'simple savages,' it is anything but simple in its etymological structure. But the most characteristic and interesting thing about it is its intensely anthropomorphic point of view. The Andamanese refers everything (that is in anywise capable of such reference) to himself, and not merely to himself as an individual but to the several parts of the human body, divided into some half a dozen classes, under such leading ideas as 'head,' 'hand,' 'mouth,' 'eye,' etc., with which more or less closely connected ones are grouped. Each such group is represented by a prefix, which has to be prefixed for instance to

adjectives when used either with reference to any such part of the body or to other things which are conceived, by some remote analogy obscure to our modes of thought, as being connected with one or other of the groups. The result is a kind of 'concord' far more elaborate than that which results from our Indo-European genders and numbers. But what makes it so peculiarly interesting is the glimpse that it affords into the point of view of the Andamanese: if primitive man shared it with them, it would seem that to him his body and its parts were the real centre of his 'kosmos'; a somewhat more than Ptolemaic attitude of mind, one might style it.

Nicobarese is the speech of a much more advanced race. Its chief importance lies in the fact that having (like Andamanese) developed on its own ground, relatively free from disturbing foreign influences, it is a very archaic representative of the family of languages from which it sprang, and ought to be made the starting-point for a comparative study of all the allied groups, particularly the Mon-Khmer and Munḍa groups, Khasi, and the Sakai and Sēmang dialects of the Malay Peninsula. Some beginning has already been made in this comparative study by Professor W. Schmidt, and it is to be regretted that Sir Richard Temple has not availed himself of it to revise the Table of Comparative Roots and Words (of Nicobarese, the Malay Peninsula dialects, and Mon-Khmer) on pp. 95-7 of his work. This is based on tentative comparisons made by myself a good many years ago, and though some of them have turned out to be right, others have been upset by newer data, and the list is by no means up to date. Subsequent investigations have added considerably to the number of words that are known to be common to these different languages. Nicobarese has, however, some points apparently peculiar to itself and not found in the allied languages. One of its marked characteristics is an extensive use of suffixes to

differentiate roots and stems with reference to differences of direction, such as northwards, downwards, inwards, towards self, towards the landing-place, and so forth. These seem to play a great part in the formation of the language.

Another point which strikes one in looking through Sir Richard Temple's grammar of the language is the section dealing with the particles which he styles 'connectors of intimate relation.' These, it must be confessed, remain somewhat of a mystery; apparently they partake of the nature of prepositions, yet in their use they sometimes perform (it seems) the functions of what we should call the copula. I am not sure that Sir Richard Temple's account of them, which is necessarily involved with his analysis of the sentences in which they occur, can always be accepted as satisfactory. For instance, he says that one of the functions of the 'connector of intimate relation,' *ta*, is to connect the indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective), and gives as an example, *inter alia*, the sentence *inbat ta shong ôt*, literally 'knife c.i.r. sharp is' = 'the knife is sharp,' which he analyses thus: *inbat ta shong* = subject, *ôt* ('is') = predicate. I should have thought that *shong*, 'sharp,' was an essential part of the predicate here; if not, surely the sentence would have to mean 'the sharp knife exists' or 'there is a sharp knife'? Similarly, in the sentence *kenyüm tai an ta fñowa*, literally 'child by he c.i.r. beat' = 'the child was beaten by him,' I should have thought that *fñowa* was performing the function of a predicator (verb), not (as Sir Richard Temple considers) of an explicator (adjective); if it were the latter, it seems to me that the words could only mean 'the child beaten by him.' However that may be, it is plain that this subject of 'connectors of intimate relation' calls for more detailed investigation, and I venture to think that a careful and comprehensive analysis of the uses of these particles will

throw a flood of light on the inner syntactical structure of the language. In this respect they remind me of the so-called 'ligations' of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, the real nature of which was for a long time an absolute mystery, and is in fact still in course of being elucidated by patient comparative study.

I cannot here even allude to the other sections of the Nicobarese grammar; both in it and in the Andamanese there is a large amount of valuable matter, systematically arranged and clearly set forth. It whets one's appetite for more, for it must be borne in mind that only one out of the twelve forms of Andamanese and only one out of the six dialects of Nicobarese have as yet been at all adequately studied and made available as material for further studies.¹ In view of the fact that these two languages occupy such a singularly important place and are of such special interest from the purely linguistic point of view (for, of course, as practical media of intercourse or as vehicles of literature they do not count), does not the further and more comprehensive study of them present itself as one of the most immediate desiderata of linguistic science? The urgency of the case is accentuated by the fact that the populations which speak them are not only falling more and more under foreign influence, but actually dwindling in numbers and probably dying out, so that these languages are in danger of becoming extinct. I venture to commend their cause to the Linguistic Survey of India (if it has not already extended its sphere of operations so as to include them) as being eminently deserving of its prompt attention.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

¹ When writing this I had for the moment forgotten Portman's and de Rossetorff's works on some of the other Andamanese and Nicobarese languages respectively. But even allowing for these, much still remains to be done.

GESCHICHTE DES ÖSMANISCHEN REICHES. Nach den Quellen dargestellt von N. JORGA, Professor in der Universität Bukarest. Erster Band (bis 1451). Gotha, 1908. (Thirty-sixth work in the series called *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, edited by Heeren, Ukert, etc.)

The nineteenth century produced two voluminous works on Ottoman history, based on extensive research, those of von Hammer and of Zinkeisen. The latter writer thought it unlikely that any other work on the same subject would enjoy the favour which was accorded to von Hammer's history, and though its success could not be compared to that attained by Prescott's or Motley's masterpieces, it was translated into more than one language, and some volumes at least reached a second edition. The fate of this work suggests the consoling thought that all the books of the same author are not necessarily tarred with the same brush, for among Orientalists von Hammer's name was proverbial (and indeed is still so) for bad scholarship and impossible renderings. Zinkeisen, whose work bears date 1840-63, was not an Orientalist, and confines himself to the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Being cautious, he makes few mistakes in Oriental matters, and displays many of the gifts which go to make a great historian.

The author of the new history is an accomplished linguist, who not only writes in English, French, German, and Rumanian, but can quote books in Hungarian and other less known languages of Europe. Having access to materials which few Western writers can use, he has been able to record many new details of the advance whereby the Ottoman conquerors became the terror of Christian states. For these, perhaps, and in any case for his bibliographical notes, students of the subject have reason to be grateful. It seems desirable to insist on these merits because the following considerations render further commendation difficult.

The first complaint is that the author has not read his own book with sufficient care, whence "the figure of speech called self-contradiction" is exceedingly common. Page 306, Soliman is Bayazid's eldest son, but p. 309 his eldest son is Ertogrul, who dies in that capacity, p. 319; Soliman figures in the subsequent history. Page 348, Fruzin is the sole offspring of Shishman, but another son is mentioned on p. 309, whose name we learn on p. 363 was Alexander. Page 38, Alp Arslan is the son of Togrul-Beg, but p. 44 he is his nephew. Page 342, Theodoros, "the new despot," is the brother of the Emperor Manuel, but p. 374 the son. Page 279, John V is the grandfather of his nephew. Page 328, Soliman, son of Bayazid, leaves his brother Urkhan and his sister Fatma Khatun as hostages in Constantinople, but on p. 361 Kassim is substituted for Urkhan without any explanation. Sometimes this inconsistency extends beyond questions of relationship: p. 183, "as in the battle with the Servians the Unbelievers dismount from their horses"; but in the description of that battle, p. 181, we are told that the 'Unbelievers' were mere infantry (*lauter Fussvolk*), who had escaped from a fleet that had been 'annihilated' (*vernichtet*), itself no ordinary achievement.

A rather more serious charge concerns the author's treatment of the Mohammedan languages. Acquaintance with these may not be necessary for a historian of the Ottoman Empire, but no writer should satisfy himself with guesswork when knowledge is obtainable. Mr. Jorga's renderings of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words appear to be often pure divination, and his shots, though they come near the mark, frequently fail to hit it. Page 58, the *Kutbehs* are rendered 'the pulpits of the mosques' (*die Kanzeln der Moscheen*); they mean 'the sermons.' Page 35, we are told that *Imam* means 'mosque'; it means 'leader in prayer.' For the word

Ghazi three guesses are given: 'hero' (p. 135), *Triumphator* (p. 308), *tapfer* (p. 152); it means 'one who raids the unbelievers.' Page 152, we are twice told that *Shah* means 'martyr for the faith,' and p. 264 the same sense is given the word *Sahib*. The word intended is probably *shahid*. If Mr. Jorga could be believed, the Turkish language must be very rich in synonyms for 'lame,' *hinkend*, by which he renders not only *lenk* of Timurlenk, but *kutz* (p. 108), *kötürüm* (p. 307), *kutluk* (p. 142).

In the sixth century of Islam, and perhaps earlier, titles compounded with *dîn*, 'religion,' became common, e.g., Shams al-dîn, Najm al-dîn. The statement, therefore (p. 59), that the Caliph gave 'Malekschach' the fine Arabic name Dschelal-ed-dewlet ueddin contains no serious error, though the same cannot be said of the following clause, that he made him the first Emir-el-mumenin out of the hitherto despised Turkish race, for that name signifies Caliph, and Malikshah never was Caliph. [This statement is copied by Mr. Jorga from de Guignes, who took it from D'Herbelot, who appears to have carelessly read the real title of Malikshah *yamîn amîr al-Mu'minîn*, 'right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.'] Presently Mr. Jorga changes his opinion as to the language to which these words belong: p. 145 Nasreddin is called a fine *Persian* name, and p. 308 someone, we are told, was called Burchaneddin (*sic*) in *persischer gelehrter Sprache*. The number of these compounds appears to be augmented by the addition of 'Seinabeddin' (p. 309).

It is a result of this procedure that the Oriental names are written with no attempt at consistency, and often mutilated beyond recognition. Page 35 we are told that the Oriental equivalent of Pissasirios is Nessasiri. Page 126 Dschingiz is written, p. 127 Tschingiz, and p. 130 Dschingiz; p. 26 Boehra and Bogra; p. 131 Ghajaseddin, and p. 134 Gajaseddin; p. 120 Azzeddin, but p. 119 Aseddin; the right form is Izz eddin. The name

Kâsim appears as Kassim (p. 361), Kassum (p. 385), Chasim (p. 77), Khasim (p. 79). A curious distinction is made between the Turkish Sultan and the Egyptian Sudan (pp. 216, 406, etc.) or Soudan (pp. 315, 316, etc.). Perhaps the conjecture may be hazarded that the author confused the Mamluk ruler of Egypt with the country south of Egypt, where Lord Kitchener "strake the field."

The statements which deal with Moslem history and institutions can scarcely be described in courteous language. That which "takes the cake," to use Aristophanes's phrase, occurs p. 64, where we are told that the Sunnism accepted by the Turks, which denied the legitimacy of the first Caliphs, who had set aside the right of Ali to the inheritance, appeared too coarse to the followers of the Emir Hassan (Şabâh). Merely to indicate that this extraordinary misconception is not isolated, we may comment on the statement of p. 44 that Togrul-Beg "in his extreme old age enjoyed the great honour of giving his daughter in marriage to the Caliph Kaim." Now, since we are told on p. 36 that Togrul had already compelled the Caliph to marry his sister, the honour of giving the Caliph his daughter also would have been doubtful. Both statements are erroneous. The honour which Togrul coveted and finally obtained with difficulty was the hand of the Caliph's daughter for himself; Ibn al-Athir narrates the scene, in which the Caliph's daughter treats her bridegroom with lofty contempt, in a way that engraves it on the memory. On the other hand, it was not Togrul's daughter, but his niece, who was the Caliph's wife. On p. 26 Christian influence is proved by the use of such common Moslem names as Musa and Junis, the latter wrongly identified with John.

The errors which render this book generally untrustworthy are due to several causes—the employment of antiquated authorities, of unreliable authorities, careless reading, and the practice of following different sources on

different pages without examining their mutual relation. Several of the errors already noted are taken over from de Guignes, whose work bears date 1756. To illustrate the latter practice we shall take an example from pp. 38 and 61.

On the former page we read—

"Togrul was no ruler in the Byzantine style. Without reference to the head of the family, any of his relations could of his own initiative and on his own responsibility start military operations. Kutulmiz, his cousin, son of Israil, fights quite at the beginning against the Arab Koraisch, the Karbesios of the Byzantines. Then he leaves the service of Togrul and betakes himself as a rebel to the Kharezmiian country, in the neighbourhood of the 'black sand' of his fathers. The Emir has to make an expedition in order to attack him. At a later period we see the same Kutulmiz with his brother Abimelech again in the ranks of the soldiers of the Sultan. . . . Finally, during a fresh rebellion, Kutulmiz is killed by the soldiers of his young relative, Alp-Arslan, son of Togrul."

Page 61 gives the following information:—"In the neighbouring Syrian oasis, where rise the walls of Damascus, rules Kutulmisch, a weighty factor in Turkish history, whom we shall soon meet in another place."

Surely the reader would not suspect that Kutulmiz, whose career is recounted on p. 38, is identical with Kutulmisch, who is introduced on p. 61. Yet the fact is that they are identical.

Page 62 we are told that Soliman, founder of the Seljukid dynasty of Iconium, was the son of Kutulmisch of Damascus. The father of Soliman is identified by the historians (see e.g. Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane, iii, 231) with the personage who died in battle with Alp Arslan. And, indeed, Mr. Jorga identifies the two on p. 74. But how comes Kutulmisch to be connected with Damascus? Here Mr. Jorga is following Vámbéry and Röhricht. The latter refers (*Geschichte des ersten Kreuz-zuges*, p. 228) to Defrémery (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. iv, vol. xi,

p. 453). The Persian chronicle which Defrémery translates states that Damascus was assigned to Kutulmush; but the learned editor points out in his note on the same page that this is an obvious error in the Persian chronicle, and to be corrected Tutush. Hence "Kutulmisch of Damascus" should not have figured in a book bearing date 1908.

The paragraph of p. 38 is taken from de Guignes and Cedrenus. Neither of these sources accounts for the form Kutulmiz, which should mean the opposite of the other. The purpose of the paragraph is to show that any of Togrul-Beg's relations, without reference to the head of the family, could start military operations on his own account. The first example adduced is that of his cousin Kutulmiz fighting against the Arab Koraish. We look up the passage in Cedrenus, and there find that Kutulmush was *sent by the Sultan* to fight against Karbesius! "Then he leaves the service of Togrul"; Cedrenus says that he *fled* from it, fearing execution on the ground of his defeat. "At a later time we find him with his brother Abimelech again in the ranks of the Sultan's soldiers." This is attested neither by Cedrenus nor de Guignes; what they both assert is that the brother of Kutulmush, Abumelek (an impossible name in this context), commanded the Sultan's forces, not that K. was with his brother.

The reader of p. 61 who trusts the promise that he is to meet K. in another place, and there find him a weighty factor in Turkish history, will be disappointed. Kutulmisch does not appear on the scene again. For him is substituted his son Soliman (p. 62), called there "the aforementioned son of K.," although he has not been mentioned before.

The work of tracing the author's contradictory assertions to their sources and discovering how they arose is highly instructive, but if the author intended this form of exercise, it is to be regretted that he did not provide the book

with fuller and more accurate references. Thus for the statements on pp. 62, 63 reference is made to a publication cited as *Notes et Extraits*; its correct title is *Notices et Extraits*. Often, however, no references are given, and this seems to be furnishing the reader with a problem somewhat like Daniel's.

Page 149 Soliman, grandfather of Osman, is called "the modest captain of a fragment of the great Mongol army"; in the preceding paragraph we learned that he with his "some hundred dwellers in tents was uprooted from his soil of Turkestan hard by the desert by the great Mongol invasion, and left behind on the Upper Euphrates." The only way in which these statements can be reconciled is the supposition that the Mongol army compelled Soliman to join with them in their invasion, in the style of an avalanche, but in the course of their march suffered him and his followers to remain behind. The German words are *diesen bescheidenen Häuptling eines kleinen Splitters des grossen mongolischen Heeres, and am oberen Euphrates zurückgelassen*. The authority cited for these statements is the Turkish chronicle of Sa'd al-din, the same as already employed by Hammer and Zinkeisen. Of course, Sa'd al-din does not bear these statements out. What he says is that the ancestors of Osman, who lived in Mahan (a city in Kerman, not Turkestan), on the approach of Jingiz Khan, removed to Armenia and Khilat, and that Soliman, fearing lest that country too should be conquered by the Mongols, fled to Rûm. Neshri, however, says that the family having been settled 160 years at Khilat, on the approach of Jinghiz Khan, one of its members, Soliman Shah, fled to Erzinghan. It is difficult to see how a less accurate representation of Sa'd al-din's statements could have been given than that which Mr. Jorga furnishes. He must either have misunderstood the Latin of Leunclavius or the Italian of Bratutti, or else one of those authors must have misunderstood the Turkish of Sa'd al-din.

The following is the account given of the expedient whereby the dying emperor Manuel and John VIII caused Murad to raise the siege of Constantinople (p. 381):—

“Manuel and John knew of a safe expedient for getting rid of the enemy. The dead Sultan had left a second son, a fresh Mustafa, to whom the administration of the province Hamid had been entrusted. Murad had not possessed the courage or the cruelty to put him forcibly out of the way in Osmanli style at his accession. The young Mustafopulos of the Greeks was now brought to Constantinople. He arrived September 30th. The following day he paid a ceremonial visit to his aged ‘father’ the Emperor, whom the Turks, owing to his great age, compared to their prophet Mohammed. Still, the new heir to the Ottoman empire came only as far as Selymbria. But, in fact, on the first intelligence that the young prince was on his way to Europe, Murad had withdrawn his forces to Adrianople.”

What puzzled the reviewer in this passage was how a man could, owing to his great age, be compared to the Prophet Mohammed, when the latter died at the age of 63. Reference to the authorities not only explained this point, but (as elsewhere) showed that the paragraph was otherwise infelicitous. Phrantzes, from whom the comparison to the Prophet is taken, says the likeness was in majesty, not age. The meaning of the next sentence, “still, the new heir came only as far as Selymbria,” cannot be easily ascertained. If it means that he did not get to Constantinople, then it contradicts what has preceded; if it means that, having left Constantinople, he got no further than Selymbria, it is contradicted by p. 384, where we learn that he got as far as Nicæa, which he took. Apparently, however, this sentence was written by the author before he had read Phrantzes’s sentence to the end. The second sentence of the paragraph should have been modified somewhat in consideration of the fact attested by all the sources that this Mustafa was a child, 6 or 13, who acted under guardians. The third sentence is against the statement of Ducas that Murad

had killed another child-brother, and this Mustafa had been stealthily rescued. For the rest of the story the critical historian is von Hammer, who omits this visit to Constantinople as a fiction. For what purpose could this Mustafa's advisers have had in sending him into the thick of danger, when the chance of success lay in seizing Asia when Murad was absent? Moreover, the notion of Moslems comparing the dying Greek to their Prophet in any respect whatever does not commend itself to students of Moslem ways. The story of Sa'd al-din, who makes no allusion to Greek intrigue in this abortive insurrection, reads very much more like the truth.

One more example and the reviewer will have finished. Page 170 we are told that Andronikos, making a naval expedition in order to restore Chios and Phocæa (two possessions of a disobedient Genoese) to the empire, was met by the Emir of Miletus, who, as he on his side declared himself *ἔκσπονδος* to the Emperor and offered tribute, was made to participate in the same honour by imperial gifts. Since *ἔκσπονδος* means 'out of treaty with' in classical Greek, it seemed worth while looking the passage up in Cantacuzenus (i. 388) to see what it could mean in Byzantine. Reference to the original showed that the word used was not *ἔκσπονδος*, but *ἐκσπονδος*; that the Emir was declared *ἐκσπονδος* by the Emperor, and not by himself, and that there was nothing about offering tribute. Further, the same page showed that these were not possessions of *one* Genoese, but of *two*.

It is evidently unnecessary to discuss the author's ostensible preference for Greek to Turkish authorities on Ottoman history, or to examine his general opinions on the latter, which exhibit the same degree of consistency as his statements about relationships. Indeed, it is not quite clear why he calls his work a History of the Ottoman Empire, so small is the space which he devotes to Ottoman affairs; the title History of the Balkan States or of the

Byzantine Empire would have been equally appropriate. On the important institution of the Janissaries he has two lines (p. 209), the purpose of which seems to be to give the word an impossible spelling, *Jeni-Schehri* for *چری*, with an improbable interpretation, *neue eigentlich auch im Sinne von jungen Soldaten*. Perhaps this, too, is from Leunclavius, and a fresh illustration of this historian's method of going to "original sources."

D. S. M.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1904-5; pp. 169; 40 plates. Royal 4to. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India; 1908.)

Owing to some delay for which Mr. Marshall at any rate is not responsible, this Report has come to hand so near the time for making up this number of our Journal that it can only be noticed very briefly.

Except for a statement of general progress, written by the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Konow, the epigraphic portion of the volume (pp. 126-45) is confined to two inscriptions of the time of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. (about A.D. 907-47), edited and translated by Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya, from Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district, Madras. These records were selected for publication because of the light which they throw on certain details of village-administration in Southern India in the tenth century A.D. They deal with the subject of village-committees; defining the qualifications for membership, and prescribing the method of election. Five committees are named; the 'annual committee,' the 'garden committee,' the 'tank committee,' the 'Pañchavāra committee' (perhaps a committee of general supervision over the others), and the 'gold committee' (which is

supposed to have been concerned with the regulation of the currency): and there is an incidental reference to a sixth, the 'committee for supervision of justice.' For the purposes of nomination for election, the village was divided into wards and streets; and the election was managed on the ballot-system, by written tickets, deposited in a pot, and drawn therefrom by a boy unable to read,—so that he could not possibly influence the election. The committees—at any rate the first three—were appointed annually. And the conditions attending the selection of members seem decidedly interesting: some of them were as follows. Except in the case of the 'annual committee,' membership of which seems to have been confined to persons advanced in years and wisdom and of tried service, people who had served during the preceding three years on any of the committees were not eligible for immediate re-election to either the same or any other committee: and it appears that, with the same exception, no one was eligible for re-election to any committee on which he had already once served. Close relations of retiring members were disqualified from standing for election. So, also, persons of general bad behaviour, and those committing certain stated offences and even (what we might call) mere peccadilloes. Any member of a committee found guilty of any offence, was to be removed at once. And, not only was a defaulting member of a committee—one who had failed to submit his accounts—excluded from standing for re-election, but also his misconduct barred even his father, his son, his father-in-law, his son-in-law, and a large circle of other specified relatives and connections. In the light of certain recent disclosures, it might sometimes prove difficult, under such rules, to arrange for carrying on our own system of local self-government!

In the remaining part of the volume, the most attractive articles are those by Dr. Vogel on the excavations at Kasia

(pp. 43-58; plates 6-14), by Mr. Oertel on the excavations at Sarnāth (pp. 59-104; plates 15-32), and by Mr. Marshall himself on a new type of pottery from Baluchistan (p. 105 f.; plates 33, coloured, and 34). For the substance of these, we must refer our readers to the volume itself: we confine ourselves to an incidental comment. Dr. Vogel has spoken (p. 52), and so has Mr. Oertel (p. 87), of coins of Kanishka which shew "the four-armed Ugra-Śiva": is there any basis for their use of this appellation beyond an influence of the old mistaken belief that the name Okro (supposed to represent Ugra) is to be found on coins of the Kanishka series which present, along with both the four-armed and the two-armed Śiva, a name, in Greek characters, of which the real transliteration is Oēsho, Oēsha, Oēzo?

The volume is well illustrated throughout, by numerous 'text illustrations' in addition to the forty Plates. And it fully maintains the high standard of excellence reached by its two predecessors.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1908.)

I.—GENERAL MEETING OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL

July 1st, 1908.

LORD REAY: Lord George Hamilton, ladies, and gentlemen,—We are again assembled for this extremely pleasant function of presenting the Society's Public School Medal to the boy who has come out first in the annual competition. You are aware that the medal has been won for Harrow by Mr. H. K. Lunn for his essay on Lord Clive. We are all extremely pleased that it has been won by this great public school, and, as showing the seriousness of the competition, I need only remind you that the medal has never been won twice by the same school. I hope that by and by all the competing schools will have in their records the name of the winner of this medal.

I should like to congratulate most heartily the winner of the medal to-day, Mr. H. K. Lunn. I have read his essay, and I am bound to say that it shows not only great merit with regard to historical facts—facts which are of the greatest interest and to which the essay does full justice—but I am also struck, as I think those who sat in judgment upon the competing essays have been struck, by the literary skill it shows. I trust our young friend will continue his studies both with regard to Indian history and to the development of his literary gifts which are so conspicuous.

The study of history, as I have said many times before and may repeat to-day, has unfortunately been too much

neglected for many years in the curriculum of English education, but there has been of late a satisfactory development in this important matter. Both England and Scotland in recent years have shown a strong desire to remedy the great omission. Both in elementary and secondary schools, in public schools, too, and last, but not least, at our universities, there has been a remarkable development of historical study. Those who have read the scholarly and interesting debate yesterday in the House of Lords—one of the most interesting to which it has been my good fortune to listen—will have noticed that all who spoke were unanimous in declaring that the education system of India ought to be reformed. In any reform of our education system in India greater attention will have to be paid to the study of history. The neglect of it in high schools and in universities in India has been lamentable in many ways, and I hope that in India that fatal error will be corrected as soon as possible.

The Royal Asiatic Society has been fully alive to the importance of encouraging as far as it could the study of Indian history. We have been fortunate enough to obtain, through the good offices of Sir Arthur Wollaston, an endowment fund, generously contributed by the Raja of Cochin and other Chiefs and gentlemen of the Madras Presidency, for the promotion of a knowledge of Indian history among the educated classes of England by means of this competition among public schools. We have every reason to acknowledge that the results of the competition have been most satisfactory; not only has the competition given many boys an insight into the great and dramatic—they are nothing less—events of Indian history, but it convinces the public of the necessity of English men and women, who lay any claim to the title 'educated,' being made acquainted with the great events of India's past. No history is more interesting, more varied than

the history of England, Scotland, and India, and the treasures it contains should be made more and more accessible. At the present moment, in the gradual democratic growth of our institutions, we cannot, without peril, afford to neglect the lessons of history. I look upon it as absolutely fatal to the prosperity of the Empire if our subjects at home, in India, and in the Colonies grow up without any knowledge of its great past, and without realising how the Empire has been built up. I am sure you will all agree with me when I put in a strong claim for the further development of historical teaching in our schools and universities.

We have always had great historians, men who have increased our knowledge of the course of events, of the causes and effects of great crises, but we have not sufficiently undertaken to disseminate a general knowledge of history. I am persuaded that some of the criticisms which our institutions in India are now receiving at the hands of some of our fellow-subjects are often rash and ignorant, and I am sure that the best restraining influence will be to give those who pose as our critics fuller information about the past and its lessons.

We are fortunate on this occasion in having the presence of a most distinguished old Harrow boy, Lord George Hamilton, who will present the medal, and as I shall presently have an opportunity of thanking Lord George Hamilton for his kindness in coming here to-day, I will say no more now, but ask him to hand the medal to Mr. Lunn.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—I assented most readily when the request was made to me to present the medal to the fortunate recipient to-day for his essay on Lord Clive. I have spent so much of my life at the India Office that I attach the greatest importance to a knowledge of Indian history and geography. I can conceive of no better way of disseminating this

knowledge than by encouraging public schools to compete for this medal.

As an old Harrow boy and a present Harrow governor, I am most pleased to present the medal to Mr. Lunn, and I notice from reports which I have read of previous meetings that those representing the successful schools have generally indulged in a little self-advertisement. So I think I may blow the trumpet and beat the big drum on behalf of Harrow. Last year the Headmaster of Westminster, in justifying the fact that the medal went to Westminster, gave as his reason that Westminster was Warren Hastings' old school. Harrow, though it cannot boast of having educated Clive, has contributed to the building of the Empire by sending great men to India. During the last century Harrow gave to India three of its most remarkable and successful Governors-General—Lord Hastings, Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Lytton, each of whom was connected with a particular phase of Indian history. Lord Hastings consummated the work of his predecessors, Clive and Hastings, by putting down the plundering of the Pindaris and establishing the *pax Britannica*, which has prevailed ever since. Lord Dalhousie was a remarkable man. I had the honour of being Under Secretary at the India Office thirty-five years ago, when there were on the Council men who had served during the Mutiny—Sir George Clerk, Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Rawlinson. They were all distinguished men, too, and all told me that they placed Lord Dalhousie first among the men with whom they had come in contact. General Outram, one of the best soldiers in India at the time, Wellington, Peel, and others, spoke of the magnetic influence of Lord Dalhousie—the man who finished the work of the East India Company.

With regard to Lord Lytton, I do not think that adequate justice has been done to his administration in

India, largely because his policy was thrown into the vortex of political strife in this country by being made part of Mr. Gladstone's indictment of the Conservative Ministry of 1874-80, Lord Lytton having been appointed by Mr. Disraeli. When Mr. Gladstone succeeded Lord Lytton resigned; his frontier policy was reversed, also his internal policy, especially with regard to the Press, but, despite the severe criticism it then received, Lord Lytton's policy has been thoroughly vindicated by history. The principles for which he contended now regulate our frontier policy, and only a few days ago Lord Morley, to whose courage, sapience, moderation, and firmness I wish to pay the highest tribute, sanctioned the re-enactment of some of the leading features of the Press Act passed by Lord Lytton's Government thirty years ago, and rescinded soon after by Lord Ripon. Lord Morley's speech gave conclusive reasons for the re-enactment, but these reasons were equally conclusive against it ever having been abolished. I was a friend of Lord Lytton's, and I know that he had the courage to act upon the opinion that a free Press was almost impossible in a country more or less autocratically governed. While I was at the India Office I had the opportunity every week, as my successors no doubt also have, of wading through many thousands of extracts from the Indian Press, and I know no more depressing task. The extraordinary ingenuity and perversity with which every act of the Indian Government was twisted and distorted was little short of miraculous, and unfortunately there was no satisfactory method of answering these allegations. Towards the expiration of my term of office I saw these allegations becoming wilder and wilder, and the impunity which their authors enjoyed led to an increasing tendency, whether openly or covertly, to suggest sedition and outrage. Twenty-eight years have passed since the repeal of Lord Lytton's Act, and I can only say that if that error had

been avoided the task before the Indian Government to-day would have been much easier than it is.

I have had the pleasure of reading the essay of Mr. Lunn, and I entirely endorse what my friend Lord Reay has said; it possesses considerable literary ability and a pungent sense of human character. Mr. Lunn draws a parallel between Clive and Napoleon. He died at the age of 49, and it is wonderful how, with nothing to help him, he fought his way to the very top. Clive had the practical British intellect; big as were his schemes, he did not begin a fresh one until he had finished the one in hand.

I do not know what Mr. Lunn's future may be—perhaps the public service. If so, I hope he will select the Indian Civil Service. I would ask this audience what it is that makes this little island exercise so great, so successful, and so just an authority over other races? It is not because we are stronger or cleverer or braver than other people. I attribute it to the fact that nearly all English administrators have undergone the training of an English public school. The essential value of that training is that it teaches fair play between boy and boy. The young Englishman is imbued with the notion that if he wants to succeed he must play the game. When in a position of authority he knows that he must hold the balance even; he scorns to take an unfair advantage of his position or opportunities. This is the secret of the extraordinary success that Englishmen have achieved in the administration of the affairs of other nations. I hope Mr. Lunn will turn his thoughts towards the Oriental subjects of His Majesty, and that he will write upon them. I would beg him to try to be impartial and not exaggerate or let his pen run away with him. Lord Macaulay was a man of highest intellectual gifts associated with India; he wielded a brilliant pen; he loved antithesis; but it must be confessed that his essays on Clive and Warren Hastings

cannot be accepted as perfect specimens of judicial or historical accuracy. Such criticism of men placed in exceptional circumstances has had a pernicious effect in India, and must be considered one of the contributory causes of the present unrest. The essays on Clive and Hastings and James Mill's history have been the pabulum for tens of thousands of young spirits who wonder how one Englishman can thus speak of another.

I would urge historians and writers on Indian subjects to try to make allowances for the difficulties which a European placed in a high position of trust has daily to encounter. If you talk to an intelligent Indian who has visited any part of Europe and ask him what is *the* impression he has received, he will answer that he sees we are all alike, we eat the same food, wear the same clothes, and worship the same God. We, in India, on the other hand, he will tell you, will show in one town a greater variety of caste, creed, and habit than can be found in all Europe. So I would urge that this fact be borne in mind. Try to depict the feelings and aspirations of the loyal and educated Indian; do not be impatient if he wishes to weaken or throw off the parental Government. Making all allowance for the aspirations of the people, try to realise the difficulties of the young Englishman in a position of tremendous responsibility, overworked in an unsuitable climate, and if he fail, as occasionally he will, make full allowance for him.

I have great pleasure, Mr. Lunn, in presenting you with this medal, and I am sure that if you continue to prosecute your studies, and to regulate your daily actions by that shrewd common-sense which is shown in your essay, your future career will not only be advantageous to yourself, but a credit to your old school.

In the unavoidable absence of the Headmaster of Harrow, MR. J. E. WILLIAMS, History Master at Orley Farm Preparatory School, who coached Hugh Lunn for the

Entrance History Scholarship he won at Harrow, was asked to speak. In the reminiscences he gave of his pupil's early work, special stress was laid on the boy's keen love for history and his joy in reading the best in English literature. It was under the inspiring teaching of Mr. G. Townsend Warner, Head of the Harrow Modern Side, that later on Hugh Lunn's discriminating faculty was trained, and the clear style formed that, in the judgment of Lord Reay and Lord George Hamilton, had so conspicuously marked the essay on Clive.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Lord George Hamilton, LORD REAY said: Lord George has given Mr. Lunn some advice; I have noticed that these occasions are always fruitful in advice; but I hope Mr. Lunn will allow me to express the hope that he will choose the Indian Civil Service, a most distinguished Service, for his career. My advice to him is to take up, in addition to history, the study of Oriental languages and literature at an early date. I am betraying no secret if I go so far as to say that much evidence has been submitted to the Committee over which I have the honour to preside to the effect that members of the Civil Service, since the probationary period has been altered from two years to one, have little time to give to the study of Oriental languages and literature. The only way to overcome this difficulty is for those who propose to join the Indian Civil Service to take up these studies during their University career.

There is one other thing I should like to say. The Indian Civil Service has an important feature which differentiates it from the conditions of the English Service. The most important duty of the Indian civilian is intercourse with His Majesty's Indian subjects. I attach greater importance to the personal intercourse and influence of the Indian civilian than to the most brilliant minutes ever written. The great success of our rule in former days was due to the fact that intercourse and friendly relations

were established between the officials and the people of the country. Unfortunately, such are the demands made by the bureaucratic mechanism to-day, that little time is left for the establishment of such relations. Mr. Lunn, I hope, will remember that the advice we give him is a sign of our interest in him, and I may assure him that we shall watch his career with special interest.

I now tender our sincere thanks to Lord George Hamilton for his kindness in coming here to-day. He is certainly one of the most distinguished of Harrovians, and a statesman who thoroughly understands what is involved by our rule in the East. Lord George had the good fortune to be many years at the India Office, but before he reached the position of Head he had served his apprenticeship as Under Secretary. He has, too, a special gift, which is not at all common, namely, the power to understand the Oriental character. He always did justice to those over whom he ruled. His remarks to-day have shown that he has the precious gift of sympathy with those over whom it is our duty to rule. You all know that Lord George Hamilton and I do not belong to the same party in the State, but as regards India this exercises no influence, and I hope will exercise ever less and less. It is extremely desirable that Indian questions should not drift into the arena of party passion and political divergence. It is necessary that we should understand the complexity and magnitude of the problems of India, and that we should assist each other more and more in unravelling them. I think this fact is being realised more than ever to-day.

Lord George has alluded to the great question as to how it is we have been more successful than other nations in our rule over alien races. He attributes it to the influence of public school education. I would add that I believe it is also largely due to the innate sense of justice which characterises Englishmen when the prejudices of other races have to be respected. I have recently had most remarkable

testimony as to the feeling abroad with regard to British rule. I was speaking to an eminent French statesman, who told me that he belonged to the advanced school of politicians, and he said, "What your Government has done in granting self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony no French Government could have done; Parliament would not have allowed it." At the same time, I am convinced of the truth of what was stated yesterday in both sides of the House of Lords, that Government should not be diverted from the course of reform in India by any untoward circumstances, but that it should continuously and persistently follow the course thought to be just. No other European nation would have had the courage to do this. I do not say this because I would desire to exalt ourselves, but because we have every reason to persist in making education the main feature in building up the character of those who will some day be the successors of Lord George Hamilton at the India Office, or administer with success the affairs of India.

The vote of thanks was seconded by Sir Raymond West and carried unanimously.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, replying to the vote of thanks, said: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—I thank you very sincerely for your kind vote, and I assure you that it has given me genuine pleasure to be present here to-day, and I shall always be glad to do anything to co-operate in any way in spreading a better knowledge of the Indian classes and masses. I consider that we are passing through a risky phase of our Indian administration; such an empire as India is always attended with some difficulty. I hope it may be possible to make beneficial changes and alterations which will satisfy the aspirations of the intelligent and loyal people in India. The present period is one requiring exceptional care and consideration. Our difficulties do not come from

the East; we ourselves have created them. We have endeavoured, prematurely, I think, in some cases, to plant Western principles and ideas in a soil not congenial to them. We must bear that fact in mind and shape our course accordingly.

I endorse all that has been said about Mr. Lunn, and I hope that his happy, youthful disposition will enable him to feel that the advice given has not been too burdensome, but he will come to understand later that those who have advised him have done so out of kindly interest in his present and future welfare.

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Pavolini (P. E.). Cenni sulla Dhammaniti pali-birmana e sulle sue fonte.

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OBITUARY NOTICES.

M. ADRIEN BARBIER DE MEYNARD.

BORN FEBRUARY 6, 1826. DIED AT THE END OF MARCH, 1908.

M. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, who was for forty-five years one of the best known Orientalists of France, alike by reason of his numerous and valuable contributions to Oriental learning, his close connection with the *Société Asiatique*, the *Académie française*, the *Collège de France*, and the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, and his unfailing kindness and hospitality to all who sought his help, was born at sea, between Constantinople and Marseilles, on February 6, 1826. His family had long been domiciled in the East, and for service in the East he was destined from childhood. He was educated at the *Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, where he held a scholarship from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as one of the 'Jeunes de langues,' as the French student-interpreters for the Near East were then called, and was one of the favourite pupils of the eminent Jules Mohl, whose chair he subsequently held at the *Collège de France*.

His first consular appointment was at Jerusalem, whither he was sent about 1852, and one of his earliest communications to the *Journal Asiatique* (an account of Muḥammad b. Hasan ash-Shaybānī, an Arabian author of the fifth century of the Hijra) was published about the same time. In 1854 he accompanied the Comte de Gobineau to Persia, and remained for two years attached to the French Legation at Tibrān in the capacity of Dragoman, or Oriental Secretary. His first important publication, the *Dictionnaire géographique, historique, et*

littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes, which is essentially a translation of that portion of Yâqût's great geography, the *Mu'jamu'l-Buldân*, which refers to Persia, supplemented from other sources, appeared in 1861, and was followed during the two succeeding years by the text and translation (in two vols.) of part of Mu'innu'd-Dîn Muḥammad's history of Herât.

In December, 1863, on the death of Dubeux, Barbier de Meynard was elected Professor of Turkish at the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, with which, during the remaining forty-five years of his life, he was so closely connected, and of which, on the death of the admirable M. Ch. Schefer, he became the Director. These two great scholars, who added so much to the lustre of French Orientalism, were both elected Members of the Academy on the same day—November 29, 1878—and thenceforth collaborated with Defrémery in the publication of the Oriental historians of the Crusades, of which series the fourth volume, containing the text and translation of the *Kitâbu'r-Rawdatayn*, was Barbier de Meynard's work.

It is impossible here to give a complete list of the many and varied papers, all interesting and suggestive, communicated by Barbier de Meynard to the *Journal Asiatique* during his long and active career, but there is hardly a volume of that periodical which does not contain something of note from his pen. Of his independent works mention must especially be made of his translation of the *Bistân* of Sa'di (1880); his great *Dictionnaire turc-français* (1881-6); his edition and translation of the *Murûju'dh-Dhahab* of al-Masûdi (1861-87), in which Pavet de Courteille collaborated with him; his *Trois Comédies persanes* (1886-9), published in collaboration with the talented and unfortunate Stanislas Guyard; and the last volume (vol. vii) of the splendid edition and translation of Firdawsî's *Shâh-nâma*, which Jules Mohl did not live to complete.

Jules Mohl died in January, 1876, and Barbier de Meynard was nominated to succeed him as Professor of Persian at the Collège de France on May 9 of the same year. He opened his course with a very interesting and instructive *Étude sur la Poésie en Perse*, which was published at the end of the same year, and during the next eight or nine years lectured on such books as the *Bûstân*, the *Shâh-nâma*, *Ways u Râmîn*, the *Anuvâr-i-Suhaylt*, etc. On the death of Stanislas Guyard (who held the chair of Arabic at the Collège de France) in 1884, Barbier de Meynard was nominated to replace him, and was transferred from the Persian to the Arabic professorship. As Arabic professor he lectured on such works as the *Kitâb-ul-Aghânî*, the *Mwallagât*, the *Diwân* of Muslim, the *Maqâmât* of Nâsif al-Yâziî, etc.

Barbier de Meynard's life, from the time when he left the Consular Service to take up his work at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in 1863 until its close, was the quiet but active life of a teacher, scholar, and man of letters. He was the soul of the Société Asiatique; and his love for the École was such that when on his deathbed he was informed that his appointment as Director, of which the period had come to an end, had been renewed, he exclaimed with satisfaction, "Then I shall die at the École!" I cannot better conclude this brief and inadequate notice than with the words of M. Levasseur, Administrateur du Collège de France—"On calomnie souvent le caractère français hors de France en le traitant de frivole et de dissipé, et il arrive parfois que des Français contribuent à accrédi-ter cette calomnie. À des étrangers superficiellement informés de nos mœurs j'ai souvent dit: 'Essayez d'entrer chez nous dans l'intimité des hommes d'étude et vous jugerez mieux la France.' On aurait pu les envoyer dans le cabinet de Barbier de Meynard."

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

PROFESSOR EBERHARD SCHRADER.

PROFESSOR EBERHARD SCHRADER was born on the 5th of January, 1836, at Brunswick, and educated at the High School or *Gymnasium* there. He then took up Protestant theology, and, studying Oriental languages under Heinrich Ewald, gained an academical prize in 1858. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on him in 1860.¹ After filling the position of professor at Zurich (1862), he passed on to Giessen (Hesse) in 1869, Jena in 1872, and finally Berlin in 1876. Though he began his career as a specialist in Biblical criticism and history, it is as an Assyriologist that he is best known, and his works in that field will be quoted for many years to come. In 1872 he published an important work, *Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften* (Leipzig), and his oft-quoted *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, of which a second edition was issued ten years later, and an English translation, by Professor Owen C. Whitehouse, of Cheshunt College, in 1885. In this work the author traversed the whole Hebrew text of the Old Testament, quoting and commenting upon all the wedge-inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria which bore upon it. In 1874 appeared *Die Höllenfahrt der Istar* (Giessen), which was also well received.

In 1876 a criticism of the results of Assyriological research was published by Alfred von Gutshmid, Professor of Classical Philology at Jena, under the title of *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients.—Die Assyriologie in Deutschland*, which attracted considerable notice, and called forth Schrader's most important work, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, which was considered to be a complete vindication of the position taken up by Assyriologists in general, whose champion he thus became.

¹ Later on he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and also became a Privy Councillor.

Professor Schrader was also an industrious contributor to the learned journals of Germany, especially the Transactions of the Prussian Royal Academy of Science, of which he was a member. In 1889 appeared the first volume of a series of texts of which he was editor, namely, the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, to the earlier portion of which he contributed. This series, which contains translations by all the most known German Assyriologists, is a work of considerable value, and it is a matter of regret that something similar does not exist in English. "The Records of the Past," under the able editorship of Professor Sayce, would have supplied, in a measure, something analogous, but the work was said not to pay, and the second series stopped at the sixth volume.

Of all the German Assyriologists, Professor Schrader was not only the most liberal-minded, but also the gentlest. Enthusiastic to defend the study which he had founded in his native land, as his replies to A. von Gutschmid show, he was never hasty to attack, and in that respect was in marked contrast to certain of the younger school of Assyriologists, and also to one older than himself, of whom it was facetiously said that, "when a new head popped up, he gave it a tap to send it down again." Schrader, who considered that he had reason to be offended with this scholar's treatment of him, happened on one occasion to be in Dr. S. Birch's room at the British Museum when he entered, and, seeing the Berlin Assyriologist, advanced with extended hand, all confident that he would take it. Schrader, it is said, was at the moment in the act of taking off his overcoat, and, instead of grasping the proffered hand, he simply bowed politely, for how could he shake hands with another when his own arms were behind him in the sleeves of the garment? Tall and broad of frame, and with a face expressing determination almost to severity, it nevertheless did not take the

stranger a moment to see that he had before him one of great kindness of heart, combined with integrity, common-sense, and a faculty for taking pains. At the same time, it was the face of a simple-minded man, hence his great popularity and the respect in which he was held.

Though history and chronology were the things which he studied most, he also devoted himself to other branches of Assyriology. His *Höllenfahrt der Istar* contains specimens of Assyrian poetry, and in all his books philology occupies an important place. In addition to the sibilants and the question of the pronunciation of *aa* and *ia*, Schrader also discussed whether Akkadian (now called Sumerian) was really a language or not (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxix, 1875), and wrote upon the origin of Babylonian culture (Royal Academy of Berlin, 1883). But a hard trial, not long after he had founded the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, clouded the last years of this worthy scholar, and, though he continued to edit that work, the days of his activity were over long before the end came. For thirteen years he might have described himself, like Nabû-balatsu-iqbi of old, as being "as the men who are dead and at rest" (*ummanātu ša mītu-ma pašhu*¹), and though wheeled out from his home in the Kronprinzen-Ufer to take the air in the Sieges-Allee, his life must have become as a burden to him, when, on the 3rd of July last, he passed away, and, as the family-announcement of his death says, "he fell softly asleep after long and severe sufferings, borne with great patience and resignation." Assyriologists are sorry to lose the Father of Assyriology in Germany, but rejoice for his own sake that he is gone.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ Letter of Nabû-balatsu-iqbi in vol. iv of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 40 (53), col. ii, l. 18.

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